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VOL. 162—FOR 1920

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THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER

A

REVIEW OF PUBLIC EVENTS AT HOME

AND ABROAD

FOR THE YEAR

1920

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1921



# CONTENTS.

## PART I.

### ENGLISH HISTORY.

#### CHAPTER I.

##### THE FIRST QUARTER.

The Ironmoulders' Strike, [1]. Wages of Railwaymen, [2]. Shortage of Coal, [3]. The Miners' Demands, [4]. Resignation of Mr. George Barnes, [5]. Exchequer Bonds, [5]. The Paisley Bye-Election, [6]. Mr. Balfour on the Coalition, [7]. Mr. Chamberlain on Finance, [8]. Re-organisation of the Territorial Force, [8]. Crime in Ireland, [9]. Policy of the Government, [10]. Arrests of Sinn Feiners, [11]. Further Outrages, [12]. Mr. Asquith on Liberal Policy, [13]. Mr. Asquith returned to Parliament, [14]. Coal Mines (Emergency) Bill, [15]. Opening of Parliament, [16]. The King's Speech, [17]. War Emergency Laws (Continuance) Bill, [18]. Army Expenditure, [19]. Provisions of the Home Rule Bill, [19-20]. Its Reception in Ireland, [20]. Unemployment Insurance Bill, [21]. A Franchise Bill, [22]. Allied Policy in Turkey, [22]. Flights from Cairo to the Cape, [23]. Acquisition of Land Bill, [24]. National Health Insurance Bill, [24]. Matrimonial Causes Bill [25]. Special Trades Union Congress [26]. Fresh Demand by the Miners, [27]. Offer by the Government, [28]. The Navy Estimates, [29]. Report of Royal Commission on Income Tax, [30]. Liberals and the Coalition, [31]. Political Speeches, [32]. Future of British Railways, [33]. Condition of Ireland, [34]. Government of Ireland Bill, [35]. The Easter Recess, [36].

#### CHAPTER II.

##### EVENTS OF THE SPRING.

Ministerial Changes, [36]. The Industrial Courts Act, [37]. Treaties of Peace Bill, [38]. The Ministry of Munitions, [39]. Matrimonial Causes Bill, [40]. The Budget, [40-43]. Issue of Treasury Bonds, [43]. San Remo Allied Conference, [44]. Outrages in Ireland, [45]. Treatment of Prisoners, [46]. Dispute in the Cotton Trade, [47]. Railwaymen's Wages, [48]. Housing Bonds Campaign, [49]. Matrimonial Causes Bill, [50]. Finance Bill, [51]. The Price of Coal,



[52]. The Home Rule Bill in Committee, [53-54]. Crime in Ireland, [55]. Catastrophe at Louth, [56]. Award of the National (Railway) Wages Board, [56-57]. Relations with Russia, [57]. The Future of Mesopotamia, [58]. The Agriculture Bill, [59]. Matrimonial Causes Bill, [60]. Rent Restriction Bill, [61]. Provisions of the Act, [62]. Overseas Trade Bill, [63]. Mining Industry Bill, [64]. Home Rule Bill in Committee, [65]. Disorder in Ireland, [66]. Strike of Irish Railwaymen, [67]. Deputation to the Prime Minister, [68]. Rioting in Londonderry, [69]. Capture of General Lucas [70].

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE SUMMER MONTHS.

The Excess Profits Duty, [70]. Government Expenditure, [71]. Mr. Chamberlain on the position, [72]. The Finance Bill, [73]. Third Reading, [74]. British Institute of International Affairs, [75]. The Spa Allied Conference, [76]. Conference of the Miners' Federation, [77]. Demands of the Miners, [77]. Special Trades Union Congress, [78]. The Slough Motor Depot, [79]. The Amritsar Incident, [80]. Ministry of Food (Continuance) Bill, [81]. Increase of Railway Rates, [82]. Crime in Ireland, [83]. Rioting in Belfast, [84]. Escape of General Lucas, [85]. Restoration of Order in Ireland Bill, [86]. Committee Stage, [87]. Deputation to the Prime Minister, [88]. Dominion Home Rule, [89]. Further Riots in Belfast, [90-92]. German Coal Deliveries, [92]. The Situation in Poland, [93]. The Council of Action, [94]. Adjournment of Parliament, [95]. Ministry of Health Bill, [96]. The Future of Egypt, [97]. *Daily Herald* Incident, [97-98]. The Mining Industry Bill, [98-99]. Meeting of the Miners' Federation, [99]. Demands of the Miners, [100]. Negotiations with the Government, [101]. Their Suspension and Resumption, [102]. Some Further Progress, [103]. A Final Breakdown, [104]. Trades Union Congress, [104-105]. Engineering Crisis, [105-106]. The Lord Mayor of Cork, [106-107]. Crime in Ireland, [107]. Attempt on General Strickland, [108]. Reprisals, [109]. Attitude of the Government, [110].

### CHAPTER IV.

#### END OF THE YEAR.

Fresh Ballot of the Miners, [111]. The Strike Begins, [112]. An Agreement Reached, [113]. Return of the Prince of Wales, [114]. Opening of Parliament, [114]. Unemployment, [115]. The Church Congress, [116]. Speeches by Mr. Lloyd George, [117]. Speeches by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Churchill, [118]. Death of the Lord Mayor of Cork, [119]. Outrages in Ireland, [120]. The Question of Reprisals, [121]. Emergency Powers Bill, [122]. Agriculture Bill, [123-4]. Foreign Affairs, [124]. Arrest of Colonel Malone, M.P., [125]. Anniversary of the Armistice, [125-6]. Relief of Unemployment, [127]. The Lord Mayor's Banquet, [128]. The Government of Ireland, [129]. Home Rule Bill, Third Reading, [130]. Second Reading in the Lords, [131]. Irish Debate, [132]. Terrorism in Ireland, [133]. Murders in Dublin, [134]. Discovery of Sinn Féin Plots, [135]. A Disastrous Ambush, [136]. Mr. Lloyd George on Industry, [137]. Debate on National Expenditure, [138]. Mr. Lloyd George on Ireland, [139]. An Effort towards Peace, [140]. Irish Policy of the Government, [141]. Incendiarism in Cork, [142]. Further Outrages, [143]. Passing of the Home Rule Bill, [144]. The Agriculture Bill, [145]. Prorogation of Parliament, [146]. The Problem of Unemployment, [147]. Finis, [148].

## FOREIGN AND COLONIAL HISTORY.

## CHAPTER I.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS . . . . .	page [149
---------------------------------	-----------

## CHAPTER II.

FRANCE AND ITALY . . . . .	[158
----------------------------	------

## CHAPTER III.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA . . . . .	[172
-------------------------------	------

## CHAPTER IV.

RUSSIA — POLAND — LITHUANIA — UKRAINIA — FINLAND — ESTHONIA — LETTLAND — DANZIG — CZECHO-SLOVAKIA — HUNGARY — RUMANIA — JUGO-SLAVIA — TURKEY — GREECE — THE MINOR STATES OF SOUTH- EASTERN EUROPE . . . . .	[191
--	------

## CHAPTER V.

LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE: BELGIUM—LUXEM- BURG—THE NETHERLANDS—SWITZERLAND—LIECHTENSTEIN—SPAIN— PORTUGAL—DENMARK AND ICELAND—SWEDEN—NORWAY . . . .	[251
---	------

## CHAPTER VI.

THE MIDDLE EAST AND INDIA . . . . .	[268
-------------------------------------	------

## CHAPTER VII.

THE FAR EAST: CHINA—JAPAN . . . . .	[276
-------------------------------------	------

## CHAPTER VIII.

AFRICA: THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA—RHODESIA—PORTUGUESE WEST AFRICA—PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA—BRITISH EAST AFRICA—SOMALI- LAND—LIBYA—MOROCCO—EGYPT—SUDAN . . . . .	[280
---	------

## CHAPTER IX.

AMERICA: THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES — CANADA—NEWFOUNDLAND — MEXICO — BRAZIL—ARGENTINA — CHILI— PERU—BOLIVIA—OTHER AMERICAN REPUBLICS . . . . .	[287
---	------

## CHAPTER X.

AUSTRALASIA: AUSTRALIA—NEW ZEALAND . . . . .	[301
--	------

## PART II.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS IN 1920 . . . . .	<i>page</i> 1
RETROSPECT OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN 1920	22
Literature, 22—Science, 38—Art, 47—Drama, 50—Music, 54.	
FINANCE AND COMMERCE IN 1920 . . . . .	58
PUBLIC DOCUMENTS . . . . .	68
Text of the Agreement between France, Russia, Great Britain, and Italy, Signed at London on April 26, 1915, on the Eve of the Entrance of Italy into the War, 68—Text of the Declaration of the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference on the Economic Conditions of the World, 71—Text of Draft Trade Agreement between His Britannic Majesty's Government and the Russian Soviet Government, 80—Text of the Memorandum on the Future of Egypt, 83—Summary of the Recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Income Tax, 86—Official Despatches on the Battle of Jutland, 97.	
OBITUARY OF EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1920 .	115
INDEX . . . . .	171

## PREFATORY NOTE.

THE Editor of the ANNUAL REGISTER thinks it necessary to state that in no case does he claim to offer original reports of speeches in Parliament or elsewhere. He has much pleasure in acknowledging his indebtedness to *The Times* and to *Ross's Parliamentary Record* for the special permission accorded him to make use of their Parliamentary reports and other matter ; and he desires hereby to express his thanks for the valuable assistance which he has derived from the facilities thus extended to him.



## THE MINISTRY, 1920.

<i>Prime Minister</i> . . . .	Mr. Lloyd George.*
<i>Lord Chancellor</i> . . . .	Lord Birkenhead.*
<i>Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Commons</i> . . . .	Mr. A. Bonar Law.*
<i>Lord President of Council</i> . . . .	Mr. A. J. Balfour.*
<i>Minister without Portfolio</i> . . . .	Sir L. Worthington-Evans.
<i>Presidents :—</i>	
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<i>Board of Education</i> . . . .	Dr. H. A. L. Fisher.*
<i>Board of Agriculture</i> . . . .	Lord Lee.*
<i>Secretaries of State :—</i>	
<i>Home</i> . . . .	Mr. E. Shortt.*
<i>Foreign</i> . . . .	Earl Curzon.*
<i>Colonies</i> . . . .	Viscount Milner.*
<i>War and Air Ministry</i> . . . .	Mr. W. S. Churchill.*
<i>India</i> . . . .	Mr. E. S. Montagu.*
<i>Treasury :—</i>	
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<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer</i> . . . .	Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*
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<i>Parliamentary Under-Secretaries :—</i>	
<i>Home</i> . . . .	Major J. L. Baird.
<i>Foreign</i> . . . .	Mr. Cecil Harmsworth, Mr. F. G. Kellaway.
<i>Colonies</i> . . . .	Col. L. C. M. S. Amery.
<i>India</i> . . . .	Sir W. Duke, Lord Sinha, The Earl of Lytton.
<i>War</i> . . . .	Viscount Peel.
<i>War Finance</i> . . . .	Sir A. Williamson.
<i>Food</i> . . . .	Sir W. Mitchell-Thomson.
<i>Health</i> . . . .	Viscount Astor.
<i>Labour</i> . . . .	Sir M. Barlow.
<i>Board of Trade</i> . . . .	Mr. W. C. Bridgeman.
<i>Board of Agriculture</i> . . . .	Col. Sir A. Griffith Boscawen.
<i>Board of Education</i> . . . .	Mr. J. H. Lewis.
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<i>Assistant Postmaster-General</i> . . . .	Mr. Pike Pease.
<i>Chancellor of the Duchy of     Lancaster</i> . . . .	The Earl of Crawford.
<i>First Commissioner of Works</i> . . . .	Sir A. Mond.
<i>Paymaster-General</i> . . . .	Sir J. T. Walters.
<i>Admiralty :—</i>	
<i>First Lord</i> . . . .	Mr. W. Long.*
<i>First Sea Lord and Chief     of Naval Staff</i> . . . .	Admiral Earl Beatty.
<i>Second Sea Lord and Chief     of Naval Personnel</i> . . . .	Vice-Admiral Sir M. E. Browning.
<i>Third Sea Lord</i> . . . .	Rear Admiral F. L. Field.
<i>Fourth Sea Lord</i> . . . .	Rear-Admiral Hon. A. Boyle.
<i>Deputy Chief of Staff</i> . . . .	Rear-Admiral Sir O. de Brock.
<i>Assistant Chief of Staff</i> . . . .	Captain Sir A. E. Chatfield.
<i>Civil Lord</i> . . . .	The Earl of Onslow.
<i>Parliamentary Secretary</i> . . . .	Col. Sir J. Craig.

Cabinet marked thus :

*Army Council :—*

<i>Secretary of State for War</i>	(as above).
<i>Minister of Munitions</i>	Lord Inverforth.
<i>Parliamentary Secretary to Ministry of Munitions</i>	Mr. J. F. Hope.
<i>Chief of General Staff</i>	Sir H. Wilson.
<i>Adjutant-General</i>	Lt.-Gen. Sir O. M. Macdonough.
<i>Quartermaster-General</i>	Lt.-Gen. Sir T. E. Clarke.
<i>Master General of the Ordnance</i>	Lt.-Gen. Sir J. P. Du Cane.
<i>Parliamentary Under-Secretary</i>	(as above).

*Air Ministry :—*

<i>Chief of Staff</i>	Major-Gen. Sir H. M. Trenchard.
<i>Controller-General of Civil Aviation</i>	Major-Gen. Sir F. H. Sykes.
<i>Director-General of Aircraft Production</i>	Major-Gen. E. L. Ellington.
<i>Minister of Health</i>	Dr. Addison.*
<i>Minister of Labour</i>	Dr. Macnamara.*
<i>Minister of Pensions</i>	Mr. Ian Macpherson.
<i>Minister of Transport</i>	Sir E. Geddes.*
<i>Food Controller</i>	Mr. C. A. McCurdy.
<i>Shipping Controller</i>	Sir J. Maclay.
<i>Parliamentary Secretary to Ministry of Shipping</i>	Col. L. Wilson.
<i>Attorney-General</i>	Sir G. Hewart.
<i>Solicitor-General</i>	Sir E. Pollock.

## SCOTLAND.

<i>Secretary for Scotland</i>	Mr. R. Munro.*
<i>Lord-Advocate</i>	Mr. T. B. Morison.
<i>Solicitor-General</i>	Mr. C. D. Murray.

## IRELAND.

<i>Lord-Lieutenant</i>	Lord French.*
<i>Chief Secretary</i>	Sir H. Greenwood.*
<i>Lord Chancellor</i>	Sir J. H. Campbell.
<i>Attorney-General</i>	Mr. Denis Henry.
<i>Solicitor-General</i>	Mr. D. M. Wilson.

Cabinet marked thus : \*.

# ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1920.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST QUARTER.

THE end of the year 1919 witnessed a state of comparative peace in the labour world. Only one great strike was in progress, namely, that of the ironmoulders, which had begun on September 20. Several attempts to reach a settlement had been made, and although at the end of the year prospects seemed favourable, the strike was destined to continue for very nearly another month. The position at the beginning of January was that about 50,000 men had been on strike since September 20, and 100,000 workers in the engineering trades had been rendered idle owing to the consequent want of castings. On January 2 it appeared that a settlement of the dispute would be reached. As a result of the intervention of the Minister of Labour and the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, a meeting was held at which an agreement was signed by representatives of the Engineering Employers' Federation and of the Unions involved in the strike. The employers agreed to pay an advance of 5s. a week to male workers, and future alterations in wages were to be dealt with in accordance with an arrangement to be mutually agreed upon. Resumption of work was to take place by January 19. The hopes of a settlement were, however, rudely shaken by the result of a ballot in which the proposed terms were submitted to the rank and file of the ironmoulders. The result was announced on January 8, and showed a majority of over 7,000 against acceptance.

A few days later representatives of the Unions and of the



employers met at York in a fresh effort to end the deadlock. At this conference the employers again offered the men 5s. a week advance in wages, and they added to this offer an undertaking to hold a conference immediately after the resumption of work for the discussion of general working conditions in the foundries. Mr. Arthur Henderson, the men's leader, pointed out to the Unions the absolute impossibility of obtaining any greater advance of wages than that now offered, and it was decided to take another ballot of the men on the revised offer. The terms submitted to the men were the same as in the former ballot except that the date of resumption of work was to be January 26, and also that a conference was to be held between the employers and the Unions in the week commencing February 2 for the purpose of discussing the working conditions in foundries and other matters affecting the well-being of the men. The ballot was completed on January 21 and the result was declared the following day. It showed a majority of 6,404 in favour of returning to work, and the dispute thus at length came to an end. The men received only 5s. increase of wages instead of 15s. which they had demanded. On the 26th work was restarted in many districts, and though here and there some difficulties were raised, the men soon settled down and the long strike was at an end.

The question of railwaymen's wages was also under discussion during January. Since the strike of the previous September continuous discussion had occurred between the Government and the Railway Unions. The chief difficulty that arose was that of fixing, in an abnormal period, standard rates of pay which would be neither too low during the present abnormal time, nor too high when a more normal period was reached. To get over this difficulty the Government, early in January, offered to standardise wages for the male staff. The offer which they made to the men was a substantial advance, in two respects, on the terms which were rejected in September, and against which the strike was directed. In the first place the Government's undertaking to consider anomalies affecting particular grades of railwaymen had been carried out in a rather generous spirit, and an increase of 100 per cent. above the average pre-war rate was now the minimum advance offered in permanent wages. In the second place the Government offered to all grades of railwaymen an immediate flat rate advance of 5s. a week on the present war wage of 33s. a week. There was to be no reduction in present earnings, including the newly conceded 5s., before September, 1920. Thereafter there was to be a rise or fall of 1s. a week for every rise or fall of five points in the cost of living figures. At no time was the wage to fall below the new figures of permanent standard rates.

A special general meeting of the National Union of Railwaymen was called on January 7 to consider the new offer of the Government. After three days' deliberation they decided not

to accept the terms offered. Mr. J. H. Thomas announced that the conference had sent back the proposals to the Government and would sit in session until there was an answer. Sir Eric Geddes, the Minister of Transport, replied to the conference that, since the proposals had been laid down by the Cabinet and the issues involved were of national importance, it would be necessary for him to bring the whole matter before his colleagues. He promised to do so at the earliest possible moment, and would then give Mr. Thomas a reply which would carry with it the full authority of the Government. On the 11th Sir Eric Geddes and Sir Robert Horne left London for Paris to discuss the matter with Mr. Lloyd George, who was then in the French capital. Some delay occurred before the reply of the Government was definitely presented to the men. When its contents were divulged it was found that the Government had stood firm on principles, but had agreed to a certain measure of elasticity in the detailed application of their proposals. The men had objected to the proposal that the ultimate standard wage rates should be based on the average instead of on the highest pre-war rate in each grade. They had also objected to a sliding scale based on the cost of living. To both these objections the Government returned a hostile answer, though expressing their willingness to deal with cases of individual hardship. The Government, however, agreed to extend the 5s. advance to certain grades which had not formerly been included. Further, the Government agreed to extend the principle of their proposals to Irish railways. On January 15 Mr. Thomas announced that the Railwaymen's Delegate Conference had decided, by a very narrow majority, to accept the settlement on the basis of the Government offer. He said that the task before them had been very difficult, and that there had been not only keen division but strong feeling among the railwaymen. He hoped and believed that the men would accept it as an honourable settlement. In this hope it may be observed that he was entirely justified, for after the settlement there was a greater spirit of content among the railwaymen than had been the case for a long time past.

The shortage of household coal gave great anxiety during January. Early in the year many depots were entirely bare of coal; at the remaining depots the small stocks were rapidly vanishing owing to the local overseers having to commandeer the coal to keep householders and the poor supplied. It was stated that the reduction of 10s. in the price of domestic coal had practically stopped the supply, as all suitable coal had been immediately transferred to industrial uses. The remedies suggested by the trade were either to equalise the price between household and industrial coal, or to make the price of household coal higher than that of industrial coal. In this case domestic users would reduce their consumption as much as possible. De-control in everything except price was strongly urged in order

that the buyer and seller might come together again. Transport difficulties were also blamed as a contributory cause in the situation. Notwithstanding the shortage, export of coal still continued. On January 10 the queues at some of the yards were almost as large as those seen in 1917 before the introduction of coal control and the later rationing scheme.

In consequence of this state of affairs the price of household coal in London was raised on January 15 by 1*d.* per cwt. or 2*s.* per ton. In other parts of the country it was raised from 6*d.* to 2*s.* per ton according to the distance of the locality from the coal pits. Some extra charge was in any case necessitated by the increased rates for the cartage of coal by rail which were just coming into operation. On January 16 Mr. Frank Hodges, Secretary of the Miners' Federation, issued a statement dealing with the financial position of the mining industry from the time of the 6*s.* increase in price to home consumers in July, 1919, down to the end of the year. The statement said that the output of coal had greatly exceeded the estimate of Sir Auckland Geddes, and argued in favour of a reduction in the price of industrial coal by 9*s.* 4*d.* per ton during the remainder of the year ending July, 1920.

Towards the end of the month the Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation went to 10 Downing Street to discuss coal profits, prices, and supplies, and to present a demand for a reduction in the price of industrial coal, or alternatively an increase in the miners' wages. The Executive laid stress on the enormous increase which had taken place in the price of exported coal, on the continued high price of industrial coal for home consumers, on the shortage of domestic supplies since the reduction of price by 10*s.* per ton which had taken place on December 1, 1919, and on the effect of the continued high price of coal on the cost of living of the people. Mr. Lloyd George informed the Executive that the investigation of the Government into the financial position of the industry was not yet completed, and he suggested that a further discussion should take place a week later. This suggestion was agreed to.

On January 29 a special conference of miners' delegates was held in London at which Mr. Robert Smillie, President of the Federation, made a statement about the objects of his Executive in going to Downing Street. Mr. Smillie denied that there was any selfishness on the part of the miners. He pointed out that the cost of living had continued to go up in spite of the optimistic statements of the Prime Minister. The miners recognised that a mere increase of wages would not meet the evil of the high cost of living. They estimated that at the present prices for exported coal the Government would have a surplus of between fifty million and sixty million pounds. Mr. Smillie said that it was only fair to give the Government another week to consider the matter. He said that the miners had, of course, notified the Government that an increase in wages was

the alternative to a decrease in prices. The main object of the present move, however, was to reduce the cost of living in the interests of the nation. Later in the day, at a private sitting, the conference considered a proposal for an increase of the weekly contribution of members of the Federation, the grounds for such increase being the danger of a national strike ensuing from the struggle for national ownership of the collieries with joint control by the workers. The decision on this point was deferred, however, until after the next interview between the Executive and the Prime Minister. The results of that interview will be recorded later.

The increasing antagonism between the Government and the Labour Party was manifested by the announcement on January 28 of the resignation of Mr. George Barnes, the sole Labour Member of the Cabinet. Mr. Barnes informed the Prime Minister that he had joined the Coalition in order to assist in getting peace signed and secured. In his view peace had now been secured and the time for his withdrawal had come. The Prime Minister urged him not to persist in his resignation, but Mr. Barnes decided that it must be regarded as final. He was induced to attend a meeting of the Cabinet on the 28th, but he insisted that it was only for the purpose of saying farewell to his colleagues. Mr. Barnes neither resigned his seat for the Gorbals Division of Glasgow, nor did he rejoin the Labour Party. He preferred to retire to the back benches rather than to join Mr. Henderson and his friends on the Front Opposition bench.

The shortage of houses was still as acute as it had ever been. The original estimate of the Ministry of Health was that at least 500,000 houses were required, but Lord Astor announced early in the year that this estimate had now gone up to 800,000. Sir James Carmichael, Director-General of National Housing, announced that 20,000 houses were actually in course of construction. Plans for 85,000 had been submitted, 65,000 were approved of, and very soon contracts for the building of 100,000 would be entered into by local authorities.

On January 15 Mr. Chamberlain announced that he intended to make a new issue of Exchequer Bonds for a short period to meet the maturities which would fall due in the next two months. The terms of the issue were: Five year bonds at par, bearing  $5\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. interest; there was an option each January to obtain repayment a year later, the first date of repayment being February 1, 1922. Subscriptions were to be opened on January 20 and to close on or before February 28. There was to be both a Bank of England and a Post Office issue. Mr. Chamberlain said it had been suggested to him that the War Savings Certificates no longer fully met the needs of the situation, and that many of the Associations would like to have some other form of Government security which they could offer as an investment to their members. He could not say that

there was any prospect that he could extend the existing limit with its privileges, but if the issue of a suitable Bond would meet the real demand among the members of the National Savings Assembly, it would be his duty to meet their wishes if it were possible, and he thought it would be possible.

Interest in party politics was revived during January by a bye-election at Paisley in which Mr. Asquith was invited to become the Liberal candidate. The bye-election was caused by the death of Sir John McCallum who had won the seat at the General Election as an Independent Liberal. Since the Coalition Liberals were very strong in the constituency it was at first doubtful whether Mr. Asquith would be invited to stand, but the growing unpopularity of the Coalition determined the matter, and on January 21 the Paisley Liberal Association unanimously decided to approach the former Prime Minister. He immediately accepted the invitation, and great interest was taken throughout the country in the struggle which ensued. Mr. Asquith addressed his first election meeting on January 27. He stated his intention of laying down the main principles of Liberal policy. He said that the House of Commons did not represent the settled mind but the passing mood of the electors. It had shown itself incapable of checking or controlling administrative folly and extravagance, and it had been too ready to sanction reactionary legislation. Mr. Asquith dwelt on the necessity of economies in finance, urging that the country could not go on borrowing but must pay its way. In his opinion the reduction of the debt was a matter of primary and paramount importance both for reducing the annual burden and for re-establishing the credit of the country. Expenditure, however, could not be reduced on great social services such as education and housing. The first step to be taken was to put a stop to profligate extravagance. A drastic reduction in the cost of the Army should be made. Referring to Russia, he condemned what he called supplementary adventures which would involve the despatch of British troops for purposes which the British people did not approve, and which in the present condition of finance no Parliament ought to sanction. He did not believe that the country was in any sense bankrupt, nor did he believe that much additional revenue could be raised through indirect taxation. As for nationalisation, it was a red herring. On the question of a capital levy he said there was nothing in principle to differentiate between a tax upon accumulated wealth and a tax upon wealth as it came in. He strongly urged inquiry into the matter, especially with reference to the three questions, whether it could be made equitable in its incidence, whether it could be arranged so as not to discourage savings, and whether it could be brought into working order by practical machinery. If these three questions could be answered affirmatively he knew of no Liberal principle which would be infringed by a capital levy.

Speaking next day, Mr. Asquith insisted that now the war was over there was no longer any reason for the existence of a Coalition Government. The Coalition, he said, was under sentence of death. Liberalism stood for disarmament, for the recognition of small States as well as great, and for the principle of self-determination. Referring to the House of Lords, he agreed that its present constitution could not be justified. He thought that a much smaller Chamber should be substituted for it in which nominations might be given to distinguished public servants in non-political spheres. He thought, however, that to the extent of at least two-thirds it should be elected. Mr. Asquith defended devolution on the ground that it provided the only solution of the present congestion of Parliament. He welcomed the development of the principle of calling the Dominion Prime Ministers into conference, but he was not in favour of the scheme for the creation of an Imperial Parliament in which the Dominions would be immediately and directly represented. As regards the Peace Conference, he said that he was sure it would be quite impossible to carry out its terms. During the fight in this bye-election Mr. Asquith continued to lay down a programme of Liberal policy, addressing his speeches as much to the country as a whole as to the electors of Paisley. The further course of the bye-election will be referred to later.

Among other political speeches during January was one by Mr. Arthur Balfour at a banquet given by the City of London Conservative and Unionist Association on January 22. Referring to the Peace Treaty, Mr. Balfour admitted that peace, while it had brought with it many blessings, had not yet brought all that had been hoped or that might have been expected. He did not think that was the fault of the conference at Paris. The unhappiness of the world was not dependent upon kings, ministers, politicians, and writers, but upon the weaknesses, vanities, and prejudices of ordinary men and women. This could not be cured merely by a readjustment of frontiers, but only by producing a more reasonable frame of mind in the democracies of the world. Mr. Balfour defended the Coalition Government, insisting that it was the Government which the country wanted at the present time. He agreed that a Coalition Government was very difficult to work since there were two organisations in one party, and sometimes friction must ensue. He repudiated the suggestion that a Coalition Government meant a perpetual sacrifice by one or both parties of the principles for which they existed. In all the Coalition Governments to which he had belonged the differences of opinion which naturally arose had never followed party cleavage. What was wanted was community of action in a great crisis. If Europe was looked at as a whole we were still almost crushed by the burden of war, and he could not conceive conditions under which it was more necessary for all men of moderation to act together conscientiously and firmly.

Mr. Chamberlain spoke the same day at Birmingham on questions of finance. He pointed out that every belligerent was burdened with an immense load of debt, and that there had been a vast inflation of credit on account of the needs of borrowing Governments in a struggle for national life. No expedients, he said, however ingenious, could relieve us of the necessity for a long course of careful economy in national and personal expenditure. Our first task must be, therefore, to stop all new borrowing on Revenue account. Our national debt had reached its maximum; our next object should be to stop the inflation of currency by stopping the creation of new debt. We should then have to consider the funding of our large floating debt, thus removing the cloud of uncertainty which at present hung over commercial and financial centres. He pointed out that trade was prosperous and that the adverse balance of trade was being rapidly reduced. The most anxious problem was that caused by our external debt. Its reduction was an object of first importance, to achieve which the export trade must be increased and the imports restricted to the narrowest limits. With increased production and economical consumption he thought that in a few years' time there would no longer be any occasion for anxiety.

At the end of the month Mr. Churchill, Secretary of State for War, outlined the scheme of the Government for reorganising the Territorial Force. Speaking at the London County Council Offices in Spring Gardens, he said that the Territorial Force was to become a Territorial Army. The war establishment would be approximately 345,000, of whom in the first instance only 60 per cent. would be recruited. As a result of the war there was no longer any danger of invasion, and a Territorial Force was not required for home defence. The Territorial Army was wanted for service overseas in great and supreme emergencies, but it could only be sent overseas by the passing of a special Act of Parliament authorising its despatch. The Territorial Army would go to the aid of the Regular Army and its Reserves, but it would be self-supporting and self-contained. It would not supply drafts to reinforce the Regular Army. Its fourteen Infantry Divisions would be trained as units and fight as units. Recruiting would begin on February 16, the terms of enlistment being three years for trained men and four years for all others. Men would be accepted who were fit for general service and between the ages of eighteen and thirty-eight. For the annual fifteen days' training in camp full army rates of pay and separation allowance would be granted. There would be an annual bounty of 5*l.* to trained men and 4*l.* to recruits who kept fifty drills in addition to firing the annual musketry course and attending camp for the full period. Of the existing fifty-five regiments of Yeomanry Cavalry, ten or twelve would form a Cavalry Division, and a certain number would be kept with the same liability for overseas service as

the King Edward's Horse. The remainder would be required for Field and Mountain Artillery and Motor Machine-Gun Corps.

Throughout the year the state of Ireland was completely deplorable and caused far more anxiety than had ever been known before in the history of that unfortunate country. The history of Ireland during the year is, indeed, mainly the recital of a succession of crimes instigated by Sinn Fein for the purpose of making government impossible. At the beginning of the year there were numerous raids by armed men on Post Offices with the object of securing money. On January 1 a daring theft of this kind was successfully carried out at the Central Post Office of Limerick. A considerable sum of money was stolen by armed men, and the police were unable to trace either the robbers or their booty. Twenty men took part in it, and having posted sentries at the doors, proceeded to hold up the officials in different parts of the building. It was estimated that between 2,000*l.* and 4,000*l.* were secured by the raiders. On January 3 an attack was made on a police barracks eight miles from the City of Cork. Three hundred armed men took part in the attack and fired upon the barracks, which were defended by a sergeant and five constables. Ultimately the raiders threw a bomb and, rushing in through the breach so caused, they captured and handcuffed the defenders. The raiders then made off with all the arms, ammunition, and accoutrements.

Attacks on the police were one of the main principles of Sinn Fein policy. On January 3 a constable of the Royal Irish Constabulary was shot at and wounded in County Kerry, while on the same day other attacks were made in County Clare in which the police defended themselves with hand grenades. Some sensation was caused on January 7 by the announcement of the dismissal of Sir Joseph Byrne, the Inspector-General of the Royal Irish Constabulary. It was on all hands admitted that he had been a very efficient head of the Constabulary, and his sudden dismissal caused general surprise. At meetings of sergeants and constables of the Royal Irish Constabulary resolutions were passed regretting the relinquishment by Sir Joseph Byrne of the post of Inspector-General, and viewing with alarm the removal of their chief. Meanwhile a reign of terror gradually became established in Ireland. On January 9 Mr. Alexander Sullivan, one of the leaders of the Irish Bar, narrowly escaped assassination at Tralee in County Kerry. His political views were strongly Nationalist, and his only offence appears to have been that he denounced political crime and called on the leaders of the people to discourage and repudiate it. His would-be assassins called at the house where he was in the evening, and after firing five or six shots—none of which struck him—ran out of the house and disappeared in the darkness.



A more successful crime was committed in Dublin on January 21. Mr. W. C. F. Redmond, Deputy Assistant Commissioner of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, was walking in Hertford Street, one of the main streets of the city, between 6 and 7 o'clock when two shots were fired at him, and he died a few minutes later. The assailants, as usual, escaped. On the 20th serious disorders took place at Thurles, in which soldiers and policemen, enraged by the shooting of a constable, marched through the streets firing at the houses. A return, issued at this time from the Chief Secretary's office giving figures of outrages attributed to Sinn Fein between May 1, 1916, and December 31, 1919, showed a total of 1,529 offences, made up of 18 murders, 77 armed attacks, numerous assaults on policemen and civilians, 20 raids for arms and ammunition, 70 incendiary fires, and 210 threatening letters. On the 25th a proclamation was issued from Dublin Castle offering a reward of 10,000*l.* for information which might lead to the conviction of persons guilty of the murders of police officers. The proclamation, however, had little effect. That same evening Murroe police barracks were attacked by a party of men estimated to number about forty. The police defended themselves behind the barrack windows, and ultimately a relieving force arrived and rescued them. Outrages of a more brutal character were also perpetrated, as, for instance, in County Kerry, where a party of masked men forced their way into a farmer's house and cut off his ears with a pair of shears. Towards the end of January a further attack was made on Sergeant Sullivan when he was travelling by train, but once again he fortunately escaped injury.

On January 30 Mr. Walter Long addressed a meeting at Trowbridge on the Irish policy of the Government. He replied in particular to the criticism that the repressive policy of the Government was the cause of the present trouble in that country. He pointed out that it was plain to every one that a hideous conspiracy existed in Ireland to murder men who were simply doing their duty. It was the business of the Irish Government to stamp out that conspiracy and to bring the criminals to justice. He therefore could not see any justification for the attacks made on the Irish Government. Their policy was to put an end to the conspiracy of murder, and to call for the support of every one to that end. The Government were about to place before Parliament proposals to deal with the government of Ireland, but he felt that whatever proposals might be made they would be certain to be condemned in Ireland for totally different reasons, and the Government were therefore under no delusions as to the reception their proposals would be likely to meet. The Government scheme was so constructed as to be absolutely consistent with a federal system. It would give the Irish people the opportunity to come together and form a single Parliament or, if they preferred, two Parliaments. He appealed to the Irish people not to repudiate the

Bill from the start, but to make up their minds to make the best of it they could. In that case it might be possible to make it a success.

On the last day of January a large number of arrests were made among Sinn Feiners. The preparations for this move on the part of the Government were kept very secret, and the arrests were carried out simultaneously in the early hours of the morning by soldiers and police. In all about fifty-eight arrests were made, eight of which were in Dublin. Two members of Parliament were included, namely, R. C. Barton and Joseph McGrath. On the same night another policeman was shot in Limerick, and this led to an attack by a crowd of civilians on a military patrol, with the result that the soldiers returned the fire and one man was killed and a number of people were injured.

On February 11 a large meeting was held at the Albert Hall in London arranged by the Irish Self-Determination League of Great Britain to demand recognition of the Irish Republic. Mr. A. O'Brien, the Chairman, addressed the immense audience as fellow exiles. He said that the eventual recognition of the Irish Republic was a certainty, and that the only nation opposed to recognition was England. A resolution was submitted by Mr. P. J. Kelly demanding the recognition of the Irish Republic, and the immediate release of the Irishmen who had recently been deported and imprisoned. Mr. Arthur Griffith declared that the Irish Republic was already in existence and was sanctioned by 80 per cent. of the Irish people. He said that the English Army of Occupation in Ireland used every instrument of terror against the expressed will of the Irish people. The Army raided the houses of inoffensive citizens by night, destroyed their property, and dragged many to gaol. Ireland would always be hostile to England so long as she was ruled by force, and if England wanted to get rid of an enemy on her flank she must recognise the Irish race and leave them to carry on their own government. The Albert Hall was so crowded on this occasion that an overflow meeting had to be held outside.

On the day of this meeting another outrage was committed in Dublin of a more daring character than any previously attempted. An Army motor lorry, containing several soldiers, was stopped in the middle of the day in Berkeley Road and was searched by a party of armed men. It was believed that the raiders expected to find in it Mr. R. C. Barton, M.P., who had been tried by Court Martial during the morning. In this expectation, however, they were disappointed, and the lorry was then permitted to drive away. Day after day new outrages continued to be reported from different parts of Ireland. On February 13 it was announced that two constables of the Royal Irish Constabulary had been attacked in the main street of Rathdrum, County Wicklow, by a number of men who fired

shots. One of them was wounded and the police, in returning the fire, also shot dead a business man of the village. On that morning further raids were carried out on the houses of Sinn Feiners in Dublin and eight men were arrested. At the same time mail bags sent out from the G.P.O., Dublin, containing Old Age Pension money, were robbed and the whole of the money lost. On February 14 twenty men attacked the police barracks at Ballytrain, County Monaghan, having previously barricaded the roads and cut the telegraph wires. There were in the station two sergeants and four constables who put up a gallant defence. After about three hours' fighting the raiders blew the gable out of the station with bombs, rushed through the breach, overwhelmed the garrison, and carried away all the arms and ammunition. Several of the police were injured. Reports were also received that the wife of a farmer in County Wexford had been shot through the heart, and that a signal-man in Dublin had been shot in his signal box. These raids were, however, not always successful. In one attack on a house at Cork for the purpose of obtaining money and arms, the intended victim shot dead the leader of the gang and put the rest to flight. An attack made at the same time on a police barrack in County Cork was driven off by the police, who wounded and captured one of the raiders. On February 20 a constable was murdered in Grafton Street, Dublin. The incident was but one of several that occurred within a few hours in which armed men fired upon police patrols. In this case seven men were promptly arrested, and a fresh order was issued under the Defence of the Realm regulations requiring every person within the Dublin Metropolitan Police district to remain within doors between the hours of 12 midnight and 5 A.M. unless provided with a permit in writing from the competent military authority or some person duly authorised by him. This order was vigorously attacked in the Nationalist Press, the newspapers pointing out that it would inflict much inconvenience in disorganising many entertainments. Nevertheless attacks on the police and raids on property had become so common that the citizens as a whole seemed to regard the order as necessary. Mr. R. C. Barton, the Sinn Fein M.P. for West Wicklow, whose arrest we have already referred to, was tried by Court Martial in Dublin on February 11 on a charge of having committed acts calculated to cause sedition among the civil population by inciting meetings to take reprisals on the Lord Lieutenant if a certain prisoner should die in gaol or be injured in his health. He was found guilty and sentenced to three years' penal servitude.

The bye-election at Paisley was the chief subject of political interest during the first half of February. Mr. Asquith, in his speeches, continued to sketch out his programme of Liberal policy. He expressed the view that now that the Franchise had been conceded to women, there ought to be a complete

opening of all callings, professions, and trades (including the Civil Service) to women on the same terms as men. On the subject of peace Mr. Asquith, in his election address, stated that it was the duty of Liberalism to ask for the assertion of the authority of the League of Nations, so that it might secure at once progressive disarmament and effectually remove the causes of future strife. One of the first tasks of the League, he considered, should be the review of the territorial clauses of the Treaties made in Paris, and he expressed the opinion that the Governments of the world should, without delay, summon an International Economic Conference, in which all States affected by the consequences of the war—allied neutrals or enemies—should be invited to take part. On the question of Ireland, he laid down the proposition that the only real security for order and contentment was to be found in the immediate grant of self-government in the fullest sense. He added that the Irish problem was only one aspect of a wider question. The Empire, as a whole, suffered from the fact that Parliament was congested with local business, and relief could only be found in devolution. He favoured a national minimum both as regards wages and hours of labour, and while resisting nationalisation of the mines, advocated the acquisition of mineral rights by the State.

Mr. Asquith's chief opponent was Mr. Biggar, who described himself as a co-operative candidate, and demanded nationalisation of the mines, nationalisation of transport, including the railways, and nationalisation of land. Under the heading of finance he advocated a Capital Levy, and the raising of national revenue by a single tax on income. The housing policy, he considered, should be based on the requirements of the people rather than on economic rents, on the grounds that each family, irrespective of its income, should have a healthy and comfortable home. His programme also included the right to live, with full maintenance, for unemployed men and women; Old Age Pensions of 1*l.* a week at the age of sixty-five; the abolition of conscription; complete withdrawal of all military troops from Russia, and the stoppage of military supplies which fostered civil war in that country.

The nominations took place on February 3. In addition to Mr. Asquith and Mr. Biggar, the Labour candidate, Mr. J. A. D. MacKean was nominated as a Unionist candidate and received a letter of support from Mr. Bonar Law. It was believed that Mr. Biggar was assured of the Irish support, and large numbers of demobilised soldiers who had been absorbed into the Army under the Military Service Acts were counted upon for giving a Labour vote. On February 6 Mr. Asquith addressed the largest meeting of the campaign in Paisley Town Hall. He insisted that the new frontiers drawn by the Paris Conference must in many cases—and particularly in Central and Eastern Europe—be purely provisional; that the new States which were being brought into existence in the area of what was the

Austro-Hungarian Empire, ought to be treated for fiscal and commercial purposes as a single economic unit, and that the future of Russia dominated and overshadowed the whole of the scene from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Dealing with the war indemnity, he said that he believed that after making proper allowance for what was needed to restart German industrial life, 2,000,000,000*l.* was about the outside that could be got from Germany.

Polling took place on February 12, and the final speeches of the three candidates on the previous night were listened to by at least 12,000 people. In all, during the campaign, the candidates had addressed over 200 meetings, and the greatest excitement had been manifested throughout. The result was announced on February 25. Mr. Asquith received 14,736 votes against 11,902 cast for Mr. Biggar and 3,795 for Mr. MacKean. Mr. Asquith was therefore elected by a majority of 2,834 over the Labour candidate and 10,941 over the Coalition Unionist. At the General Election in December, 1918, the Liberal majority had only been 106, so that the result was acclaimed as a great triumph for the Liberal Party. Paisley was the eighth seat lost by the Coalition during the ~~fourteen~~ months which had passed since the General Election. The most dramatic feature of the election was the crushing defeat of Mr. MacKean, the Coalition candidate. As he did not secure one-eighth of the total votes recorded he was under the necessity of forfeiting the 150*l.* deposited by him on nomination. Throughout the country the return of Mr. Asquith to the House of Commons was widely welcomed by men of all views.

The resignation of Mr. Barnes from the Government was quickly followed by that of Mr. George Roberts, the Food Controller, early in February. This resignation virtually terminated the association of organised labour with the Coalition. As in the case of Mr. Barnes there was no specific cause of disagreement between Mr. Roberts and his colleagues, and the Prime Minister urged him to remain in office at least for some further period. Mr. Roberts, however, stood firm by his determination to resign. He retained his seat for Norwich, and did not seek to rejoin the Labour Party.

On February 5 the Executive of the Miners' Federation waited on the Prime Minister as arranged the previous week, and although the proceedings were not published, it was understood that Mr. Lloyd George informed the deputation that the Government was not prepared to adopt the majority report of the Coal Commission on nationalisation. Thereupon the Executive summoned a special Trades Union Congress to consider what action should be taken. The question of nationalisation of the mines was, indeed, one of the first questions to be discussed on the opening of Parliament. Mr. Brace moved an amendment to the address regretting the absence from the King's speech of any proposal to nationalise the coal mines of

the country on the lines recommended by the Royal Commission. Mr. Lloyd George then took the opportunity of pointing out that under private ownership in thirty years prior to the war the output was raised from 128,000,000 tons to 288,000,000 tons, and declared that to hand over the control of the mines to the Miners' Federation, leaving the industry without any of the restrictions which came from conflicting interests, would be a grave disaster to the national well-being. The amendment was ultimately negatived by a majority of 265. Three days later the text of the Coal Mines (Emergency) Bill was issued. The Bill provided for the continuance of the system of aggregating the profits of all the undertakings and distributing the total amount among them. A guarantee was given to the industry that the sum so distributed should be at least equal to nine-tenths of the pre-war standard of profits. If it fell short of the nine-tenths the deficiency would be made up by the Coal Controller, in so far as the falling short was proved to have been caused by any regulation of the Controller or the Board of Trade issued after January 1, 1920. If the total profits, on the other hand, exceeded the pre-war standard, an amount equal to the pre-war standard was to be distributed plus one-tenth of the excess. The extra wages paid to pit-head workers since January 9, 1919, were continued. The second reading of the Bill was moved by Mr. Bridgeman on February 17. He explained that the Bill was the first of two, and was introduced to provide a method of dealing with finance until the close of the financial year in March, and until August 31 next when the coal control agreement would come to an end. Its main provisions were: to continue the Sankey wage and treat it as a working expense of the industry; to provide for the interest on increased capital, in order to encourage the development of the mines; and to provide a better plan of distributing the profits. Mr. Adamson pointed out that it only arranged for a system of pooling up to the end of August, and that it provided for a very substantial increase in the profits of coal owners. Mr. Hartshorn declared that the Bill wiped out the only existing machinery for carrying on the coal industry without supplying a definite policy for the future. An amendment for the rejection of the Bill was, however, rejected by a majority of 218, and the second reading was then carried. Discontent among the miners continued to be widespread, and on February 21, at a mass meeting of Rhondda Valley miners, 30,000 men determined to cease work as a protest against cases of alleged victimisation.

An important political speech was made by Mr. Winston Churchill to his constituents at Dundee on February 14. Dealing with the Bolshevik menace in Europe and Asia, he said that he had never believed in sending British troops to Russia, and he had been responsible for withdrawing troops who were in Russia. Short of sending British troops, he had done every-

thing in his power to help the loyal anti-Bolshevist forces. He expressed his profound conviction that the great allied Powers would learn to regret the fact that they had not been able to take a more decided and more united action to crush the Bolshevik peril at its heart and centre before it had grown too strong. Our interest had been to try and secure a government in Russia which would not throw itself into the hands of Germany. It was also in our interest not to drive Germany into the arms of Russia. What surprised him was that the Labour Party should still be in love with these Bolshevik autocrats. The simpletons of the Socialist Party, he said, go and bow down and chant hymns and burn incense before the Russian idol. Referring to the bye-election at Paisley, Mr. Churchill said that he would much rather see Mr. Asquith returned to the House of Commons than his Socialist opponent. He did not believe that there was room for an effective political party between the forces now forming the Coalition and those gathered under the standards of Socialism. If Liberals broke up the existing Government and settled down to fight the Unionists, the Labour or Socialist Party would come into power. They would come into power at a period when they were quite unfitted to discharge the responsibilities of government, and when through their incompetence and their erroneous doctrines they would shatter the reviving prosperity of the country, and cast away the Empire which British genius had built up.

The new session of Parliament was opened on February 10 by the King, accompanied by the Queen. The King's speech began with reference to the final ratifications of the Peace Treaty with Germany, and the announcement that the state of war having been now concluded a representative had been despatched to Berlin to act as *Chargé d'Affaires* in that capital. The treaties of peace which had been signed with Austria and Bulgaria were shortly to be ratified, and it was hoped that peace would be concluded with Hungary and Turkey at an early date. Meetings between the representatives of the great associated Powers had recently taken place in London and Paris, and had confirmed the excellent relations existing with all our Allies. In order, however, to assure the full blessings of peace and prosperity to Europe it was essential that not only peace, but normal conditions of economic life, should be restored in Eastern Europe and in Russia. So long as these vast regions withheld their full contribution to the stock of commodities available for general consumption, the cost of living could hardly be reduced nor general prosperity restored to the world. The King then referred to the impending visit of the Prince of Wales to Australia and New Zealand. Turning to home affairs, the King's speech remarked on the unprecedented difficulty of the problems presented by the transition from war to peace. The price of food-stuffs and other necessary commodities was causing anxiety to all the peoples of the world, but prices in these

Islands were appreciably lower than they were elsewhere. If we were to ensure lasting progress, prosperity, and social peace, all classes must continue to throw themselves into the work of reconstruction with goodwill for others, with energy and with patience, and legislation, providing for large and far-reaching measures of reform, must be passed into law. The first Bill referred to in the King's speech was the Home Rule Bill for Ireland, the condition of which country was a cause of grave concern. A Bill for the promotion of Education in Ireland was also announced. In connexion with the coal-mining industry an emergency measure was to be proposed to adjust the financial arrangements of the collieries to meet the abnormal economic conditions prevailing in the industry. Proposals were also to be made for the acquisition of coal royalties by the State, for the improvement of conditions in mining areas, and for the future ordering of the industry in the best interests of the community as a whole. Another Bill announced in the King's speech was one for developing a suitable system for the peacetime regulation of the sale and supply of alcoholic liquor. Measures, further, were to be taken to stimulate and develop the production of essential food-stuffs within the United Kingdom, seeing that the population of these Islands was still dangerously dependent upon supplies of food from overseas. A Bill was also to be introduced to encourage and develop the fishing industry. Other Bills foreshadowed in the speech were one for the organisation of the Regular and Territorial Armies; one for insurance against unemployment; the regulation of hours of employment; the establishment of a minimum rate of wage, and the amendment of the Health Insurance Acts. Bills were also to be introduced providing against the injury to national industries from dumping, and for the creation of an adequate supply of cheap electrical and water power. Finally, proposals were to be made in the course of the new session for effecting the reform of the Second Chamber, and the hope was expressed that there would be sufficient time to pass these proposals into law.

The address to the King was moved by Lieut.-Colonel S. Peel and seconded by Mr. Woolcock. In the course of the debate Mr. Adamson demanded a drastic measure to deal with profiteering, and Sir Donald Maclean urged the necessity for national and individual economy. Mr. Lloyd George declared, on the subject of Ireland, that it was impossible at the moment to propose anything which would be acceptable to the majority of the Irish people. All the Government could do was to advance proposals which seemed right and just. As to our Russian policy, he said, we had failed to restore Russia to sanity by force, but we hoped to do so by trade.

On February 12 an amendment to the address was moved by Mr. G. Thorne, regretting that the "impracticability of the fulfilment by our late enemies of many of the terms of the



Peace Treaties" had not been recognised, and that the restoration of settled conditions in Europe and the Near East was still delayed. Mr. Balfour, in reply, pointed out the carefully devised elasticity of the terms of the treaty with Germany as regarded her payments to the Allies, and stated that our list of war criminals included nobody who did an illegal act because he was ordered to do it and did not go beyond his orders. The amendment was ultimately negatived by a majority of 194.

Next day another amendment was moved by Sir A. Steel-Maitland regretting that the expenditure of the Government had been allowed to continue at so high a rate. In the course of the debate which followed Sir Donald Maclean advocated the reappointment of the Committee on Estimates. Sir Edward Carson declared that it was the House of Commons which compelled the Government to go on with the expenditure, and Mr. J. H. Thomas deprecated any reduction upon education, housing, and pensions. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that if the general sense of the House were effectively in favour of economy it would greatly strengthen the hands of the Government. The amendment was then negatived by a majority of 144, and after the closure had been carried the address was agreed to.

One of the first Bills to be dealt with in the new session was the War Emergency Laws (Continuance) Bill. The second reading was moved by the Attorney-General on February 16. He explained that there had been many omissions from the corresponding Bill of the previous year because many regulations had now ceased to be necessary. In reply to Mr. T. P. O'Connor—who declared that the main purpose of the Bill was to continue the coercion of Ireland—it was pointed out that, although the Government asked that the regulations should be continued in Ireland for twelve months, they also took power to revoke any of them which were found to be unnecessary. A number of amendments were moved and rejected; one was agreed to, however, on the motion of Sir R. Horne, making it clear that the power to take possession of land and buildings for the purpose of the Pensions Act was extended to the Ministry of Labour, to which had been transferred the duties of the Ministry of Pensions in connexion with the training of disabled soldiers. The Bill was read a third time and passed on March 4.

The shortage of houses gave rise to a motion by Major Lloyd-Graeme, on February 17, expressing apprehension at the slow rate of progress in the building of houses under the Housing and Town Planning Acts. Dr. Addison pointed out the difficulties to be overcome in the way of shortage of material, transport, labour, and money. The Ministry of Health, he said, had now approved plans for 107,000 houses. It was proposed to take off one-third of the rent as excess war costs, and a scheme had been devised for amalgamating areas for the purpose of local Housing Bonds.

An important debate took place on February 23 on the future of the Army, when Mr. Churchill moved a vote on account for 75,000,000*l.*, representing provision for between four and five months' expenditure on the Army in the period when disbursements would be heaviest. In the course of his speech Mr. Churchill announced that on March 31 conscription would come to an end. We had succeeded in raising a volunteer army which on that date would number about 220,000 men, inclusive of those serving in India. Before the war we had an Army of approximately 175,000 men, and the present increase in numbers was due to temporary responsibilities on the Rhine, in Egypt and Persia, and at Constantinople, and to permanent responsibilities in Palestine and Mesopotamia. The 35,000 effectives kept in Ireland at present did not involve extra expense. The expenditure on what might be called winding up the war would be about 29,500,000*l.*, and the cost of the Army itself would be in an ordinary year 63,000,000*l.*, but this year would only be about 55,000,000*l.* because there were large stocks of clothing, equipment, and munitions which would probably last two years. In pre-war days the cost of the Army had been very much less, but prices had increased until the military *l.* was now worth 8*s.* 10*d.*, and 63,000,000*l.* was really less than the 28,000,000*l.* of 1914. It was proposed to increase the Air Force at the expense of the Navy and the Army as it became more capable of discharging the day-to-day duties such as were now discharged by the Navy and Army, and in proportion to its ability to give us the assurance that in an emergency it would afford us the solid foundation for our safety. A sensible economy would be effected in this way. Tanks were also undergoing great improvements.

The Home Rule Bill was introduced on February 25. It turned out to be a long Bill, running to seventy clauses and six schedules. It provided for the establishment of two Irish Parliaments, and of a Council of Ireland "with a view to bringing about harmonious action between the Parliaments and Governments of Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland." Northern Ireland, for the purposes of the Bill, consisted of the six North-Eastern Ulster counties. The Council of Ireland was to consist, in the first instance, of a President appointed by the King, and of delegations of twenty members of each of the two Irish Parliaments. It was provided that the constitution of the Council of Ireland might afterwards be varied by the two Irish Parliaments which might provide for its being elected by Parliamentary electors. The most important part of the Bill was Clause 3, which gave the two Irish Parliaments power to establish, in place of the Council of Ireland, a Parliament for the whole of Ireland consisting of one or two Houses. The two Parliaments were each to consist of a single Chamber called the House of Commons. Besides certain well-understood limitations of legislative powers both Parliaments were expressly

prohibited from making laws interfering with religious equality. The executive power in the two Irish areas was to continue vested in the King, who might delegate his authority to the Lord-Lieutenant. It was provided that no person should be a Minister of either area unless he was a member of the Irish Privy Council. Further, no person was to hold office as a Minister for a longer period than six months unless he was a member of the House of Commons of the area in question. The Ministers were to be called the Executive Committee of Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland respectively. The two Parliaments might delegate to the Council of Ireland any of their powers. There was to be a session of each Parliament once at least in each year. The House of Commons of Southern Ireland was to consist of 128 members, and that of Northern Ireland of 52 members. The members were to be elected by the same electors as members returned to serve in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and General Elections would be conducted on the principle of proportional representation. The life of each House of Commons would be five years, and Peers were not to be disqualified from being members of either Parliament. The number of members to be returned by Irish constituencies to serve in the Parliament of the United Kingdom was to be 42.

The financial clauses provided that 56 per cent. of the Irish contribution to Imperial expenditure so long as it remained at the rate of 18,000,000*l.* a year, should be apportioned to Southern Ireland, and 44 per cent. to Northern Ireland. Thereafter a Joint Exchequer Board should make such apportionment as might correspond to the relative taxable capacities of the two areas. There were provisions against the payment of double Stamp and Death Duty in Great Britain and in either of the Irish areas. As regards the Lord-Lieutenant, the office was to be independent of religious belief, and was to continue normally for six years. The legal clauses provided for a separate judiciary in each area with a High Court of Appeal for the whole of Ireland. Special provision was made to secure the existing rights of the University of Dublin, Trinity College, Dublin, and of the Queen's University of Belfast. The Act was to come into operation eight months after it became law, and the two Parliaments were to be summoned to meet not later than four months afterwards.

The reception of the Home Rule Bill by Southern and Western Ireland was entirely unfavourable. The Nationalist Press made no serious attempt to analyse its provisions, but took up an attitude of contemptuous rejection towards the Bill. The *Freeman's Journal* described it as a scheme for the "plunder and partition of Ireland," and as "a betrayal of every principle that was ever professed regarding democracy and nationality by its author [Mr. Lloyd George]." The Southern Unionist Press also condemned the Bill, taking the

view that it would fix the whole country in a state of arrested development saddled with all the cumbrous and costly machinery of double staffs for every public service of a small island. The Republican Party was, of course, wholly hostile, while the Ulster Unionists for the time being reserved their judgment.

On February 25 the Government suffered a defeat in the House of Commons on an unimportant motion. Sir J. Remnant moved to increase the pensions of police officers and men to such an extent as would meet the increased cost of living. The motion was seconded by Captain Loseby, and opposed on behalf of the Government by Mr. Shortt, who pointed out that the question not only affected the police but all kinds of public servants. He asked the House to think also of the addition to the rates that would be involved, and the increasing burden of taxation that was falling upon small fixed incomes. He did not dispute the fact of hardship in the case of pensioners, but only denied that their case was any harder than those of people with small fixed incomes. It was of little use aiming at economy if the Government were forced to enter into new expenditure on all sides. When the division was taken the motion was carried by 123 votes against 57, the majority against the Government being 66. The sequel to this incident was the appointment of a Committee to consider whether any steps could be taken to relieve exceptional cases of hardship among public pensioners.

Among the Government Bills introduced during February was the Unemployment Insurance Bill, the second reading of which was moved by Sir Robert Horne on February 25. He explained that the object of the Bill was to extend compulsory insurance for unemployment, which under the Act of 1911 only embraced three industries, to include all trades. This would bring the number of working people insured to about 12,000,000. Agriculture and domestic service were not included, and the Bill did not apply to Ireland, except that those already insured in Ireland would get the new benefit instead of the old. Workmen would pay 3*d.* per week instead of 2½*d.* as under the original scheme; women 2½*d.*; boys and girls would pay 2*d.* and 1½*d.* each. The benefits would be 15*s.* for men; 12*s.* for women, and so on. The State would make an extra contribution under the present scheme of 2,500,000*l.* Workmen would be entitled to one week's benefit for every six contributions, and the Trade Union to which a man belonged was now to receive from the State 5 per cent. of the amount of benefit paid out in respect of administration expenses.

Mr. G. Locker-Lampson moved that the House should refuse to set up new machinery for the purposes of the Bill entailing heavy expenditure, and that the work should be done by the National Health Insurance administration. The Bill was, however, read a second time and referred to a Standing Committee.

On February 27 the second reading was carried of a new Franchise Bill. Mr. Grundy, who introduced it, explained that the object of the Bill was to confer the franchise on women on exactly the same terms as men by reducing the age of thirty years for women to twenty-one years; by abolishing the occupational qualification, and the qualification of women as wives of Local Government electors; and to place the whole franchise for both sexes, and for Parliamentary and Local Government purposes, on the single basis of residence, with the exception of University electors. It also remedied an injustice done to naval and military voters, and it provided that a voter should only have one vote.

Dr. Addison said that the Bill would increase the electorate by 5,000,000 persons, and would mean a majority of perhaps 500,000 women voters over men. In allowing only a residential vote it would remove from the register about 159,000 persons who possessed the business qualification, and would enormously increase the Local Government electorate. It would also add between 300,000*l.* and 400,000*l.* a year to the cost of preparing the register of voters. The Cabinet had already decided that sailors and soldiers under twenty-one should not lose their vote by demobilisation. The matter was, however, left to the free decision of the House, which carried the second reading by a majority of eighty-four.

The decision arrived at by the Peace Conference with respect to Constantinople gave rise to a motion for the adjournment of the House on February 26, when Mr. Lloyd George took the opportunity to make a statement on the matter. He said that it had originally been settled that Russia should have Constantinople, but the Russian revolution put an end to this plan. In January, 1918, it was declared, after full consultation with all parties, that we did not intend to deprive Turkey of her capital, or of those lands in Asia Minor which were predominantly Turkish in race, but that the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea would be internationalised and neutralised. This statement was made at that time to reassure our own people as to what we were fighting for, and especially the Mohammedan population of India. To this pledge, he said, we should keep. Turkey would retain Constantinople but be deprived of more than half her Empire, and her fortifications on the Straits would be dismantled. The Allies would garrison the Dardanelles and, if necessary, the Bosphorus with the assistance of the Navy. The watch thus kept on Constantinople would be the best safeguard for the Armenians and the other Christian minorities under the Turk. The debate was continued by a number of members and had not concluded when the House adjourned at 11 o'clock.

Much interest was taken during February in an attempted flight by aeroplane from Cairo to Cape Town. The flight was organised by *The Times*, on whose behalf Dr. P. Chalmers

Mitchell was sent as passenger and observer. He carried with him an autograph letter from the King to the Governor of South Africa, and was to make scientific observations during the course of his journey. The Vickers-Vimy aeroplane, in which the flight was carried out, arrived at Cairo on February 3. A few days later another aeroplane set forth on the same attempt under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Van Ryneveld, a South African Dutchman. This aeroplane, which had been named the "Silver Queen," carried copies of *The Times* addressed to various leading people in South Africa.

*The Times* aeroplane left Cairo on February 6. Jebelein was reached on February 10, but owing to engine trouble the airmen were unable to leave until the 14th. A longer stay was necessary at Mongalla on the southern border of the Sudan, which was not left till February 20. Victoria Nyanza was reached on the 23rd, and the Equator crossed the following day. On the 26th the machine arrived at Tabora, and here an accident befell it which caused the attempt to be abandoned. The aeroplane was rising to continue its journey from Tabora when it fell among the scrub and ant hills surrounding the aerodrome and was badly damaged, though the passengers were little hurt. Throughout the journey there had been continuous trouble with the engines, and this appears to have been the main cause of the failure of the attempt.

The flight of Colonel Van Ryneveld was more successful. The "Silver Queen" left England on February 4, arriving in Cairo on the 9th. On the 11th she crashed at Wadi Halfa and the machine was wrecked, but the engines salved undamaged. The pilots then returned to Cairo and a new start was made from there in an aeroplane called "Silver Queen II" fitted with the engines of "Silver Queen I". The flight began on February 22; Khartoum was reached on the 23rd, and Victoria Nyanza on the 26th. No further incidents of importance occurred until March 6, when "Silver Queen II" crashed a mile from Buluwayo when starting for Pretoria. Colonel Van Ryneveld and his fellow-traveller, Captain Brand, remained at Buluwayo pending the arrival of a new machine from the Cape. In this machine they flew to Pretoria on March 17, and ultimately arrived in Cape Town on the 20th. Telegrams of congratulation were received by Colonel Van Ryneveld from the King, the Secretary of State for War, the Air Council, etc.

The War Emergency Bill passed through the House of Commons early in March, and a number of amendments were moved including one to omit the regulations giving powers to the Food Controller. Mr. McCurdy indicated, however, the difficulties of a complete withdrawal of food control and the amendment was negatived. Other amendments aiming at abolishing a number of the regulations met with a similar fate, and the third reading was taken on March 3. The rejection

of the Bill was then moved by Captain W. Benn, who said that it violated the principles of the Great Charter that no freeman should be imprisoned or deprived of his liberties except by lawful judgment of his Peers or by the law of the land. Various members objected, also, to any form of coercion for Ireland, but Mr. Macpherson, on behalf of the Government, pointed out that Ireland was in rebellion, an armed country, and that law and order must be maintained and the lives of peace-abiding citizens protected. The third reading was then carried by a majority of 239 and the royal assent was given on March 31.

On March 5 Mr. Holmes moved the second reading of the Land Acquisition Bill. He said that the object of the Bill was to fix a price for the acquisition of land by public authorities which would be fair to the owner and to the purchaser, and to simplify the method of valuation so that purchase could be completed without undue delay. It provided that the value of land should be based upon any returns and assessments for taxation made or acquiesced in by the claimant during the preceding three years. The rejection of the Bill was moved by Sir P. Pilditch on the ground that it was unjust and impracticable. The Attorney-General declared that it would be impossible, under the Bill, to arrive at equitable prices except by accident, and the second reading was ultimately lost by a majority of 103.

The necessity for economy caused the Government, early in March, to take steps towards the abolition of the bread subsidy. In reply to a question in the House of Commons from Colonel Newman, Mr. Lloyd George announced that the price of flour would be advanced on March 15 by 19s. 3d. per sack of 280 lb. The control maximum retail price of bread was to be removed on April 12. The effect of these measures would be to reduce the subsidy by approximately 45,000,000*l.*, or one-half the estimated cost to the Exchequer if no change had been made. A few days later Mr. Lloyd George further stated that with regard to the price of the 1920 wheat crop, the Government had decided that the control price of home-grown wheat of sound milling quality harvested in 1920 should be the monthly average price of imported wheat, provided that such price did not exceed 95s. per quarter of 504 lb.

At the beginning of the year the Government reached the conclusion that the time had come for drastic amendments to be made in the Acts relating to National Health Insurance. These changes were embodied in the National Health Insurance Bill which was introduced by Dr. Addison in the House of Commons on the first day of March. Hitherto sickness benefit had been 10s. a week for men and 7s. 6d. for women. The Government proposed, in their Bill, to increase it to 15s. a week for men and 12s. for women. Maternity benefit, which had hitherto been a lump sum of 30s. on confinement, was to be increased to 40s. Disablement benefit, which began after

twenty-six weeks' sickness benefit had been received, was increased from 5s. to 7s. 6d. a week. Sanatorium benefit was taken altogether out of the National Health Insurance Acts. Higher rates of contribution were to be levied to provide a fund for the payment of these increased benefits. The existing scale provided for a contribution of 7d. for men and 6d. for women, 3d. of which was paid by the employer and the remainder by the employed person. Under the new Bill the Government proposed that the employer's contribution should be 5d. a week, the contribution of a male employee 5d., and of a female employee 4d. The State contribution was to remain on its existing proportion of two-ninths of the combined contribution of the employer and the employed person in the case of a man, and one-fourth in the case of a woman. The second reading of this Bill was taken on March 22, when Dr. Addison explained its objects. He said that the reason why sanatorium benefit was to be taken out of the Insurance Act was that the Government proposed to deal, in a comprehensive policy, with the whole problem of tuberculosis. After being read a second time the Bill was referred to a Standing Committee.

The most important of the private Bills discussed during March was the Matrimonial Causes Bill, the second reading of which was moved by Lord Buckmaster in the House of Lords on March 10. In the course of his speech he said that the object of the Bill was to secure that whatever rights a man possessed enabling him to divorce his wife should be enjoyed in absolute equality by the woman. Grounds for divorce would be adultery, desertion for three years, cruelty, habitual insanity after five years, habitual drunkenness after three years, and imprisonment after a commuted death sentence. There would be new grounds for obtaining nullity of marriage, and there would be further protection provided for the clergy of the Church of England.

The rejection of the Bill was moved by Lord Bray. It was also opposed by the Archbishop of York, who believed that its main provisions would tend to weaken the stability of marriage and lower its ideal. Lord Phillimore also protested against any loosening of the marriage tie. The debate was then adjourned and resumed a fortnight later. On its resumption the Lord Chancellor declared that the Church lowered the ideal of marriage by laying too much stress on the physical side, and warmly upheld the provisions of the Bill. The Archbishop of Canterbury expressed his approval of cheaper divorce, equality of sex conditions, and of increased ground of nullity. Lord Coleridge agreed that there should be equality of the sexes, and criticised the existing conditions in regard to restitution suits. The Bill was opposed by Lord Salisbury, but the motion for its rejection was defeated by 93 votes to 45, and the second reading was then carried.

Labour problems were never very long in abeyance, and on



March 11 a Special Trades Union Congress was held at the Central Hall, Westminster, to decide whether the Government should be compelled to agree to the nationalisation of mines either by Trade Union action in the form of a general strike, or by political action in the form of intensive political propaganda in preparation for a General Election. Two important sections of the Congress—the miners and the general workers—met separately on the previous day to decide for which of these policies their votes should be given. The miners resolved to support Trade Union action (direct action), the district vote showing a majority of 178,000. From this it followed that the miners' vote of between 800,000 and 900,000 would, at the Congress, be cast solidly under the block system for a general strike. The Conference of the General Workers' Unions decided, however, almost unanimously against Trade Union action, their votes numbering between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000. It was further announced that the National Union of Railwaymen wielding about 400,000 votes, had decided in favour of political rather than direct action.

When the Congress met, Mr. J. H. Thomas pointed out that the right to strike carried great responsibilities and should not be exercised lightly or impulsively. The future position of our political and Trade Union movements depended, he said, on the decision of the Congress. Political action had not failed; it had never yet been fully tried. The one sane course was to use intelligently the power afforded by the constitution—the most democratic in the world. Mr. Frank Hodges, Secretary of the Miners' Federation, followed Mr. Thomas with the admission that from the point of view of workmen the balance was on the side of political action, but he said that it was not an abstraction they had to deal with but a matter of realities. The miners were the victims of a gigantic political fraud in regard to the acceptance of the Sankey Report. The Parliamentary Institution stood discredited; they had no longer any faith in it. If the Labour Movement could accomplish its ends by direct action was there any reason why they should not attempt it? He said they were engaged in an industry which was marching towards bankruptcy, and they wanted to put it on a sound basis. If there were to be no great movement for nationalisation the miners would be brought back into the vortex of wage claims.

Mr. Tom Shaw, M.P., of the Textile Workers, spoke on the other side. He said that even in the miners' ranks there was a huge minority against direct action. The tide was not flowing towards Mr. Hodges' policy; the people themselves were against it. The only way to success was by good, hard, strenuous work, patient and insistent. Direct action was a hazardous and unmoral precedent, wrong in principle and bound to fail in practice. Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., also expressed his opposition to direct action on the ground that it

was wrong. He said that the Prime Minister would welcome direct action; he was embarrassed, and if they gave him a general strike he would have a General Election in which the country would support him. "Already," said Mr. Clynes, "your arguments have converted some and your threats have disgusted and alienated others." Would any section of the community which thought it was wronged by a Labour Government be entitled to assail that Government by direct action? If they appealed to reason and exercised patience success would be assured.

Voting then took place on each of the alternative policies before the Congress. The motion for Trade Union action, *i.e.*, a general strike, was defeated by a majority of 2,820,000, and the vote for political action was carried by a majority of 2,717,000. The minority on each vote was composed of the miners, the engineers, and a few smaller unions.

Following on these votes of the Trades Union Congress, the miners lost no time in adopting a new policy. The National Conference of delegates from all the coalfields sat in private on March 12, and discussed the recent interview with the Prime Minister regarding the proposals of the Miners' Federation to reduce the price of coal. These proposals having been refused by the Prime Minister, the Committee advised the Conference to make application at once for an advance in wages of 3s. per shift for all members of the Miners' Federation over 16 years of age, and 1s. 6d. for those under that age. By an overwhelming majority the Conference accepted the recommendation and agreed to put forward an application for this advance to date from March 1. The Conference was then adjourned until the 24th. Negotiations on this new claim of the miners were opened between the Government and the Miners' Federation on March 18. The Miners' Executive met the Prime Minister, and Mr. Frank Hodges presented their case. The Prime Minister suggested that the demand was one which, in his opinion, should be examined—at any rate in the first instance—by the Coal Controller, and also by the coal owners. The Federation accordingly agreed to meet the Coal Controller two days later to investigate the claim. The negotiations came to nothing. On the 23rd Mr. Frank Hodges reported that they had been broken off and that the situation was extremely critical. The Executive did not propose to make any definite recommendation to the Delegate Conference on the course of action to be taken. They would merely report the progress of the negotiations and the fact that no agreement had been reached. Offers made by the Government, but rejected by the miners, were for a flat rate advance of 1s. 6d. a shift for men and 6d. for boys, or an increase of 20 per cent. on the gross wages, excluding the war wage and the Sankey wage.

These offers were rejected by the National Delegate Confer-

ence on March 24 after a meeting of only an hour, and a message was sent to the Coal Controller that the full claim would be pressed of 3s. per shift for men and 1s. 6d. for boys to commence from March 1. The Executive thereupon again met the Prime Minister, who made a fresh offer. The new concession of the Government was to increase the boys' rate from an advance of 6d. to 9d. per shift, the increase of 1s. 6d. for adults remaining the same. This, however, was based upon the acceptance of the percentage principle of advance in wages—that is to say, that the Government's offer of an advance of 20 per cent. all round remained, together with a guarantee that no man should have less than the equivalent of 1s. 6d. per day flat rate increase, and no boy should have less than the equivalent of 9d. per day flat rate increase. The effect of the new offer of the Government was to increase wages by more than the 130 per cent. by which the cost of living had risen since 1914. It would cost over 30,000,000*l.* a year. As it was on a percentage basis the Government hoped that it would, by stimulating output, enable the industry to bear the charge, and also to give the public cheaper coal. After more negotiations the Government still further improved their offer, not in regard to the percentage advance which they had proposed, but in regard to the minimum advance which they were willing to guarantee. The final offer of the Government thus amounted to an advance of 20 per cent. on gross earnings, excluding the war wage and the Sankey wage, with a guaranteed minimum of 2s. for adults, 1s. for youths between 16 and 18, and 9d. for boys under 16. This offer represented an average increase of something like 2d. per worker over the preceding offer. On this proposal it was decided to take a ballot of the rank and file of the Miners' Federation as to whether they were prepared to accept it or to strike for the enforcement of the original wage demand of the Federation. The result of the voting was to be announced to a Delegate Conference in London on April 15. We shall refer to it later.

The estimates for the Ministry of Agriculture were dealt with on March 9. Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen explained that the total vote was for 809,800*l.* He said that no more money was wanted but only the authority of Parliament to spend on these services certain savings that had been effected. In land settlement substantial progress had been made; 194,071 acres had been acquired and a sum of 774,790*l.* had been saved by the sale of surplus stocks of machinery.

On the following day the supplementary vote for the Ministry of Transport occasioned a long discussion. Sir Donald Maclean moved a reduction of 100*l.* in respect of salaries, wages, and allowances, declaring that the number of sub-departments, officials, and staff was a gross extravagance which in seven months had cost 180,000*l.* The motion was ultimately rejected. On the supplementary vote for the Ministry of Shipping,

Colonel Wilson explained that the Ministry wished to obtain the authority of Parliament to appropriate a further sum of 19,500,000*l.* The principal cause of the excess of expenditure was the cost of running 240 ships surrendered to Great Britain under the terms of the Armistice, but this expenditure would be repaid. The total surplus receipts over the estimate amounted to 61,000,000*l.*, chiefly due to the high prices realised by the sale of shipping, the earnings of ships, and recoveries from Dominion loans.

A discussion on the cause of high prices was raised on the Civil Service vote on account for 241,040,000*l.* Mr. McCurdy, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food, attributed the principal cause of high prices to the lack of supplies to meet the demand. Profiteering, he said, was another cause. The Ministry of Food had protected the public to some extent against the profiteer by controlling the prices of food-stuffs, and by this and by the control of supplies had kept prices down. Mr. Asquith contributed to the debate, expressing the opinion that increase of output and production was the pressing necessity, and also reduction of expenses in order to lessen our floating debt.

The Navy estimates were brought forward by Mr. Long on March 17. He said that in 1914-15 the strength of the Navy was 151,000. At the time of the Armistice it was 407,317, and it was now proposed to reduce it for 1920-21 to 136,000. The Government, however, adhered to the principle that our Navy should be at least equal in strength to the Navies of other Powers. We still had our two main fleets in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean and various squadrons stationed all over the world. We also found that it helped our trade to send our light cruisers into other waters. Big ships would still form a part of the naval building programme. The naval staff had been remodelled on a much wider basis and was peculiarly efficient. The naval experiments were being conducted under their superintendence. It had been decided that in the interests of economy the training school at Osborne must be given up, and it would be amalgamated with Dartmouth in 1921. Changes were in contemplation which would enable a man who entered the Navy by the Lower Deck to rise to Flag rank. On the following day Major-General Seely moved a hostile amendment. He spoke of the impossibility of co-ordination between the three Services, and asked that the Committee of Defence should be revived with wider powers. Mr. Long opposed any idea of an Executive Ministry of Defence, and in this view he was joined by Mr. Asquith. In the division the amendment only found eighteen supporters.

The national expenditure for 1920-21 was at this time estimated to be nearly 1,200,000,000*l.* Of this total the Army accounted for 125,000,000*l.*, the Navy for 84,000,000*l.*, the Air Force for 21,000,000*l.*, the Civil Services and Revenue Departments for 557,000,000*l.*, the interest on National Debt, etc., for 400,000,000*l.*

An Army debate took place on March 22, on the motion for the estimates for 1920-21. Sir S. Scott and Major-General Sir J. Davidson advocated the setting up of a joint advisory body for both general imperial defence and local defence. On the vote for land forces, Major Barnes moved a reduction of 15,000 men. Mr. Churchill then stated that the Government were taking steps towards spreading education in the Army, and declared that the gradual training of officers at a common staff college was the only way to secure a really satisfactory Committee of Imperial Defence. Meanwhile the Government intended to form a general staff. He also referred to the difficulties of the situation in the Middle East, where the Turkish Nationalists under Mustapha Kemel, certain disturbed areas, and the Bolshevik influence were all causes of anxiety. With regard to Germany, our policy must be, he said, to support a moderate German Government so that the productive energies of the German people might revive. The amendment of Major Barnes was then negatived.

The report of the Royal Commission on the Income Tax was issued as a Blue Book on March 17. The Commission suggested that what had hitherto been called unearned income should in future be known as investment income, and that earned income should be reduced by one-tenth to arrive at the assessable income. From the assessable income should be deducted the allowances for the taxpayer himself, his wife, children, dependents, relatives, etc., in order to arrive at the taxable income. They suggested that this taxable income, where it did not exceed 225*l.*, should be charged at half the standard rate of tax. If the taxable income exceeded 225*l.* the first 225*l.* would be charged at half the standard rate, and the excess over 225*l.* at the full rate. Owing to the deductions made for earned income, and for personal, marital, and family allowances 225*l.* of taxable income would be equivalent to 400*l.* of earned income in the case of a bachelor, to 500*l.* of earned income in the case of a married couple without children, and to 600*l.* of earned income in the case of a married couple with three children. No immediate decision was reached by the Government as to the report of the Commission; the scheme was, however, ultimately adopted later in the year.

In the middle of March a movement was set on foot for the fusion of the Liberal and Unionist wings of the Coalition into a new party. Mr. Lloyd George held a conference with his Liberal colleagues in the Government on March 16, and placed before them the position of the Liberal Party in general, and of the Coalition Liberals in particular, as he saw it. Mr. Lloyd George invited frank discussion on the future of the Coalition, but as one Minister after another expressed his views, it soon became clear that there was strong opposition to the merging of the Coalition Liberals into a new party of a predominantly Unionist character. Several Ministers spoke strongly against

fusion, and particular objection was taken to the adoption of any name from which "Liberal" was excluded. Mr. Churchill warmly urged closer co-operation within the Coalition, and a definite stand against the Labour Party. In the face of this cleavage of opinion the Prime Minister agreed that fusion was a bad word, and said that all he sought was a closer co-operation of the Coalition forces in the constituencies.

Having fortified himself with the opinions of his colleagues, Mr. Lloyd George addressed, on March 18, a meeting of Liberal members of Parliament in the Grand Committee Room at Westminster Hall. He said that the Government had suffered because those who generally took the lead in combating criticism had been absorbed in greater tasks. He had never known a Parliament that had worked so hard, and he believed that in three or four years the country would be restored to its normal prosperity. But he pointed out that no Government could work, especially in trying times, without a majority and an electorate to depend on. Such an electorate must be well informed, and for that an efficient organisation was necessary. Those who said the Coalition was unnecessary were those who opposed it during the war. The withdrawal of Liberal votes from the Coalition would probably place Socialism in the first place. If the Coalition broke up there must be a General Election, and neither Liberals or Unionists could count on being returned in sufficient strength to govern the country steadily. The real danger was that in the conflict between Unionists and Liberals the Socialists would snatch a temporary majority. It was impossible to have a common understanding with the Socialist Party. Liberals believed that private property was a most potent agent for the wealth and well-being of the community. Independent Liberals by attacking the Coalition were weakening the common front to the advantage of Socialism. Civilisation, continued Mr. Lloyd George, was in jeopardy in every land. Without closer co-operation the forces of subversion would triumph. Their first purpose must be to secure the adhesion of all classes to a policy which would restore the country after the devastation of war. Peace abroad and at home was necessary as the basis on which to build. The wild gamble of Socialism, if tried in this country, would fail. The best protection for the present system was to improve it, and he was prepared to fight autocracy, whether it was that of an aristocracy or of a Trade Union organisation. Finally, he said that the war had taught them their dependence on each other. He appealed for co-operation between parties as the best way of realising the new comradeship.

Mr. Asquith replied to Mr. Lloyd George in a speech at the National Liberal Club on March 24. He said that organised Liberalism was taking up the challenge which had been thrown down. Fusion had for the moment been watered down to "closer co-operation." But the intention was that the

co-operation should become still closer until at last it developed into absorption. The question for Liberals to decide, he said, was whether they would accept the Prime Minister's invitation to link themselves with the Tory organisation. Why should they? If, as Mr. Bonar Law said, there had been in the Coalition Cabinet no divisions on party lines—which meant on lines of principle and conviction—there ought to have been. Mr. Asquith said that he would be predisposed to look indulgently on any honest workable attempt to settle the Irish question, but the Government had put forward the most fantastic and impracticable scheme, the greatest travesty of real self-government ever offered to a nation. He did not think there could be a better illustration of the demoralising effect of Coalition, both on the principles and the nerves of the parties to it. Liberals were asked to consent to the annihilation of their separate existence as a party because of the "Bolshevist menace." This appeal to reform party organisation on the basis of the lines of class cleavage was mischievous from every point of view, and tended not to close but to open the road to revolution. Whatever might happen in the present non-representative House of Commons, Mr. Asquith insisted that the rank and file of the Liberal Party in the country were not going to be harnessed to the wheels of the Tory chariot in an insensate crusade against an imaginary peril.

Mr. Asquith's speech was followed next day by a unanimous resolution of the Executive Committee of the National Liberal Federation declining the invitation of the Prime Minister to enter into closer co-operation with the Conservative Party. Mr. Lloyd George was not slow to deliver his rejoinder to Mr. Asquith in a speech to Liberal supporters of the Government on March 26. He insisted that the Socialist attack was the more important because it represented the larger following, and was the only real alternative to the Coalition. The Independent Liberals could not form a Government without coalescing. They could not obtain an independent majority. He could not find in Mr. Asquith's speech enough material to justify the renewal of party strife at this supreme moment. He denied that either Liberals or Unionists had abandoned their principles. Coalition did not mean that one of the parties got everything and the other nothing. He pointed to America as an example of the dangers of party strife. He affirmed that it was only by unity among the great parties that anything could be carried through, and he regretted that Mr. Asquith should be attempting to break up that unity on the question of Ireland. With this speech the main controversy came to an end. It served to clear the air and show the prevalent opinion among Liberals, but led to no further steps in a practical direction. Mr. Bonar Law endorsed Mr. Lloyd George's plea for closer co-operation in the constituencies, but the general feeling among Conservatives as well as Liberals (especially in the North) was opposed

to the splitting up of the country into labour and anti-labour camps. While this controversy was in progress several new ministerial appointments were announced. Dr. Macnamara became Minister of Labour; Sir Robert Horne, President of the Board of Trade; Mr. McCurdy, Food Controller; and Mr. J. Avon Clyde, Lord President of the Court of Session.

On March 12 the second reading was moved by Mr. Tillett of a Bill to provide for the establishment and equipment of technical schools for the blind, or for contributions to existing schools and institutions; for the establishment of workshops; for grants to augment the wages earned by blind persons in such workshops, and for the living expenses of the blind during their training; also for the maintenance of blind persons incapacitated from earning their livelihood. Dr. Addison, who expressed the view of the Government, held that more might be done to prevent blindness. Proposals for the registration of agencies seeking voluntary support for the blind, and the authorisation of County Councils and Borough Councils to contribute towards the maintenance of the blind, would have the support of the Government, who were also prepared to propose that blind persons between the ages of 50 and 70 should receive the same benefits and weekly allowance as the Old Age Pensioners. The second reading was then carried.

A few days later the second reading was also carried of a Shops (Early Closing) Bill, providing that shops should close at 8 o'clock on Saturdays and 7 o'clock on ordinary days.

One of the most important speeches in the latter half of March was by Sir Eric Geddes, the Minister of Transport, on the future of the British railways, delivered to the Institute of Transport at Westminster. Sir Eric Geddes said that none of the transport agencies of this country could carry on on the basis of their pre-war revenue. This was true, not only of railways but also of roads, canals, tramways, and docks. The maximum charges which could be imposed by statutory undertakings were no longer sufficient, and the companies must be enabled to raise more money. Power must be given to the State to reduce working costs in every possible way, and to harmonise the operation of the different agencies in the interests of the community. He said that we were on the eve of great extensions of the application of electricity to railway traction. A revolution was taking place in the organisation of transport in this country.

The state of Ireland continued to be deplorable during March. On the 3rd Mr. Frank Shawe Taylor, a well-known County Galway landowner, was shot dead when on his way to Galway Fair. On the same day many searches and arrests were made by the Authorities in Dublin. Almost daily fresh murders were reported. Policemen were killed in all parts of Ireland and mails robbed, while the perpetrators usually succeeded in escaping. On the 17th the Irish Government



appointed five Divisional Commissioners in connexion with the work of the Irish police forces throughout the country. They were to be responsible for the organisation and movements of the police in their several areas under the authority of the Inspector-General of the Royal Irish Constabulary. On March 19 two particularly atrocious murders were committed in the City of Cork. First a policeman was killed and then a forcible entry was made into the house of the recently elected Lord Mayor, Thomas MacCurtin, who was killed with revolver shots by masked men. Mr. MacCurtin was a well-known Sinn Feiner, and the report was immediately put about that he had been murdered either by actual agents of the Government, or at least by its friends. On March 22 an affray took place in Dublin in which two persons were killed. It appeared that an attack had been made upon soldiers who were singing the National Anthem, and that the soldiers had retaliated with the above result. Another murder took place on March 24 in South William Street, Dublin, when a young man was fired at and killed by three assailants who succeeded in escaping. On the 26th Mr. Alan Bell, the Resident Magistrate, who had been engaged in a special inquiry into the supposed relations between Sinn Fein and some of the Irish Banks, was dragged from a tramway car in a Dublin suburb shortly before 10 o'clock in the morning and murdered. Almost daily crimes of this nature continued to be reported.

In this terrible state of affairs the Home Rule Bill of the Government became a matter of the greatest importance and urgency. We have already mentioned that the first reception of it in Ireland was far from favourable, and further consideration did little to diminish the hostility displayed towards it. On March 4 Sir Horace Plunkett condemned the Bill, describing the proposed national Parliament as a monstrosity. On the following day the annual meeting of the Ulster Unionist Council took place in Belfast, its principal business being to consider the new proposals for Home Rule. A non-committal attitude was at first taken up, and the conference was adjourned to enable the delegates to discuss the position with their friends in the various electoral areas. It met again on March 10 when Sir Edward Carson presided, and reviewed the position. After discussion, lasting several hours, it was decided to support the measure with the addition of such amendments as the Ulster representatives might be able to secure to improve the position of Unionists in the South and West of Ireland. The decision of the Ulster Unionist Council was widely deplored throughout Ireland on the ground that it dealt a heavy blow at the Government hopes of settlement. Such hopes were largely based upon the belief that the partition of Ireland would be only temporary, but the decision of the Ulster Unionist Council was interpreted to mean an intention to make the partition permanent.

The second reading of the Bill came up in the House of Commons on March 29. It was in charge of Mr. Macpherson, who explained that it gave Ireland two Parliaments, one for the South and the other for the six North-Eastern Ulster counties, each having complete local autonomy and linked together by a Council to which these Parliaments might at any time transfer by Act the administration of any Irish Services. The Council, which would also have the power to legislate with respect to railways, and to pass private Bills affecting the interests of Southern and Northern Ireland, would consist of a president appointed by His Majesty, and forty members, twenty chosen by each House of Parliament from its own body. The Imperial Parliament would be supreme, and certain powers were to be reserved to it, such as peace and war, foreign affairs, customs and excise, Navy and Army, land, agriculture, trade outside Ireland, and the machinery for maintaining law and order. The number of Irish members to be returned to serve in the Imperial Parliament would be forty-two. The Irish contribution to the Imperial expenditure would be 18,000,000*l.* per annum for the first two years after the passing of the Act, and after that the amount would be fixed by a Joint Exchequer Board at quinquennial periods. Mr. Clynes moved to postpone the second reading for six months on the ground that the Bill provided a form of partition on a religious basis. Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. T. P. O'Connor declared that Irish opinion as a whole was against the measure.

On the second day of the debate Mr. Asquith objected to the Bill because it started not with Irish unity subject to safeguards, but with Irish dualism with a shadowy background of remote and potential unity. Mr. Bonar Law said that what the Government had aimed at in the Bill was to give to Ireland the largest measure of Home Rule compatible with national security and pledges given. Mr. Devlin suggested that the proposed Council should be called a Parliament and given the greatest powers which were consistent with the unity of the Empire.

The debate on the second reading was carried on during three days. On the third day Sir Edward Carson, while reaffirming his objection to the whole policy of Home Rule for Ireland, and asserting that there was no alternative to the union except separation, said that because the Act of 1914 put Ulster under the Parliament in Dublin, and the present Bill gave her a Parliament of her own, though she preferred to remain in the United Kingdom, he would do nothing to prevent it from becoming law. Mr. Lloyd George said that the point of the present Bill was that no powers, saving the two mentioned, could be given to the whole of Ireland except with the consent of the North and the South. Much of the success of the plan would depend upon the attitude of the Sinn Féin population of the South. The closure was then agreed to on the motion of Mr. Bonar Law, and the amendment for rejection

was negatived by a majority of 254. The Bill was then read a second time and referred to a Standing Committee. Some weeks later it was decided that the Bill should be considered by a Committee of the whole House instead of a Standing Committee. We shall describe later on its further progress through Committee during May and June. On March 31 the House adjourned for Easter till Monday, April 12.

## CHAPTER II.

### EVENTS OF THE SPRING.

THE beginning of April was notable for a number of Ministerial changes. No sooner had the second reading of the Home Rule Bill been carried than Mr. Macpherson resigned his office of Chief Secretary for Ireland. The continuous strain of work which he had undergone in connexion with the Bill had affected his health, and he also pointed out that there was no provision in the Bill for the continuance of the office of Chief Secretary. Another Chief Secretary was, however, immediately appointed, the choice falling upon Lieut.-Colonel Sir Hamar Greenwood, Bart., K.C., M.P. Sir L. Worthington-Evans, Bart., M.P., entered the Cabinet as Minister without portfolio in succession to Mr. Barnes, whose resignation has already been referred to. Mr. Macpherson succeeded Sir L. Worthington-Evans at the Ministry of Pensions. Mr. F. G. Kellaway became Parliamentary Secretary to the Department of Over-Seas Trade, and additional Under-Secretary to the Foreign Office, in succession to Sir Hamar Greenwood. Mr. Kellaway had previously filled the office of Deputy Minister of Munitions, and a definite step was taken towards the winding up of that Department by the decision to appoint no successor to him. Other Ministerial appointments included that of Colonel Sir James Craig, Bart., M.P., as Financial Secretary to the Admiralty in succession to Dr. Macnamara. Major G. C. Tryon, M.P., succeeded Sir James Craig as Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Pensions, and was himself succeeded by the Marquis of Londonderry as Under-Secretary of State for Air. Sir Montague Barlow became Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Labour in succession to Mr. Wardle. These appointments involved only one bye-election, namely, that of Sir Hamar Greenwood for Sunderland, but as his majority at the General Election had been 18,000 the seat was considered perfectly safe.

At the end of March was issued the report of the first Court of Inquiry held under the Industrial Courts Act of 1919. It will be remembered that these Courts had power only to make recommendations and not to enforce them. It was unfortunate that the first Court of Inquiry failed to reach a unanimous decision. Its business was the consideration of certain demands put forward by the National Transport Workers' Federation.

The Majority Report was signed by Lord Shaw of Dunfermline, the Chairman, and six other members of the Court, while two members issued a Minority Report of their own. The main difficulty was with reference to the dockers, and on this subject the findings of the Court were:—

1. That with a view to establishing a national minimum standard, the minimum for day workers and piece workers should be 16s. per day on the basis of the national agreement for a 44-hour week.

2. That a system of registration of dock labour should be introduced into all the ports, docks, and harbours of the kingdom.

3. That the principle of maintenance of unemployed casual labour was approved.

4. That the wages of dock labour should be paid weekly, and that this system should be introduced at the earliest possible date.

5. That the constitution of a National Joint Council and its correlative and local bodies should be undertaken for the dock labour industry on the lines of the report of the Whitley Committee.

6. That these bodies should, failing agreement by the parties, be charged with the settlement of the incidental matters mentioned in this report and of the remaining items of claim.

The report was accepted by the National Transport Workers' Federation. The Provisional Committee of the National Council of Port Labour Employers showed themselves, however, very much less ready to accept the award. A meeting was held between the dockers and the employers on April 16, at which the employers stated that they were not prepared at once to signify their unconditional acceptance of the report, but added that they would go so far as to negotiate on the basis of the 16s. minimum, on the understanding that they were satisfied that all the points in the report as to time-keeping, output, etc., could be duly safeguarded. At a further meeting on April 19 the Port Employers agreed to accept the report of the Dockers' Inquiry as a whole, and a Joint Committee was set up to deal with important questions of detail. This Joint Negotiating Committee decided that the minimum wage should come into force from May 10, and thereafter no further trouble was experienced. Thus the first case decided under the Industrial Courts Act led to a satisfactory issue.

A temporary respite of the discontent in the mining industry also occurred during April. It will be remembered that the Government had made an offer to the miners involving an advance of 20 per cent. on gross earnings excluding the war wage and the Sankey wage, with a guaranteed minimum advance of 2s. per shift for adults, 1s. for youths, and 9d. for boys. This offer was referred to a ballot of the coal-fields, and the result was announced to a Delegate Conference on April 15.

The men decided, by a majority of 65,135, to accept the offer of the Government, and the danger of a strike, was thus temporarily averted. An analysis of the voting showed that the majority of the districts had voted for acceptance, while in Lancashire, South Wales, and the Forest of Dean, there had been large majorities in favour of a strike. It was estimated, that the cost of the Government concession exceeded 30,000,000*l.* a year, and, according to the report of the accountants who investigated the financial position of the coal industry, the surplus available to meet this charge was only 7,000,000*l.* or 8,000,000*l.* It was therefore anticipated that the Government would soon find it necessary to raise the price of coal. An increase was in fact announced about three weeks later as will be subsequently mentioned.

Meanwhile fresh demands were made by the railwaymen, this time for an all-round advance of 1*l.* a week for all grades within the conciliation scheme, including locomotive men but excluding the railway shopmen. The claim was put forward in lieu of the claim justified by the sliding scale agreement for an increase of 1*s.* a week to meet the advance of five points in the cost of living figure since last January. It did not appear that there was any official decision to take a firm line over this new proposal, but extremists in local bodies of railwaymen tried to force their views independently in a manner which was liable to cause public inconvenience but had no chance of meeting with success. Their scheme was that the men should work strictly to rule in running the railways, and since it appeared that a number of the rules were in existence rather for special emergencies than for ordinary working, it was anticipated that an exact technical observance of them would cause considerable disorganisation on the lines. In point of fact the movement came to very little; we shall refer to it again later.

The first important business of Parliament on its resumption after the Easter recess was to consider the second reading of the Treaties of Peace (Austria and Bulgaria) Bill, which was moved by Mr. Cecil Harmsworth on April 14. He explained that its object was to invest His Majesty with powers necessary for carrying out the business that followed the ratification of peace. He pointed out that the House had power to reject these treaties, but not to amend them in detail. Mr. Asquith expressed the hope that prompt effect would be given to the undertaking to give Bulgaria an economic outlet on the *Ægean* Sea, and declared that free commercial intercourse between the dismembered parts of Austria should be facilitated, and that the new small States should be disarmed. Colonel Malone moved the rejection of the Bill on the ground that it placed unreasonable economic burdens on Austria, and violated the principle of self-determination in the cases of both Austria and Bulgaria. After Lord Robert Cecil had urged that a reasonable amount of reparation from Austria should be fixed at once, Mr. Bonar

Law declared that the evil of not ratifying the Treaty would be greater than that of any other course which Parliament could take. It had been found quite impossible, he said, in the present economic condition of Austria, to form any definite idea of what she might ultimately be able to pay. The amendment for the rejection was then negatived by a majority of 154, and the motion for the second reading was agreed to. The Committee stage was comparatively peaceful. An amendment was moved by Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy, providing that the appointments of representatives to serve on the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations should come before Parliament to be approved. The amendment was rejected and the third reading carried by a majority of 130. The royal assent was given on April 27.

It will be remembered that in 1919 there was much public discussion about the Government motor depot at Cippenham, Slough, and that a Select Committee had been appointed to inquire into the policy of the Government in instituting this depot and their management of it after it had been instituted. The report of the Select Committee is embodied in last year's volume of the ANNUAL REGISTER. On April 9, 1920, the Ministry of Munitions announced that the depot had been sold for 3,350,000*l.* The Ministry stated that it had cost the Government 2,500,000*l.*, and therefore claimed that a profit had been realised for the nation of 850,000*l.* It was stated that the depot had been bought by a wealthy British Syndicate experienced in the motor business. The success of this deal was referred to by Mr. J. F. Hope in moving the vote for the Ministry of Munitions on April 15. He said that the Slough Depot had been run at a profit and had now been sold at a profit. As regards the expenditure of the Ministry of Munitions it had amounted in the previous year to 185,000,000*l.*, and the receipts had amounted to 254,000,000*l.*, 69,000,000*l.* of which had been handed over to the Exchequer at the end of the year. The estimated receipts for the current year amounted to 200,000,000*l.*, and there would be a surplus of not less than 172,000,000*l.* at the end of the year. As to the future of the Ministry, the War Office intended to take over the arsenals and all Government factories under the Ministry that were not for disposal. There would no longer be two Parliamentary Secretaries. Sir Donald Maclean moved the reduction of the vote by 15,000,000*l.* After a long discussion Mr. Hope announced that the Department would lay a revised estimate before the House. Sir Donald Maclean then withdrew his amendment and the vote was withdrawn.

Discussions on the Matrimonial Causes Bill took place during April in both Houses of Parliament. In the House of Commons Mr. Rendall called attention to the Marriage and Divorce Laws, and moved that legislative effect should be given without delay to the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Divorce.

Mr. R. McNeill moved to amend the resolution by substituting words, declaring that while it was desirable to place the sexes on a footing of equality in regard to divorce, any change impairing the permanence of the marriage contract would be harmful. Mr. Munro spoke in support of the recommendation that divorce should be obtainable for desertion. The amendment was then agreed to by a majority of forty-three and the motion was carried.

During the Committee stage in the House of Lords, clause 1 of the Bill was amended on the motion of Earl Russell, by adding "jactitation of marriage" to the causes in which the High Court should exercise jurisdiction. A new sub-section was also added, providing that any British subject, or any woman who was a British subject domiciled in England or Wales before her marriage, might apply to the High Court for a declaration as to whether or not the marriage was valid. The Archbishop of Canterbury expressed the view that adultery was the only ground justifiable for breaking the marriage bond.

A week later the Duke of Northumberland moved the omission of the provision by which incurable insanity was one of the grounds on which divorce might be granted. The amendment was opposed by Lord Buckmaster and rejected by a majority of forty. Another amendment by Earl Russell was carried, providing that in such cases the individual must have been a certified lunatic continuously for a period of at least five years immediately preceding the application. An amendment by Viscount Cave for dropping out from the Bill incurable drunkenness as a ground for divorce was negatived, but the House deleted the sub-clause which gave power to a person to seek a divorce on the ground that the other party was undergoing imprisonment under a commuted death sentence.

The Irish Home Rule Bill found a weak echo in a Scottish Home Rule Bill, the second reading of which was moved by Mr. Johnstone on April 16. He explained that the object of the Bill was to create a Scottish Legislature and a Scottish Executive responsible to it, with the power of dealing with those peculiarly Scottish interests which were at present regulated by Scottish law administered by Scottish officials and provided for by the Scottish estimates. Mr. Kidd moved the rejection of the Bill on the ground that it was inopportune, since the report of the conference on devolution had not yet been received. After a brief discussion the debate was adjourned and the Bill was ultimately dropped.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced the Budget in the House of Commons on April 19. He said that last year's Exchequer receipts were nearly 138,500,000*l.* over the estimate. This was largely due to the increased yield of the taxes on spirits, beer, tobacco, and tea. The entertainments duty had also yielded more than was anticipated. Turning to the Inland Revenue, he said that the Excess Profits Duty was the only one

which fell short of the estimate. Stamp duties and miscellaneous revenue had exceeded the estimate. The deadweight of debt of March 31 was 7,835,000,000*l.* During the year the floating debt had been reduced by almost exactly 100,000,000*l.*, and on March 31 stood at 1,312,205,000*l.* This year it was proposed to increase the revenue by raising the letter post to 2*d.* for the first three ounces and  $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* for each additional ounce; the newspaper post to 1*d.* for six ounces, and telegrams to 1*s.* Later on postage on post cards would be raised to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, and telephone charges would also be raised. Increases would be made in Receipt and Stamp Duties. The duty per proof gallon of spirits would be increased to 72*s.* 6*d.* and the retail price would be raised. The duty on beer would be raised by 30*s.* per standard barrel, and the duty on wine would be doubled, with a special 50 per cent. duty on imported sparkling wines. The duty on cigars would also be increased. The Excess Profits Duty would be raised to 60 per cent. The limit of exemption from Super-tax would be lowered to 2,000*l.*, and rates payable under the graduated scale would be increased up to 6*s.* in the *£.* on an income above 30,000*l.* The Income Tax would be readjusted; a new tax would be imposed of 1*s.* in the *£.* on Company profits. After December 31 there would be a Licence Duty on motor vehicles, when the Petrol Tax would be abolished. Finally, he said that the Land Values Duties were to be repealed.

The estimated revenue and expenditure for 1920-21 were as follows:—

## ESTIMATED REVENUE, 1920-21.

*Compared with the Receipts of 1919-20.*

	Estimate for 1920-21.	Exchequer Re- ceipts 1919-20.
Customs - - - - -	£150,000,000	£149,360,000
Excise - - - - -	198,650,000	193,663,000
Motor Vehicle Duties - - - - -	4,500,000	—
Estate, etc., Duties - - - - -	45,000,000	40,904,000
Stamps - - - - -	25,200,000	22,586,000
Land Tax and House Duty - - - - -	2,500,000	2,640,000
Income Tax (including Super-tax) - - - - -	385,800,000	359,099,000
Excess Profits Duty, etc. - - - - -	220,000,000	290,045,000
Corporation Profits Tax - - - - -	3,000,000	—
Land Value Duties - - - - -	500,000	663,000
Postal Service - - - - -	37,000,000	31,000,000
Telegraph Service - - - - -	5,750,000	4,850,000
Telephone Service - - - - -	10,250,000	8,300,000
Crown Lands - • - - - -	650,000	680,000
Receipts from Sundry Loans, etc. —		
Ordinary Receipts - - - - -	744,000	1,004,000
Special Receipts - - - - -	8,756,000	13,948,000
Miscellaneous—		
Ordinary Receipts - - - - -	18,000,000	16,050,000
Special Receipts - - - - -	302,000,000	264,779,000
Total - - - - -	<u>£1,418,300,000</u>	<u>£1,339,571,000</u>
Borrowings to meet Expenditure chargeable against Capital - - - - -	£10,366,000	£4,823,000



## ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE, 1920-21.

*Compared with the Issues of 1919-20.*

	Estimate for 1920-21.	Exchequer Issue 1919-20.
National Debt Services :—		
Inside the Fixed Debt Charge - - -	£24,500,000	£23,773,000
Outside the Fixed Debt Charge - - -	320,500,000	308,261,000
Road Improvement Fund - - - - -	6,650,000	—
Payments to Local Taxation Accounts, etc. - -	10,814,000	10,746,000
Land Settlement - - - - -	12,000,000	3,477,000
Other Consolidated Fund Services - - -	1,730,000	1,948,000
Army - - - - -	125,000,000	395,000,000
Navy - - - - -	84,372,000	156,528,000
Air Force - - - - -	21,057,000	52,500,000
Civil Services - - - - -	497,318,000	569,054,000
Customs and Excise, and Inland Revenue		
Departments - - - - -	10,468,000	9,422,000
Post Office Services - - - - -	49,689,000	48,064,000
Votes of Credit, 1918-19 - - - - -	—	87,000,000
Add, Supplementary Estimates to be pre- sented - - - - -	20,000,000	—
	£1,184,102,000	—
Balance available for Debt Reduction - -	234,198,000	—
Total - - - - -	£1,418,300,000	£1,665,773,000
Expenditure chargeable against Capital -	£10,366,000	

## FINAL BALANCE SHEET, 1920-21.

*As proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

Revenue.	
Customs - - - - -	£150,000,000
Excise - - - - -	198,650,000
Motor Vehicle Duties - - - - -	4,500,000
Estate, etc., Duties - - - - -	45,000,000
Stamps - - - - -	25,200,000
Land Tax and House Duty - - - - -	2,500,000
Income Tax (including Super-tax) - - - - -	385,800,000
Excess Profits Duty, etc. - - - - -	220,000,000
Corporation Profits Tax - - - - -	3,000,000
Land Value Duties - - - - -	500,000
Postal Service - - - - -	37,000,000
Telegraph Service - - - - -	5,750,000
Telephone Service - - - - -	10,250,000
Crown Lands - - - - -	650,000
Receipts from Sundry Loans, etc.—	
Ordinary Receipts - - - - -	744,000
Special Receipts - - - - -	8,756,000
Miscellaneous—	
Ordinary Receipts - - - - -	18,000,000
Special Receipts - - - - -	302,000,000
Total - - - - -	£1,418,300,000
Borrowings to meet Expenditure chargeable against Capital -	£10,366,000

The debate on the Budget was carried on for several days up to nearly the end of April. On the resolution to amend the Customs and Excise Duties, Mr. Asquith urged the necessity of cutting down public expenditure. Mr. Clynes feared that the proposed taxation would intensify the efforts of the workers to make wages keep pace with the rise in prices. Sir Donald

Maclean declared that retrenchment and economy were the best aids towards solving the financial problem. As regards the Tea Tax, Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that it affected the poor more than the rich. It must, however, not be considered by itself but in conjunction with other taxes affecting the rich, such as Income Tax and the Super-tax. Mr. G. Locker-Lampson moved that if either a husband or a wife who were living together claimed to be separately assessed for Income Tax, neither should pay more Income Tax than if they were unmarried. The amendment was rejected, however, as also was an amendment moved by Sir Frederick Banbury for reducing the Excess Profits Tax from 60 per cent. to 40 per cent.

Towards the end of the month Mr. Chamberlain informed the House of Commons that he had decided to offer for public subscription a new form of Government Bond, the entire proceeds of which would be available for reducing the floating debt. The sale of the Bonds was to be open to the public on and after May 3. They were fifteen-year Treasury Bonds issued at par and repayable at par on May 1, 1935, but both Treasury and holders were to have the option of giving one year's notice in April, 1924, or in any subsequent April to secure repayment at par on May 1, 1925, or on any subsequent May 1. The Bonds were to carry interest at the minimum rate of 5 per cent., and were also to carry additional interest during the period ending May 1, 1925, according to a scheme dependent on the average rate of discount at which the Treasury Bills were issued to the public. The first interest payment was to be made on November 1, 1920, at the rate of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for the half year, and it was intended that Income Tax should be deducted at the time of payment.

The vote for the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries was moved by Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen on April 22. He pointed out that the vote asked for this year was about 300,000*l.* less than that of last year, and would have been still less if the duty on Land Settlement had not been put upon the Ministry. The vote before the war was only for 519,000*l.*, but had now risen to 4,528,873*l.* On research alone, where in 1908-9 we spent 13,300*l.*, in 1913-14 we spent 73,750*l.* Tobacco growing, cheese making, and sugar beet growing were all being pushed. The training scheme for ex-service men was being well carried out.

On April 29 Sir R. Horne moved the second reading of the Profiteering (Amendment) Bill, the object of which was to continue the operation of the Profiteering Act for another year. A provision was inserted in the new Bill with a view to obtaining the help of trade organisations in limiting the profits to be allowed on the manufacture and distribution of particular classes of goods, by encouraging them to submit schemes to this end. The second reading was carried with only five dissentients, and the Bill was then referred to a Standing Committee.

Later on the same day a debate ensued on the San Remo Allied Conference, the subject being raised on a formal motion for the adjournment of the House. Mr. Lloyd George stated that in pursuance of a decision arrived at by the Allied Conference at San Remo, the German Government had been informed that as soon as the number of troops in the Ruhr Valley had been reduced to the proportions permitted by the Allies by the decision of August 8, the French troops would be withdrawn from Frankfurt and Darmstadt. It had been made clear that we proposed to act with the other Allies in the enforcement of the conditions of the treaty. It had also been decided to hold a conference at Spa on May 25, at which German Ministers would be invited to be present, to discuss the question of disarmament, reparation, and the like. They would be expected to come prepared with definite proposals in regard to the method by which they proposed to pay and the annuity which they proposed to give. The mandate for Syria had been accorded to France; that for Mesopotamia, including Mosul, and that for Palestine had been accorded to Great Britain. We were to guard the Straits, France would protect Cilicia, and Italy the district of Adana. America had been asked to undertake the mandate for Armenia, or if they did not see their way to do that President Wilson was asked to arbitrate as to the boundaries of the State. The decision to open up trade relations with Russia had been reaffirmed, as also the refusal to receive M. Litvinoff in this country. After Mr. Lloyd George had spoken, Mr. Asquith expressed alarm at the extent of the mandates which we had undertaken, and Lord Robert Cecil advocated the policy of assisting to set up an Arab Government in Mesopotamia.

The need for regulating Trade Union ballots had, for some time past, become evident, and on April 22 the second reading of a Bill for this purpose was moved in the House of Commons by Mr. A. Samuel, who explained that it provided that on any question concerning the stoppage of work a Trade Union might decide to take a ballot vote of its members, conducted with secrecy under rules issued by a Ballot Regulation Committee to consist of seven persons, of whom four would be Trade Unionist leaders, and the three others the President of the Board of Trade, the Minister of Labour, and the Registrar of Friendly Societies or their nominated representatives. The expenses of the ballot would be paid out of the vote for the Ministry of Labour. After a number of Labour members had spoken against the Bill, Dr. Macnamara pointed out that it sought to provide machinery by which the free and unfettered opinion of the men, affected by any proposed strike, could be obtained. An amendment for the rejection was defeated by a majority of 6, and the Bill was then referred to a Standing Committee.

The state of affairs in Ireland showed no improvement during April. At the beginning of the month a daring robbery

was reported from County Limerick, when the Paymaster's train on the Great Southern and Western Railway was held up by masked and armed men and robbed of a sum exceeding 2,000*l.* The train consisted of a small engine and a carriage fitted up as a Pay Office. It left Dublin each week and travelled over the entire system, paying the money at each station *en route*.

April 5 was the fourth anniversary of the outbreak of the Easter rebellion of 1916, and the anticipation of disturbances led to elaborate preparations by the military. Dublin became like a beleaguered city with a cordon of soldiers drawn all round it, while through the streets motor lorries were seen hurrying to and fro laden with troops in full battle equipment. A system of toll-gates was established in the outer districts, and all traffic was stopped by soldiers—passengers and vehicles being searched for arms. In some places even barbed wire entanglements were erected, and tanks and armoured cars were employed. Numbers of private houses were searched by police and soldiers, and all citizens known to be active Sinn Feiners found it necessary to sleep each night in different places to avoid arrest and deportation to England. On April 4 a number of outrages were perpetrated by Sinn Feiners in Belfast and surrounding counties. An attempt was made to set on fire the Grand Central Hotel, Belfast, and the Income Tax offices in the Bank of Ireland building. The Queen's Bridge Custom House was entered and documents destroyed; wires to Dublin and the South cut, so that Belfast was isolated; Dundalk Inland Revenue offices set on fire, and a considerable number of police barracks burned. On the 7th an attack was made by a number of men on a police barrack in County Tipperary, but after a fight reinforcements arrived and the raiders driven off. Day by day fresh murders of police were reported. Meanwhile the Government were further embarrassed by a hunger strike which took place among the Sinn Fein prisoners in Mountjoy Gaol. Mr. Bonar Law expressed the intention of the Government of resisting the strike and refusing to release the strikers, as to whose fate an almost fanatical excitement prevailed throughout nationalist Ireland. So great was the excitement that the Government ultimately receded from their attitude and released fifty-six of the hunger strikers on April 14, and twenty-four more on the following day. It was stated that the release was not to be unconditional, but that certain of the prisoners would be on parole for specified periods.

The inquest which was held upon the body of Mr. MacCurtin was concluded on April 18. It had been generally anticipated that the coroner's jury at Cork would find a verdict of wilful murder against the police. They did so and more also, for their verdict stated that the late Lord Mayor had died from shock and hæmorrhage caused by bullet wounds, "and that he was wilfully murdered under circumstances of the most callous

brutality, and that the murder was organised and carried out by the Royal Irish Constabulary officially directed by the British Government, and we return a verdict of wilful murder against David Lloyd George, Prime Minister of England, Lord French, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Ian Macpherson, late Chief Secretary of Ireland," and a number of officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary mentioned by name.

On April 20 the Irish Government issued a statement regarding the treatment of prisoners. In future prisoners arrested and imprisoned for political offences were to be tried as political prisoners. Their places of confinement and treatment would be different from those of persons imprisoned for ordinary criminal offences. Political offences, however, were not to include homicide, burglary, riot, unlawful assembly, etc. The special treatment promised was to be conditional on an orderly submission to the rules and regulations prescribed for such prisoners, and refusal to obey them might mean the forfeiture of the amelioration and the removal to a different prison. On the 26th, and again on the 28th, the adjournment of the House of Commons was moved to call attention to the state of affairs in Ireland. On the 26th Lord Robert Cecil referred to the continuous growth of crime and disorder in that unfortunate country, and Colonel W. Guinness declared that unless the Government secured respect for the law in Ireland the Home Rule Bill, if passed, would be a dead letter. Mr. Bonar Law pointed out that arrests on suspicion were absolutely necessary in the present position of affairs in Ireland. The conditions prevailing there made the task of the Government in endeavouring to restore law and order a very difficult one. On the 28th Mr. T. P. O'Connor drew attention to the threatened strike of Irish workmen at the Liverpool Docks and elsewhere to protest against the treatment of Irish political prisoners at Wormwood Scrubs. Mr. Sexton said that such a strike would not be recognised by the Trade Union to which he belonged, and Mr. Shortt explained that any deported man had the right to come before an Advisory Committee in this country, but he added that the Irish prisoners had always refused to claim this right. The motion for the adjournment was then defeated. In the course of April many other crimes were perpetrated in addition to those which we have recorded. Murders of police, robberies, and cattle-driving went on continuously.

Labour troubles were not very prominent during the month of April. A small strike occurred towards the end of the month among the shop girls and male assistants of Messrs. John Lewis & Co., the Oxford Street drapers. It appeared that the Shop Assistants' Union had claimed for these employees 50 per cent. advance of wages, and the claim had been rejected by the Industrial Court on the ground that Messrs. Lewis & Co. had agreed to adopt the minimum wage scale of the Union, and

had already put into operation the terms of the award in the case of the Army and Navy Stores dispute. Various questions of working conditions were, however, left to the discretion of the firm, who openly stated their determination not to allow officials of the Union to meddle with their affairs. Further, the employers were accused of a definite breach of an agreement made in February and signed on March 10. The Conciliation Department of the Ministry of Labour got into touch with the parties in dispute, but the issues were too serious to be satisfactorily settled, involving as they did questions of the recognition of a Trade Union and the honouring of an agreement. For some days the shop was closed, but the strike was on too small a scale to be successful. New employees were soon engaged, those on strike were definitely dismissed, and the dispute ended in a complete victory for the employers.

Far more serious was a dispute in the cotton trade which entered upon an acute stage about the same time. It was notorious that immense profits were being made in the industry, and large claims for an advance of wages had been set forward on these grounds. The weavers demanded 60 per cent. advance on current wage rates, *i.e.*, 300 per cent. over pre-war rates. The spinners demanded 60 per cent. increase on present earnings, and the card-room operatives 75 per cent., or, in other words, 350 per cent. over pre-war rates. The employers, on the other hand, offered the weavers no more than 22½ per cent. on current rates with the alternative of arbitration. To the spinners and card-room operatives they offered only arbitration by the Government. The result of a ballot taken among the workers on the question of declaring a strike was announced on April 24. Overwhelming majorities were recorded for a strike both by the spinners and card-room workers. The Ministry of Labour, in the endeavour to end the dispute peacefully, arranged a conference between the Master Spinners' Federation and the operative spinners and card-room workers on April 29. The parties met at a joint meeting under the presidency of Sir David Shackleton, but after a discussion lasting two days the negotiations came to an abrupt end. There seemed, nevertheless, to be a conciliatory attitude on both sides. The workers amended their claim down to a 40 per cent. increase for spinners and a 50 per cent. increase for card-room workers. The employers made a counter-offer which was calculated to be equal to a 12 per cent. addition to wages and a 4 per cent. bonus, the bonus to cease automatically in twelve months. The workers, however, objected to such a bonus, and then asked for a 40 per cent. increase on current rates. The employers replied by merging the bonus in their earlier offer, and so the argument went on until at length the employers were offering the equivalent of 25 per cent. on current earnings, and the employees were claiming 35 per cent. In view of these large concessions on both sides it was realised that it ought not to be impossible

to reach an ultimate agreement. Negotiations were quickly resumed and a settlement was attained on May 7. The settlement gave to the workers an addition of  $28\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. to their current earnings. Certain grades of workpeople were dealt with separately and received an advance of only  $22\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., but their present wages were so much higher than those of the weavers that the smaller percentage represented a larger actual increase. The increases were to begin at once, and the agreement was to remain in force for a year.

The Central (Railway) Wages Board met at St. Pancras on May 4 to consider the application of the National Union of Railwaymen for a flat rate increase of 1*l.* a week for all men engaged in the manipulation of traffic. There were also claims by the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers for an increase of drivers' wages from 15*s.* 6*d.* to 1*l.* a day; those of firemen from 11*s.* 6*d.* to 15*s.*, and of cleaners from 7*s.* 6*d.* to 10*s.* The Central Wages Board, after several hours' discussion, failed to reach an agreement, and decided to refer the question to the National Wages Board. This Board met on May 17 under the Chairmanship of Sir William Mackenzie, the Chairman of the Industrial Court. Two points were then clearly brought out:—

1. That women and boys were included in the new demand for an all-round 1*l.* increase.

2. That the claim was based, not on the cost of living, but on the right of railway workers to an improvement in their earnings at least equal to that secured by policemen, dockers, miners, and for other sections of workpeople.

It was estimated that if the demands of the National Union of Railwaymen were granted in full, an increase of at least 30,000,000*l.* would be involved in the annual wage bill of the railways. The National (Railway) Wages Board sat for several days taking evidence on the subject. Their award was not announced till June, when we shall again refer to it (see p. 56).

Notwithstanding the schemes adopted by the Government, the housing difficulty still remained as acute as ever. One of the chief difficulties to be contended with was that of raising money for the purpose of completing houses which would not pay an economic rent. On May 3 an important meeting was held at the Guildhall in support of a Housing Bonds scheme, inaugurated in the endeavour to overcome this difficulty. Mr. Lloyd George, who was to have been the chief speaker, was prevented by indisposition from attending, but he wrote a letter to the Lord Mayor in which he said that the interests of public health and humanity were at stake. Adequate housing would ensure happy homes, which were the surest guarantee any country could provide against agitation and unrest. Mr. Lloyd George's place was filled by Mr. Bonar Law, who appealed to local patriotism to make the scheme a success. He said that if every effort was not made to improve the condition

of the people, there would be a discontented, sullen, and, perhaps, angry nation, and that this would be fatal to trade, industry, and credit. Schemes for 180,000 houses, and tenders for over 100,000 had been finally approved. Work was in progress on 30,000. Progress, however, was being hindered by want of financial means, and he appealed to local authorities to stimulate local patriotism and feeling. The clashing of interests between the demands of the State and the terms for local housing was more apparent than real. The State had ceased to borrow money, and he hoped and believed that in his lifetime at least the State would never be a borrower again for State purposes. The issue of Bonds for funding was not new borrowing. He would prefer a fixed rate of 6 per cent. to a fluctuating interest dependent on the rise and fall of the market. A Committee had been set up to prevent localities from competing with each other. Districts unable to raise all the money themselves would be assisted if they showed that they had done their best. Mr. Bonar Law said that every local authority with a rateable value over 100,000*l.* should issue Housing Bonds. He was not afraid of revolutionaries, but there was nothing more dangerous than continuance without effort to improve housing conditions.

Although this meeting was regarded as the official inauguration of the campaign, the scheme had been before the country for some time, and local authorities in many parts of the kingdom had been going ahead with the work. The Bonds were issued in amounts of 5*l.*, 10*l.*, 20*l.*, 50*l.*, 100*l.*, and multiples of 100*l.* They did not carry more than 6 per cent. interest and were repayable at par.

The subject of Imperial Defence was raised by Lord Haldane in the House of Lords on May 5. He called attention to the subject of the Committee of Imperial Defence and its relation to the war staffs of the Navy, Army, and Air Force, and asked for information as to general policy. Lord Crewe expressed opposition to the creation of a Ministry of Defence, and of a common staff college. Lord Curzon, on behalf of the Government, then said that it would be unwise to indicate too definitely a formal policy with regard to Imperial Defence until the conference on the future relations of the Mother Country with the Dominions had taken place.

On the same day Mr. Macpherson moved in the House of Commons the second reading of the War Pensions Bill. The object of this Bill was to hand over the post-war pensions to the Service Departments. The Bill defined the end of the war as July 31, 1920, and kept alive the section of the War Pensions Act, 1919, providing for advances of pensions for periods not exceeding six months. The Bill further proposed to transfer to the Ministry of Pensions wound-pensions to officers. An amendment for the rejection of the Bill was negatived, and the second reading was then carried.



Further progress was made by the House of Lords with the Matrimonial Causes Bill during May. On the motion of Lord Sydenham an amendment was made adding to the grounds for a temporary divorce any venereal disease in a communicable form. Another amendment gave power to the Court to make a maintenance order for the payment to the applicant of a weekly sum without any limit being specified. It was also agreed that any unnatural or grossly indecent offence, or bigamy, should be treated as equivalent to adultery. Lord Askwith moved an amendment giving the power to a Court of Public Jurisdiction to try cases *in camera*, as was conferred on higher Courts, and this was agreed to after some discussion. The Archbishop of Canterbury then moved a new clause providing that the marriage of a person, whose previous marriage had been dissolved under the provisions of this Act, and whose former husband or wife was still alive, should not be solemnised in any church or chapel of the Church of England. The Bishop of Ely, Lord Selborne, and the Archbishop of York supported the clause, which, however, was opposed by the Lord Chancellor and Lord Buckmaster, and was negatived by a majority of 1. Lord Phillimore moved an amendment which was withdrawn in favour of another amendment moved by the Archbishop of York, altering the words of the clause which said that a minister of any church or chapel who refused to act "shall" permit any other clergyman, entitled to officiate within the diocese, to solemnise the marriage in the church or chapel, to "may". This was agreed to, as also was a new clause giving a retrospective effect to the Act.

The vote for the Ministry of Food gave Mr. McCurdy the opportunity of making a statement on the general position. He stated that the world's supply of sugar was down by about 3,500,000 tons, and that the price in America was more than nine times the pre-war price. During the next twelve months we were faced with reduced world crops of wheat; in India, however, there was an increase of something like 1,500,000 tons, although little of it would be available for export. Mr. Clynes then expressed his conviction that it was still necessary to maintain a fully equipped Ministry of Food, and after some further discussion the vote was carried.

The discussions following the Budget announcement turned very largely upon the Excess Profits Duty and the alternative suggestions of a levy upon war wealth or a flat rate tax on profits. Mr. Chamberlain had estimated that a flat rate tax on profits of 7s. 6d. in the £ would be needed to produce the amount that would be obtained from the 60 per cent. Excess Profits Duty. Many members of Parliament, who had looked into the statistics, however, argued that the case could be met by a flat rate of about 5s. in the £. This calculation was based on the Treasury estimate that Excess Profits Duty at 60 per cent. would produce 300,000,000*l.* in a full year, and the Corpo-

ration Tax 35,000,000*l.* On May 6 the Federation of British Industries referred the question to their Taxation Committee, who asked for further time to consider the question. They pressed for removal of the worst features of the Excess Profits Duty, and urged the need of Government economy. Mr. Chamberlain subsequently explained that whereas 7*s.* 6*d.* was the flat rate tax which would be required if it were confined to businesses now paying Excess Profits Duty, it would be only 5*s.* 6*d.* if extended to all the other businesses included within the scope of the Excess Profits Duty, but not actually paying that duty because they were not making excess profits.

The Finance Bill, which was introduced shortly afterwards, fixed the New Corporation Profits Tax at 5 per cent. on profits arising in an accounting period ending after December 31, 1919. No tax was to be charged on the first 500*l.* of profits where the accounting period was a year; where it was less than a year this sum was proportionately reduced. The amount of tax payable was in no case to exceed 10 per cent. of the balance of the profits after deducting interest or dividends paid at a fixed rate on debentures, debenture stock, or preference shares, or permanent loan issued before April 20, 1920. The second reading of the Finance Bill was taken on May 11, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer pointed out that through the Finance Committee the expenditure of particular Departments had been examined. A total figure had been given to the Navy, Army, and Air Force, to which they had been invited to work. These inquiries into expenditure were continuing, and a revival of the estimates would be made in the light of the present conditions of national finance. The debate on the second reading lasted over two days. Mr. G. Terrell contended that the Excess Profits Duty was a hindrance to the development and progress of British industries. Sir J. Butcher argued that the Corporation Tax was in substance a kind of Income Tax on ordinary shareholders. At the end of the discussion a motion by Mr. Bottomley for the rejection was withdrawn, and the second reading was agreed to.

Among other Bills considered by the House of Commons during May was one for the amendment of the bastardy laws, the second reading of which was moved by Mr. N. Chamberlain on May 7. He explained that under the Bill when the birth of an illegitimate child was registered, the name of the alleged father must be filled in upon a form to be sent to the registrar. If the alleged father was willing to make provision for the maintenance of the child the offer would go before two Justices who might make an order confirming it. If a man denied paternity the collecting officer would have to apply for an order under Section 4 of the 1872 Bastardy Amendment Act. The Bill increased the limit of the sum contributed by the father from 10*s.* to 40*s.* It also provided that the person having care of a bastard under sixteen years of age should send his full

name and postal address to the Clerk of the Justices, and that all bastards under sixteen should be Wards of the Juvenile Courts. The Bill further provided for legitimization by the subsequent marriage of the child's parents.

The Bill was supported by the Labour Party, but opposed by Mr. Shortt on behalf of the Government on the ground that it did practically nothing to benefit the child, and that many of the provisions would be harmful to it; the second reading was carried, however, by a large majority, and the Bill then referred to a Standing Committee.

The anticipated increase in the price of coal took place on May 12. Sir R. Horne stated in the House of Commons that the necessity for an increase would have arisen apart from the recent wage advance to miners, but the wage advance increased the cost of production by about 2s. 10d. per ton, and the increase necessary to place the price on an economic basis was made greater by that amount. The Government, he stated, thought it essential that the present system of controlling inland distribution should be altered as soon as possible, and this could only be done if the artificial differentiation between the prices of household and industrial coal were removed. The maximum price of industrial coal was raised by 4s. 2d. per ton, and that of household coal by 14s. 2d.

The increase in the price of coal was the subject of a debate in the House of Commons on May 12, when Mr. Brace moved the adjournment to call attention to the failure of the Government to differentiate between household and industrial coal in the proposed increase in price. Mr. Holmes declared that the Government were only contributing to the chase of wages after prices. After some further discussion Sir R. Horne explained that the Government aimed at getting rid of the control of the distribution of coal, and this could be accomplished with less damage to the community during the summer than during the winter. Upon coal supplied to domestic consumers during the past winter there had been a deficit of 11s. 4d. To that must now be added the cost of the advance of wages which had recently been made, bringing the deficit up to 14s. 2d. per ton.

The Profiteering (Amendment) Bill passed into law during May. In the House of Commons Sir H. Nield moved a new clause to provide that particulars of any secret process of preparation, or of the ingredients used in proprietary articles, should not be required, but that the Board of Trade might require an accountant's certificate of the cost of any such article exclusive of overhead charges. The new clause was agreed to after an amendment to it moved by Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy had been negatived, and words had been inserted on the motion of Sir R. Horne to provide that the accountant should be approved by the Board of Trade and his report verified by statutory declaration. Sir R. Horne later

moved the addition of a sub-section giving the Board of Trade power to exempt certain classes of goods from any general investigation under sub-section 1 of the principal Act. The amendment was carried, and the Bill was read a third time and passed. Certain amendments introduced by the House of Lords were afterwards agreed to, and the royal assent was given on May 20.

On the motion for the Whitsuntide adjournment, Sir Donald Maclean urged the Government to give a much more full and complete statement of what had happened at the recent conference at Lympne than had hitherto appeared in the Press. Mr. Bonar Law, in reply, said that the decisions arrived at were: that the disarmament of Germany should be pressed forward, and the suffering and economic ruin resulting from the war should not be borne by the nations who did not cause it. Of the money paid by Germany France would receive 11*l.* for every 5*l.* received by this country.

The text of the new Rent Restriction Bill was issued towards the end of May. It provided for various increases in rent dependent upon the expenditure incurred by the landlord in the maintenance or improvement of the dwelling house, and also upon the increase in rates which he was called upon to pay. The Bill further permitted an increase of 15 per cent. of the net rent under certain circumstances. It provided also for the abolition of the payment of premiums which had been coming into general use since the starting of the original Rent Restriction Act. The discussion of the new Bill in the House of Commons came on during June.

Little change took place in the state of Ireland during May. The Home Rule Bill was in Committee of the House of Commons throughout the month. The first important amendment to be moved was one by Mr. Asquith, having for its object to set up in Ireland a single Parliament and a single executive. At the same time it gave to the separate Counties (if they were so minded) an opportunity of withdrawing themselves for the time being from the jurisdiction of that authority, and remaining represented and governed by the Imperial Parliament. Mr. Bonar Law declared that the object of this country was to give Ireland the largest measure of self-government which could be given compatible with our pledges and with national safety. Sir Edward Carson described the amendment as a most impracticable proposition, since it involved another six years passing before Ulster would know where they stood. The amendment was negatived by a majority of 204. Lieut.-Colonel Guinness then moved another amendment to provide that instead of the proposed Irish Council there should be set up a single Senate called the Irish Senate, which should act as a Second Chamber both for the Northern and Southern Parliaments. Mr. Long said that the Government would offer no objection to the adoption of the principle of a Second Chamber

for either or both Parliaments, and the amendment was then negatived.

On May 17 Lieut.-Colonel Sir S. Hoare moved an amendment providing for the establishment of separate Senates for Northern and Southern Parliaments in addition to their respective Houses of Commons. Mr. Long expressed the willingness of the Government to give a Second Chamber to both Southern and Northern Ireland, and after some further discussion the amendment was withdrawn. Lord Robert Cecil then moved the exclusion of Ulster from the Bill. The amendment was supported by Sir Edward Carson and Colonel Ashley, but negatived by a majority of 124.

On May 19 Mr. Marriott moved an amendment, which was withdrawn in favour of one by Sir L. Worthington-Evans, to provide that not less than ten of the representatives of each Parliament at the Council should be members of their respective Parliaments. This amendment was agreed to.

Mr. Asquith, speaking at Paisley on May 21, vigorously criticised the Home Rule Bill. He said that social order must, of course, be restored in Ireland, but not less urgent was the need of redeeming and, if possible, atoning for the fatal procrastination of the last two years, by going down in our proposed legislation to the very sources and springs of disorder. Ireland, he said, should be placed, to all intents and purposes, on the same footing as the great Government Dominions of the Crown; that was the policy of a far-sighted and liberal statesman. The proposal which had now been made to the country was a paltering compromise unacceptable either to the majority or the minority. If ever it took its place on the Statute Book, and an attempt was made to put it into practical application, it would block the avenue to Irish unity. The Liberal Party, he said, would have no part or lot in offering to Ireland a mockery for their just demands.

In Ireland itself the land agitation in the West began to make rapid headway. At the beginning of May it broke out in County Clare, bands of men entering the grazing farms and scattering the cattle over the country. The agitation became every day more menacing, and, despite the presence of military and police, cattle-driving and other forms of intimidation were constantly occurring. Grazing lands were stripped of their stock, fences were broken, gates and walls were smashed, graves were dug on the land, and houses were fired into by large parties. On May 3 one policeman was murdered and two others were wounded in broad daylight in County Kerry. On the 8th a policeman in Dublin was attacked and wounded while on his way to his office at Dublin Castle. On the same day a raid was made upon a police barrack in County Armagh, the raiders making use of rifle fire and bombs. They sprayed the barracks with petrol and fired it, but the police held on till the roof fell in, when they retreated to the yard and continued their defence

until the attackers gave up the fight. On the following day Cloyne police barracks in County Cork were burnt to the ground by a crowd of armed raiders; the six policemen in charge were obliged to surrender after one of their number had been wounded. On the 10th news was received of the murder of four more Irish policemen, and on the 11th two policemen were killed and one was wounded at Cork. On May 12 an organised burning of unoccupied police barracks was carried out in County Dublin and some other parts of Ireland. Five barracks were destroyed in County Dublin alone. During the second week of May ninety vacated police barracks in all were destroyed by fire or explosive, obviously as the result of a deliberate policy to prevent their re-occupation. In the meanwhile the Sinn Fein movement was strengthening its grasp on the country. Its Courts had ousted the King's Writ from many counties in the South and West, and its tribunals were administering a sort of rough justice. It arrested persons suspected of such crimes as house-breaking and highway robbery, tried them, and if they were found guilty, punished them and compelled them to restore the stolen property.

On May 15 a murder was committed in broad daylight in the streets of Limerick and the murderers got away. This time the victim was a well-known Sinn Feiner of the town. On the same day fierce rioting occurred in Londonderry which lasted nearly four hours. It began with an affray between small parties of Unionists and Sinn Feiners, revolver shots being fired, which were returned by the police. On May 28 a portion of the rails on the Great Southern and Western Railway in County Limerick were found to have been torn up; the telegraph wires had been cut, and trees thrown across several roads. Later in the morning it was reported that the Kilmallock police barrack had been attacked and blown up, and that a sergeant and a constable had been killed. On the same day an engine on the line arriving at Limerick Junction was noticed to be marked with blood, and a closer examination showed that what appeared to be a human heart had been impaled on the iron wheel-guard in front of the engine. Many other murders and crimes of all descriptions occurred throughout Ireland during May.

Discussions took place in both Houses of Parliament on the condition of that unfortunate country. In the House of Lords the subject was raised by Lord Askwith, and Lord MacDonnell stated that Ireland was now in a worse condition than it had been within living memory. Lord Midleton declared that the police had not sufficient assistance when attacked, and that a large detachment of soldiers should be at hand to protect them. On May 19 the Lord Chancellor, in reply to a question, said that it was the policy of the Government to employ the whole available forces and the whole resources of these Islands in order, in the first place, to restore law and order  
to render impossible the campaign

with the object of secession which was at present in progress in Ireland.

In the House of Commons attention was called to the condition of Ireland by Colonel Ashley on May 20. Sir Edward Carson declared that the only way now to relieve the situation was by preventive methods. Mr. Denis Henry said that the great difficulty with which the Government were confronted in Ireland was to arouse an enlightened public opinion on the side of the law, and it was only possible to meet the condition of affairs that existed there by increasing the forces at their disposal.

A remarkable catastrophe occurred on May 29 when a sudden flood, caused by a cloudburst, swept through the Lincolnshire town of Louth creating havoc in its path. The torrent took the course of the small stream known as the River Lud which runs through the town and which rose 15 feet in half an hour. Several hundred houses were seriously damaged, their doors and windows broken through, their floors floated away, and in many cases the structure materially damaged. Twenty-one persons were drowned, and at the inquest on their bodies it was stated that during a storm, which lasted two and a half hours, a rainfall of 4·7 inches had fallen. The stream, which was normally 1 yard wide and 1 foot deep, swelled up to a width of 52 yards and a height of 50 feet, and it was reckoned that 7,500,000 tons of water passed through the town. A relief fund was immediately opened by the *Daily Mail* to meet the needs of 1,250 people who had been suddenly bereft of homes, clothes, and food. By June 9, 15,000*l.* had been subscribed and the fund was then closed.

We have already referred to the demands of the railwaymen for an increase of wages, and to the fact that these demands had been referred to the National (Railway) Wages Board. The demands of the men were for 1*l.* per week increase for all members covered by the national settlement. The award of the National Wages Board was announced on June 4. They granted general advances ranging for the conciliation grades from 7*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* a week in London and industrial areas, and from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* in rural districts, over the rates now in force. In the course of their report the Board reviewed the changes in rates and conditions which had taken place since the outbreak of war. They showed that the average advances ranged from 122 per cent. for drivers to 197 per cent. for passenger porters, and pointed out that the new claims were not, and should not be, put forward on the ground of the increase which had taken place in the cost of living. They discussed the estimates and the effect on railway finances of conceding the claims in full, and stated that unless additional revenue was secured the present claims could not be met wholly, or even substantially, without involving the Companies in an actual net loss. The present rate of profit on the capital invested in railway undertakings (3·64 per cent.) was indeed modest when regard was

had either to the diminished purchasing power of money, or the rate of interest attaching to new investments, and the Board expressed the opinion that even apart from a further increase in wages, an increase in railway rates and fares was inevitable. Mr. Thomas, speaking a few days later, expressed the view that the increase of wages awarded by the Board was the maximum amount, not only that could be obtained now, but the maximum obtainable at any time. The London Council of the London Union of Railwaymen had decided to reject the award, but the alternative, said Mr. Thomas, was inevitably a national railway strike which would ruin their own cause.

The Ministry of Transport announced in the middle of June that the Cabinet had accepted the report of the National Wages Board, and accordingly the Railway Companies were directed to give effect to the increases proposed in that report. One qualification of the report the Cabinet insisted on, namely, that if forthcoming increases of railway rates and charges, consequent in large measure on the increased cost of labour, did not produce additional revenue it would be impossible that the present level of wages could be maintained. The Cabinet decided also to extend to Ireland in principle the findings of the Board, and to increase the wages of Irish railways on similar percentages to those given in Great Britain. Ultimately the award was unreservedly accepted by the men.

At the beginning of June the House of Commons was more than once occupied with the problem of Russia. On the 3rd Mr. Lloyd George stated, in reply to questions, that an undertaking to release British prisoners was an indispensable condition before the renewal of commercial relations with Russia. The decision to permit trade with Russia, he said, was arrived at by the meeting of the Supreme Council held in Paris on January 16, and was reaffirmed at a further meeting of the Supreme Council held in London on February 24. At San Remo on April 26 the Supreme Council decided to authorise representatives of the allied Governments to meet M. Krassin and the Russian Trade Delegation, then at Copenhagen (with the exception of M. Litvinoff), in London at the earliest date with a view to the immediate restarting of trade relations. M. Krassin was acting in the name of and under the authority of the Soviet Government. After the British Government had satisfactorily settled with the Delegation the question relating to British prisoners, and had received a guarantee that there would be no tampering with British interests in the East, the negotiations would be conducted by representatives of the French and Italian Governments who were here, and were prepared to proceed with them.

A few days later Colonel Gretton moved the adjournment of the House in order to call attention to the negotiations between the British Government and the Soviet Government of Russia. Mr. J. H. Thomas declared that the Labour Party had



welcomed the negotiations because they would tend to bring about immediate peace. Mr. Lloyd George said that the decision to trade with Russia was taken by all the Allies. He added that before the war Russia produced 25 per cent. of the imported food of Europe. There was plenty of grain, timber, and flax there now for export, and it was badly needed by Europe.

Parliament was again occupied with foreign affairs on June 16, when the Nauru Island Agreement Bill was under discussion. Colonel Wilson, who moved the second reading, explained that the administration of Nauru would be conducted under the joint control of three Governments, namely, the British Government in London and the Governments of Australia and New Zealand. The Pacific Phosphate Company was to be bought out for 3,500,000*l.*, of which our share would be 1,486,380*l.* Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. Asquith declared that the mandate for the Island should not have been granted by the allied and associated Powers but by the League of Nations. Mr. Bonar Law replied that the passing of the Bill would in no way prevent the League of Nations from confirming or objecting to the mandate. After the second reading had been agreed to the Bill was referred to a Standing Committee. It ultimately passed into law and received the royal assent on August 4.

The vote on account for Army Services on June 23 was chiefly utilised for a debate on the subject of Mesopotamia. Mr. Asquith advocated concentration of our forces within the vilayet of Basra, and he moved the reduction of the vote by 1,000,000*l.* Mr. Ormsby-Gore thought that the only way to reduce our expenditure on Mesopotamia was by establishing such political conditions as would enable the country to become self-supporting in the near future. After some other speeches Mr. Lloyd George pointed out that under the Sykes-Picot Agreement we were responsible for the vilayet of Baghdad as well as for that of Basra. The whole of the population of Mosul had petitioned the British Government in favour of the unity of Mosul with Baghdad and Basra. The civil administration out there was paying its way. As for the large force we were keeping there at present, it would gradually be decreased as soon as we had set up the Government. The reduction of the vote was then negatived by a majority of 235. A few days later Mr. Lloyd George stated, in reply to a question from Mr. Kenyon, that the ownership of the oil deposits of Mesopotamia would be secured to the Arab State as part of the administrative arrangements under the Treaty and Mandate.

Interest in Mesopotamia was also shown in the House of Lords, where Lord Curzon, in reply to a question from Lord Islington on June 25, said that the final organic law to be set up could not come into being until the Treaty of Peace with Turkey had been signed. The number of officers engaged in the civil administration was 424, and in addition there was an administrative staff composed almost entirely of natives of the

country. There were at present stationed in Mesopotamia and North-West Persia 13,500 British and 66,000 Indian troops; the Royal Air Force and personnel there consisted of 1,023. The provision in the Army estimates was 23,500,000*l.* It was impossible, added Lord Curzon, to quit Mesopotamia at present. Lord Sydenham expressed approval of the Baghdad proclamation, and Lord Goschen insisted that Mosul could not be treated separately from the rest of the country.

On the vote for Diplomatic and Consular Services on June 17, Mr. Balfour announced that a Secretariat at present settled in London had been appointed for the League of Nations by the Secretary-General, with the approval of the Council of the League. The Secretary-General himself had been appointed at the general Peace Conference in Paris. An office had been established for the registration of Treaties so that they might be open to inspection by all the world. Four Advisory Committees would be created, and one of these, dealing with military, naval, and air questions, was already at work. The other three Committees would deal with questions of health, transit, and justice. The League had already appointed Commissions to delimit the boundary of the Saar Valley, and an international body to govern that district. It had also framed a constitution for Danzig, and had taken steps with regard to such matters as the combating of typhus, the repatriation of prisoners, and the protection of Armenia.

During the summer a Bill entitled the Agriculture Bill was brought in to amend the Corn Production Act, 1917. The second reading was moved by Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen, who explained that its object was to give security to the farmer by means of guaranteed prices, security to the labourer by ensuring him a living wage, and security to the State by providing that land should be so cultivated as to produce a maximum amount of food for the people. The policy of guaranteed prices for wheat and oats was made permanent by the Bill, and the year 1919 was made the standard year. The Royal Commission was to sit every year to fix the fair guaranteed price. Compensation would be given to a tenant in case of unreasonable disturbance.

The debate on this Bill was continued for two days. Mr. Acland suggested that periodical reports should be required on the way in which the different authorities were carrying out their work. Captain Fitzroy thought that owners and labourers were not sufficiently considered in the Bill. Mr. W. Smith pointed out that there was no mention in the Bill of agricultural education, research, transport, and co-operation. Mr. Cautley considered that the price of wheat should vary with the average minimum wage. Ultimately Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen moved the closure which was agreed to by a majority of 148, and the second reading was then carried.

The financial resolution in connexion with the Bill was moved by Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen on June 15. He explained

that there would be no payments whatever made in the current financial year. The payment of the Commissioners would cost about 2,000*l.* a year. The Government had decided, he said, that in 1921 the control price of 100*s.* a quarter of home grown wheat should be taken off, leaving the farmer free to sell at the price (including insurance and freight) at which foreign wheat could be sold in this country.

Further discussion took place during June in the House of Lords on the Matrimonial Causes Bill. On the 8th an amendment was moved by Lord Finlay, which would have resulted in the omission of the paragraph providing that where a wife asks for a judicial separation the husband may claim a divorce, but after some discussion the amendment was negatived by a majority of 10. A proviso was added, however, that before granting a decree nisi for divorce the applicant could have his or her application for judicial separation dismissed. The third reading was moved on June 22, and was opposed by Lord Braye. Lord Halifax declared that a law which came to them on a Christian foundation stood on a much higher sanction than any law which was merely the result of votes. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Selborne, and Lord Finlay spoke against the Bill. The Lord Chancellor replied, and the motion for rejection was negatived by a majority of 47. The third reading was then carried.

The question of a special taxation on war wealth was raised by the Labour Party on June 7 and 8. On the 7th the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced, in reply to a question from Mr. Clynes, that the Government, after full consideration of the report of the Select Committee and of the advantages and disadvantages of the suggested scheme for a levy on war wealth, had decided against its adoption.

Next day Mr. Clynes moved a resolution regretting the decision of the Government not to impose special taxation "upon fortunes made as a result of the national emergency," and declaring that further measures should be adopted for raising revenue from accumulated wealth to meet the present financial burden, and to assist in liquefying the national debt. Mr. Chamberlain said that the Committee had dismissed the first scheme laid before them as impracticable, but they had said that a second scheme for raising a lesser sum was workable on a number of conditions. They had also shown that it would be impossible to restrict the contemplated tax only to those who had made money directly out of the war, and that as an expedient for reducing the floating debt a war levy was practically of no use. It was therefore judged better to continue the Excess Profits Tax than to institute a War Wealth Levy in its place. Mr. S. Walsh considered that the imposition of a tax on war wealth was the one great method of reducing our burden of debt. Sir F. Banbury was opposed to a War Wealth Tax, while Sir Donald Maclean believed that the only

alternative to the proposed tax was a large increase in the Excess Profits Tax. After further debate the motion was negatived by a majority of 163.

The report stage of the Shops (Early Closing) Bill was taken by the House of Commons on June 18. Major Baird moved a new clause to exempt from the provisions of the Act shops which carried on a post office business in regard to that business, to such an extent as the Postmaster-General might direct. After a short debate the clause was agreed to, as also was a new clause to bring boot-repairing businesses under the operation of the Bill. Sir F. Banbury moved that the closing hour for shops should be 9 instead of 7, but the amendment was rejected by a majority of 182. An amendment moved by Mr. Inskip to provide that no shop assistants should be employed in a shop for more than forty-eight hours in any week was agreed to, as also was one moved by Major Hamilton to allow a shopkeeper, who usually employed an assistant, to continue to serve customers after regulation hours without the aid of the assistant. On the motion of Sir F. Banbury, refreshments sold on railway premises for consumption on the trains were added to the exceptions to the Bill. He was engaged in moving another amendment when the Bill was adjourned; ultimately it was dropped altogether.

The second reading of the Rent Restriction Bill was moved by Dr. Addison on June 4. He explained that the object of the Bill was to extend for a period of three years, with certain qualifications, the security of tenure to tenants of dwelling houses which had been obtained for them under existing statutes; to raise the limits of the rent of the dwelling houses to which the Bill would apply from 70*l.* in the metropolitan area, 60*l.* in Scotland, and 52*l.* elsewhere, to 105*l.*, 90*l.*, and 78*l.* respectively; to provide for an increase of rent to meet the increase of the mortgage interest, and to impose a fine where a premium or key money were exacted, and where extortionate sums were charged for furnished rooms. The Bill would not apply to business premises, but a Select Committee would be appointed to report on this subject with a view to subsequent legislation. After a debate, in which a number of members took part, the closure was moved by Dr. Addison and carried by a majority of 116. The amendment was negatived and the Bill read a second time and referred to a Standing Committee.

Various amendments were added during the report stage on June 21. Mr. Hood moved that a landlord responsible for the repairs of a house might raise the rent by an amount not exceeding 20 per cent. instead of 25 per cent., but the amendment was rejected, as also was one moved by Major Henderson to entitle to compensation a tenant who voluntarily made repairs for which the landlord was liable. On the motion of the Lord Advocate an amendment was agreed to which would permit a landlord to transfer liability for the rates to the

tenant, who would pay them and deduct the amount from the rent. Dr. Addison then moved the insertion of a new subsection to allow recovery of possession by a landlord to put in an occupant who was working on an agricultural holding. Mr. Turton moved that a certificate of the County Agricultural Committee should not be necessary in this case. Dr. Addison's amendment, however, was agreed to, and after some other amendments had been added the Bill was read a third time and passed.

In the House of Lords the second reading was moved by Lord Astor and carried on June 24. In Committee Lord Astor moved an amendment to provide that where the tenant had been in the employment of the landlord, and had ceased to be in that employment, a recovery of the dwelling should not take place otherwise than in consequence of a strike or lockout. The amendment was negatived by a majority of 21. Lord Salisbury moved an amendment to provide that instead of the 15 per cent. increase in rent authorised by the Bill in the case of dwelling houses, the increase in the case of business premises should be 50 per cent.; so that, when added to the increased charges in respect of repairs, it would amount to 75 per cent. Lord Astor objected to the amendment which was thereupon withdrawn. On the report stage an amendment was added on the motion of Lord Balfour dealing with dwelling houses let by a Railway Company to persons in the employment of the Company. Another amendment was agreed to on the motion of Lord Salisbury, the effect of which was to allow an increase of 60 per cent. on the net rent and 40 per cent. on the standard rent. Some of these amendments were adopted and some rejected by the House of Commons, and the Bill received the royal assent on July 2.

The Act as finally amended and passed was a somewhat complicated measure, its chief provisions being as follows: In the case of a dwelling house within the present limits of protection, *i.e.*, 70*l.* rental in London, 60*l.* in Scotland, and 52*l.* elsewhere, the landlord was entitled to an increase of rent (a) immediately of 30 per cent. of the rent, exclusive of rates, at which the house was let on August 3, 1914, equivalent in the average case to about 22½ per cent. on the standard rent where the landlord pays the rates; (b) at the end of twelve months of a further 10 per cent., making 40 per cent. in all, equivalent in the average case to about 29 per cent. on the standard rent where the landlord pays the rates. In the case of a dwelling house within the present limits of protection, a mortgagee would be entitled to an increase of mortgage interest of ¼ per cent. immediately and of a further ½ per cent. at the end of twelve months, subject to a maximum rate of 6½ per cent. In the case of a dwelling house between 70*l.* and 105*l.* rental in London, 60*l.* and 90*l.* in Scotland, and 52*l.* and 78*l.* elsewhere, which was now brought for the first time within the limits of protec-

tion, the permitted increase of rent (40 per cent.) and of mortgage interest (1 per cent.) would take effect at once and not in two stages. The permitted increase of rent was to be conditional upon the execution of repairs by the landlord, and the County Court would have power to suspend payment of the increase of rent if the repairs were not executed within a limited period.

Within the extended limits of protection a tenant obtained security against ejectment, subject to certain qualifications, until June 24, 1923, at which date the Act ceased to be operative. Where a landlord required possession of a house for his own occupation or for that of an employee or tenant it was provided that he should find alternative accommodation for the tenant reasonably equivalent as regards rent and suitability in all respects. The Act imposed for the first time restrictions on the increase of rent of business premises, the rent limits being the same as for dwelling houses, but the protection limited to one year. It was made a statutory offence for a person to require any payment or to give any consideration as a condition of the grant for renewal or continuance of a tenancy to any dwelling house to which the Act applied. As regards furnished houses, the Act provided that if it was proved to the satisfaction of the Court that the rent being charged was yielding, or would yield, a profit of more than 25 per cent. in excess of the sum which might have been reasonably expected from a similar letting in 1914, the Court might order that such excess of rent should be irrecoverable, and that any amount which might have been paid should be repaid to the lessee.

The vote for the Ministry of Transport was taken on June 24, and was marked by an announcement from Sir Eric Geddes that the State did not intend to take over the railways. Mr. Asquith complained that the staff of the Ministry of Transport were more highly paid than the rest of the Civil Service, but Mr. Bonar Law pointed out that the appointments of the staff of this Ministry were in most cases temporary and that they received no pensions, the work being such as to require expert knowledge.

At the end of the month Mr. Bridgeman moved the second reading of the Overseas Trade Bill, the object of which, as he described it, was to give to the shattered countries of Europe a credit of three years, by the end of which time they might hope to find the Exchange improved. For this year provision had been made in the estimates for 2,000,000*l.* out of the 26,000,000*l.* which the Government were prepared to advance. The Bill was read a second time on June 29 and referred to a Standing Committee. It passed its third reading on July 30 and received the royal assent on August 9.

The last Bill to be dealt with by the House of Commons in June was the Mining Industry Bill, providing for the

establishment of a Ministry of Mines, the regulation of coal mines, and for general matters such as the establishment of a fund for the improvement of the social conditions of colliery workers. Clause 1 authorised His Majesty to appoint a Minister of Mines who, by virtue of his office, should be an additional Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Trade. Clause 2 defined the duties of the new Minister. Clause 3 authorised the Minister to regulate the export of coal and supply of coal for the bunkering of vessels, and also to regulate the pit-head price to be charged for coal sold for consumption in the British Isles and for bunkers. The Minister was also empowered to regulate the wages of workers in coal mines and the distribution of profits. Clause 4 dealt with the appointment of Advisory Committees. The salary of the Minister of Mines was to be 2,000*l.* a year.

The second reading of the Bill was moved by Sir R. Horne on June 30. He explained that as the necessity for controlling the export of coal still continued, and as the Acts under which such control was now exercised would shortly expire, it had been necessary to bring in this Bill to establish a Ministry of Mines with power to regulate pit-head prices, the amount of export, the rate of wages and other matters relating to the coal industry. The only additional cost involved by this Ministry would be the Minister's salary of 2,000*l.* a year, and that of the immediate headquarters' staff that he required. A Committee composed of representatives of both employers and workers, of representatives of other trades including consumers, and of technical experts, would advise the Minister, and pit and district committees would deal with matters relating to the welfare of the men, while Area Boards under a National Board would deal with matters relating to wages.

The second reading was opposed by Mr. Brace, and also by Sir C. Cory, who declared that under the Bill the coal owners would have all the risks while the control was taken out of their hands. Mr. S. Walsh said that the Bill threw the great national industry of coal mining back into the hands of private owners. Mr. Hartshorn asserted that it would add to the price of inland coal and therefore to the general cost of living. A majority of 126 was, however, secured for the second reading, and the Bill was then referred to a Standing Committee.

The Irish Home Rule Bill was debated in Committee of the House of Commons throughout June. Amendments were moved to give the two Irish Parliaments control of the Navy, Army, and Air Force, and to give them power to legislate with respect to commercial treaties or relations with foreign States, but these were negatived. An amendment was carried, on the motion of Sir Edward Carson, fixing the seats of the Government of Southern and Northern Ireland at Dublin and Belfast respectively, or at such places as the two Parliaments might

respectively determine. Another amendment was moved by Mr. Stewart with the object of preventing the transfer of the Royal Irish Constabulary and Dublin Metropolitan Police from the control of the Imperial Parliament earlier than three years after the "appointed day." Sir Edward Carson suggested that at the appointed day under the Bill the constabulary should be disbanded so that the Irish Parliaments could re-establish them under a police scheme of their own if they chose. This suggestion was supported by Sir Donald Maclean, Lord Hugh Cecil, and Lord Winterton. Mr. Long then said that the Government were prepared to accept the amendment of Mr. Stewart and to consider the suggestion of Sir Edward Carson; the amendment was accordingly agreed to. A long debate ensued on another amendment moved by Sir Edward Carson to omit the sub-section which gave powers to the Council of Ireland in relation to railways. Mr. A. Neal explained that this sub-section made the Council the legislative authority for railways in Ireland, subject to the more general powers reserved to the Imperial Parliament. Eventually the amendment was defeated by a majority of 190. On the motion of Colonel W. Guinness it was next agreed that the powers over fisheries in Ireland should be transferred to the Council of Ireland instead of to the Parliaments of the North and South respectively. It was also agreed that the Council should have power to make laws with regard to fisheries. Mr. Long then moved an amendment to provide that nothing in the Bill should prevent the Parliament of Southern Ireland or of Northern Ireland from making laws authorising the construction or extension of railways when the works to be constructed would be situated wholly in one of the two areas. This was agreed to. Another Government amendment was carried to provide that the transactions of the Council during the period when there would be two separate Parliaments, should be paid for out of the consolidated funds of Southern and Northern Ireland respectively.

On June 22 Sir S. Hoare moved that after the union of the two Irish Parliaments Irish representation at Westminster should cease. The amendment, however, was negatived by a majority of 194. On the motion of Colonel Guinness the number of Irish members in the House of Commons was fixed at forty-six instead of forty-two, so as to allow of four representatives for the Irish Universities. On June 28 Major O'Neill moved that the Irish Insurance Commissioners should have all the rights as to pensions, compensation, etc., of established Civil Servants. As regards Irish Universities, an amendment moved by Sir W. Whitla was withdrawn in favour of one moved by Mr. Fisher, to increase the annual payment to the Queen's University, Belfast, to 26,000*l*. The amendment was carried. Captain W. Benn then moved the omission of the sub-section which repealed the Act of 1914. Mr. Lloyd George said that the Irish were impossible in their present mood, but



he did not despair of their accepting in the end the only measure of self-government which the people of this country could concede. Sir Edward Carson opposed the amendment, and after further debate the closure, moved by Sir L. Worthington-Evans, was agreed to by a majority of 159, and the amendment was negatived by a majority of 160. This terminated the Committee stage.

The state of Ireland during June continued as before. On the 1st of the month a daring raid was carried out by armed men in the city of Dublin during the afternoon. The Registry of Deeds office at the King's Inns in Henrietta Street was seized and the nine soldiers who were on duty there were overpowered and their arms taken from them. The raiders numbered between 90 and 100; 60 of them came down Constitution Hill in open formation, and 30 others came up Henrietta Street. They were accompanied by two motor cars. One party cut the telephone wires and prevented the alarm being given to Dublin Castle; a rapid but thorough search was then made of the premises, including the upper rooms; the Guard were relieved of their arms, ammunition, and accoutrements, and it was stated that the raiders secured 13 rifles, 500 rounds of ammunition, a Lewis gun, 15 bayonets, and other equipment. The arms and ammunition were carried out and placed in the motor cars which then drove quietly away. No one was injured in the raid, which lasted only a few minutes, and no shot was fired.

The same night attempts were made to capture three police barracks in Ireland, but in all cases the police repelled the attacks. Two barracks in King's County, fourteen miles apart, were subjected to heavy rifle fire for several hours. The usual precautions were taken by the raiders, and in one case a part of the railway line was pulled up. Much damage was done by bombs, but no casualties were inflicted among the police. Early on the following morning other barracks were attacked and a number of desperate fights took place between the police and the raiders. On June 4 a police barrack in County Tipperary was attacked, but the raiders were cut off by a party of soldiers and police as they were retiring, and one of them was captured. The attack on the barracks was carried on by means of rifle fire and bombs. The police replied vigorously with their rifles and hand grenades, and the battle continued for three hours before the assailants retreated.

Meanwhile fresh difficulties had been caused by the refusal of Irish railwaymen to handle munitions in Ireland. On June 3 a deputation of the National Union of Railwaymen was received by the Prime Minister in connexion with the matter. Mr. J. H. Thomas, who headed the deputation, said that some hundreds of members of the National Union of Railwaymen in Ireland, without the knowledge or sanction of the executive, had refused to handle munitions because they felt they were

called on to do something which would aid a war against their own fellow-countrymen. The executive of the National Union of Railwaymen felt that before expressing any opinion it was wise to ascertain from the Government whether there were any means by which the question could be dealt with. They all recognised that it was the duty of the Government to protect and assist those who were called on to discharge difficult and sometimes very unpleasant duties. There was a feeling, however, that militarism was the only force and method that was now employed in Ireland. He did not believe that the outrages expressed in any degree the feeling of the great mass of Irishmen towards England. The Irish railwaymen could hardly be blamed for their action. Munitions were sent repeatedly under an armed guard, and the railwaymen had flouted in their faces every day one method and policy of dealing with the Irish problem. Mr. Thomas expressed his conviction that the solution of the Irish problem would come from the industrial rather than from the political arena.

Mr. Lloyd George, in his reply, remarked that this was a case in which Trade Unionism had entered an entirely new sphere, which he regarded as a serious challenge to the whole of the constitution of the country. It sought to influence political decisions, not by the ordinary machinery of the State, the choosing of members on the widest franchise we had ever had, but by means of bringing pressure to bear through a threat of disorganising the industries of the country to effect changes which, up to the present, had not been sanctioned by the electorate of the country. Mr. Lloyd George pointed out that in Ireland, within a very short time, there had been 48 murders of police, and 120 attempted murders had failed. The men were shot down in the street leaving wives and children behind them, although they were simply carrying out their elementary duty—the preservation of order. If the Government sent across revolvers to these men to defend their lives, a Trade Union said, “We will stop the whole traffic of Ireland if necessary.” This was a challenge which the Government was bound to take up, and the refusal to work trains carrying troops had put a very serious decision on to the Trade Union. He could not believe that the National Union of Railwaymen would embark upon a very serious policy of that kind which the Trade Union Congress had absolutely refused to sanction.

The publication of this statement by Mr. Lloyd George led to several meetings of the men and of the strike committee, in which an inclination was shown to recede from the position which they had taken up. On June 8 the Executive of the Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress discussed the matter, and expressed readiness to meet the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress. Nevertheless the strike continued. At Waterford on June 14 railwaymen in charge of a train for Kilkenny refused to make the journey

because some thirty soldiers proposed to travel by the train. It was explained that they carried no ammunition, and that they had been without food for a considerable time. Finally fourteen soldiers who had no rifles were allowed to travel, while sixteen who had rifles went to the local barracks. Incidents of this kind were of almost daily occurrence during the middle of June and very seriously embarrassed the actions of the Government.

On June 16 and 17 a conference was held of the Executive of the National Union of Railwaymen with representatives of the Irish branches of the Union on the situation in Ireland. After some discussion a Joint Committee, consisting of members of the Executive and delegates from the North as well as the South of Ireland, was appointed to form a declaration of policy. The Committee produced three resolutions which were submitted to the full conference, and eventually adopted unanimously. The first resolution endorsed the action of the Executive in calling the conference in order that labour might have an opportunity of expressing its opinion, and if possible finding a solution of the whole Irish problem. The second resolution expressed the conviction that the present murders and outrages in Ireland were the inevitable result of the failure of the Government to govern Ireland in accordance with the wishes of the people. It condemned the outrages and appealed to the Irish people themselves to take steps to protect human life and property, and it appealed also to the Government to prevent provocation by the sending of munitions to Ireland. The third resolution requested Mr. Thomas to arrange an interview with the Prime Minister, and appoint a deputation composed of North and South Ireland delegates to explain to the Government the serious situation now existing in Ireland, and if possible to make proposals which would enable a real and permanent solution to be found.

Mr. Thomas, with members of the Executive of the National Union of Railwaymen, and delegates from the Irish railways, accordingly interviewed the Prime Minister on the following day. They proposed that the Government should cease to send further troops and munitions to Ireland, in return for which the men would make an appeal collectively and individually to the Irish people to put down the crimes of violence and outrage of every sort and kind, and that in the interval of this truce the British and Irish Trade Union Congresses should meet to consider the position. They also asked that the Government should meet the executive of the Irish Trade Union Congress and the Parliamentary Committee of the English Congress, and discuss with them the whole future of Ireland, with a view to finding a permanent solution of the problem. Mr. Lloyd George replied, however, that he could not agree to discontinue the sending of troops or munitions to Ireland, though the Government were prepared to do everything in their power to prevent

provocation. He declared that he was ready to meet anybody representing Irish political thought, including representatives of the Sinn Fein organisation, but further than this he could not go. He said that if there were any further refusal on the part of transport workers to carry troops or munitions, it was the intention of the Government to close the Irish railways.

Notwithstanding this pronouncement the outlook became increasingly grave. Railwaymen still refused to handle munitions or facilitate the movement of troops or police, and it began to appear that a general strike or lock-out would be inevitable. Mr. J. H. Thomas, speaking at Scarborough on June 20, described the situation as very dangerous. He said that the Irish railwaymen were determined not to give way whatsoever might be the consequences, and urged that if the English and Irish Trade Union movement could bring a solution, the Government ought to hold their hand and give them a chance to see what they could do.

At this moment feeling in Ulster was still further embittered by a renewal of serious rioting in Londonderry where six men were killed and many injured in street fighting on June 19. Apparently a band of Nationalists had besieged a Club and demanded the surrender of a Unionist inside; when this was refused the shooting began. The crowd soon got out of hand and began firing through windows and smashing in shop fronts, not hesitating even at arson. The rioting continued throughout the night and only subsided with the exhaustion of the rioters in the morning. There was a recrudescence on June 21 when firing again occurred in the morning, and minor encounters took place in various parts of the town.

Another desperate attempt on the life of a high official was made in the streets of Dublin on the morning of June 22. The victim was Assistant Inspector-General Roberts of the Royal Irish Constabulary who, though wounded, had with his escort of police a wonderful escape from the bullets and bombs of a large party of assailants. Mr. Roberts was in a motor with several policemen when a party of men suddenly appeared and opened fire upon him with their revolvers. The occupants of the car immediately returned the fire, and the shooting was continuous as long as the car remained in view. Mr. Roberts was shot in the head in the first volley and he fell against the chauffeur, who, although shot through both legs, maintained his position at the wheel and kept the car moving. Two bombs were thrown at the same time but apparently did no damage.

As a result of the rioting in Londonderry, a proclamation was issued requiring all citizens to remain indoors between 11 o'clock at night and 5 in the morning unless provided with a permit. A considerable force of troops was sent to the city with a view to preventing further disturbance. According to an official police statement the total number of deaths was seventeen, while twenty-seven persons were wounded

and at least nine others were known to be hurt. It was believed, however, that many of the casualties were concealed, and the actual list of killed and wounded was alleged to be larger than that stated. Notwithstanding the reassurances of the military authorities normal business was not restored in Londonderry for some days, and occasional sniping shots and warning volleys were heard at night.

As regards the railways, the situation gradually became worse. Men who refused to work the trains were dismissed, with the result that the number of trains run became fewer and fewer. One town after another became isolated, but the men remained in their determination not to work trains carrying munitions, police, or soldiers. Whenever soldiers or police attempted to travel by train the train remained in the station, and no threats of dismissal could induce the men to start it. By the end of June a strike existed in everything but name. There was an accumulation of individual and scattered stoppages which amounted to a paralysis of the whole railway system.

An outrage of extraordinary daring was committed at Castletownroche, County Cork, during the night of June 26-27. Brigadier-General Lucas and Colonels Danford and Tyrrell of the Clonmel military area, had rented a fishing on the Blackwater, and occupied a tent near the river about 4 miles from Fermoy. Suddenly a band of armed and disguised men surrounded the tent, and rushing in placed revolvers to the heads of the officers who, being unarmed and taken by surprise, were arrested in the name of the Irish Republic. The raiders, who had arrived in two motor cars, took possession of General Lucas's car and set off with their prisoners in the direction of Cork. Soon afterwards Colonel Danford attempted to escape. He jumped out of the car but was fired upon by the Republicans and fell prostrate with serious wounds in the head and shoulder. The raiders then liberated Colonel Tyrrell so that he could attend to his wounded fellow-officer, and leaving them on the roadside drove away with General Lucas to an unknown destination. This coup caused great jubilation among the Sinn Feiners, and from every point of view it will be seen that the position in Ireland at the end of June was worse than it had been at any previous time, and showed signs of further deterioration rather than of improvement.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE SUMMER MONTHS.

IN dealing with the Budget we mentioned that the proposal most criticised was that for increasing the Excess Profits Duty from 40 per cent. to 60 per cent. The unpopularity of this measure in no wise abated as time went on. On July 1 a

deputation of the Federation of British Industries waited on Mr. Austen Chamberlain in order to press upon him certain concessions. The deputation affirmed that the industries of the country were unanimous in their opposition to the continuance of the Excess Profits Duty in any form whatever, but more particularly at the increased rate of 60 per cent. In view of the fact that the continuance of the duty had been unanimously determined upon by the Cabinet, the deputation did not go farther than press for concessions which, in their opinion, would help to minimise the grave danger of inflicting irreparable harm on the industries of the country. While pressing for these concessions, the deputation insisted that they were strongly opposed to the whole duty itself, and that they could not accept the concessions as a compromise to the withdrawal of it. Mr. Chamberlain, in reply, expressed the view that there was too great a tendency in the modern business world to attribute all evils in business to the financial policy of the Government. He admitted that circumstances had changed considerably since he had introduced his Budget, but he assured the deputation that he was watching the position from day to day with anxious care. He claimed that the efforts of the Government to grapple with the debt and to deal with inflation of credit had been very beneficial. He urged on the deputation that only by great sacrifices and great prudence on the part of those responsible for industry and for the finance of the country could we go through the difficulties facing us, and save ourselves from crises such as the business communities had suffered from in America and Japan. He pointed out, among the difficulties of his position, that he could not touch the floating debt until he had met 160,000,000*l.* of indebtedness which matured yearly, and said that for this, among other reasons, it was impossible for him to accede to the request of the deputation that Excess Profits Duty should be payable in War Loan. He could not add to his difficulties by agreeing to such a thing. With regard to the request for delay in payment, he considered it the bounden duty of firms to pay their Excess Profits Duty when due, as otherwise the whole body of taxpayers would have to suffer.

A day or two later Mr. Chamberlain issued a "Memorandum of Present and Pre-War Expenditure." This memorandum showed that Government expenditure was more than six times what it had been in the year before the war. A gross expenditure of 207,817,437*l.* for 1913-14 had swollen, according to the Budget estimates, to 1,282,274,000*l.* for 1920-21. The National Debt, which in 1913-14 cost 24,500,000*l.*, was estimated for 1920-21 to cost 345,000,000*l.* The fighting Services had risen from 86,027,992*l.* to 269,170,000*l.* The Civil Services had risen from 55,005,722*l.* to 555,626,000*l.* The Revenue Departments had also increased from 29,460,754*l.* to 61,280,000*l.* Thus, while the expenditure on the fighting Services had been trebled,

that on the Civil Services had actually been increased tenfold. It is true that War Pensions amounted to 123,236,000*l.*, but even after the deduction of this figure the Budget estimates for the second year of peace showed an expenditure nearly eight times greater than it had been in the last year before the war. More than half the estimated expenditure on the Civil Services was entirely new. It included items for railway agreements, canals and coastwise transport subsidies, the bread subsidy (amounting to 45,000,000*l.*), housing subsidies, coal mines' deficiency, export credits, and other advances.

The publication of this memorandum occasioned a debate in the House of Lords on July 7, when Lord Midleton called attention to the great increase in the estimated normal expenditure of the country, and moved for the appointment of Commissioners to wind up war departments, and to reduce other inflated establishments to a normal level. Lord Buckmaster insisted that the Government should obtain a return as to the exact amount of taxation this country could bear without injuring its industries, and compel the departments to keep within their allotted share of that amount. The Lord Chancellor gave details of the estimates, pointing out that the administration was not extravagant, but the motion was carried against the Government by a majority of 72.

The financial prospect was painted in somewhat more favourable colours by Mr. Chamberlain at a dinner at the Mansion House on July 15. He then expressed the view that after the great cataclysm that had shaken the world it could not be expected that the ravages of war could be immediately repaired. New problems had arisen during the war in commerce, politics, and finance, and it was not surprising if, in these circumstances, there was room for criticism, and if the efforts of those who were responsible for dealing with the problems had not given unmixed satisfaction. Much had been done, he said, but much remained to be done. The Government had already made gigantic reductions in expenditure, and he would be keenly disappointed and greatly surprised if they were not able to make further large reductions when they framed the estimates for next year. Nevertheless, expenditure must continue at a high figure. The National Debt added to the nation's charges a sum for interest alone which was greater than our whole expenditure before the war. During the first six months of the present year he said that we had made successful progress. We had passed the peak of our national difficulties, and had begun the downward path from the high level to which we had been forced to climb. The legal tender currency had begun to decrease. The National Debt had been reduced by 200,000,000*l.*; the Floating Debt had been reduced by 60,000,000*l.*; our exports had steadily extended, and he thought it true to say that they had exceeded our imports and been sufficient to find the amount necessary for repaying the 50,000,000*l.* of our foreign obligations. The

*Economist* index number of prices which had steadily risen from March, 1919, to April, 1920, had at last begun to show a tendency to fall. He held, therefore, that we had no reason for dissatisfaction, and he looked to the future with hope and confidence.

The Finance Bill passed through its Committee and other stages during July. An amendment to omit the increased duty on tea was negatived, as also was one providing for a reduction of the duty on spirits used in hospitals on prescription. Rear-Admiral Adair then moved an amendment to place sparkling wines upon the same level as other wines. The amendment was withdrawn and a Government amendment reducing the proposed *ad valorem* duty of 50 per cent. to  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. was agreed to by a majority of 171. Amendments to reduce the additional duty on cigars, and to abolish the preferential rate for British-grown cigars were both negatived. On the subject of Income Tax deductions, Mr. Lawson moved that a householder maintaining his mother should be entitled to the deduction of 225*l.* allowed to a man who had a wife living with him, but the amendment was negatived by a majority of 162. The clause dealing with stamp duty was amended, on the motion of Sir G. Younger, by the omission of the sub-section which dealt with the rates payable by way of composition in respect of the duty.

When the Excess Profits Duty came up for consideration, Mr. G. Terrell moved an amendment which would have maintained the duty at 40 per cent. instead of increasing it to the 60 per cent. proposed in the Bill. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then announced that while this duty would be 60 per cent. for the present year, he was prepared to give an assurance that next year it should not be more than 40 per cent. After a long debate the amendment was negatived by a majority of 172. An amendment was then agreed to, on the motion of Mr. Higham, to provide that ex-service men who had started in business since the armistice should have a concession of 500*l.* as opposed to 200*l.* to civilians. As regards the Corporation Tax, amendments were moved and rejected, exempting from the tax surplus resulting from the trading of a Co-operative Society with its own members, and also providing that the amount of tax payable in respect of the profits of a British Company should in no case exceed the amount represented by 5 per cent. of the balance of the profits, instead of 10 per cent. as provided in the Bill. The proposed repeal of the Land Values Duties occasioned various amendments. Mr. T. Thomson desired to retain the duties, and Mr. Hogge desired to omit the sub-sections which provided that after the passing of the Act there should be no further collection of the Land Values Duty, but that duties already paid should be re-imbursed. Both amendments were rejected. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then moved a new clause amending the pre-war standard of profit for Excess Profits Duty in accounting periods ending after



December 31, 1919. He explained that the new clause was designed to alleviate the pressure of the tax, particularly in regard to new businesses and small businesses. The amendment was agreed to, as also was another by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to allow an extra 1 per cent. new capital in businesses.

An amendment to repeal the Imperial Preference Duties imposed by the Finance Act of 1919, and one to exclude mandated territories from the ambit of Preferential Duties were both negatived. On the motion of Sir J. Hope a new clause was agreed to providing that certain concessions granted in the Finance Act of the previous year in respect of the Rent Restriction Act should be adjusted to the new Rent Restriction Act. On the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer another new clause was agreed to, providing that where from profits any contribution had been made after July 16, 1920, to any charitable, educational, or scientific society, a deduction should be made in respect of such contributions not exceeding 5 per cent. of these profits as calculated for the purposes of the Excess Profits Duty.

Further amendments were made during the Report stage. As regards the Corporation Tax, Mr. Kidd moved that Societies registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act should not pay the tax on the profits or surplus arising from trading among their own members. The amendment was negatived, but a proviso embodying concessions to Statutory Companies was moved by Mr. Baldwin, and was agreed to after an amendment to it had been added to include Dock Companies in the list of those to which the concession would apply. On the motion for the third reading, Mr. Bottomley moved that the House regretted that the Government in making financial provision for 1920-21 should have ignored the previous declarations of Ministers on questions of fiscal policy, and have brought forward misleading estimates. Mr. Asquith declared that the House of Commons ought to prevent the necessity for the increase of taxation by a proper control of expenditure. The Chancellor of the Exchequer pointed out that by the effort made in the present Bill we should be enabled to pay half our war debts within a reasonable time. The third reading was carried and the Bill passed on July 28. It received the royal assent on August 4.

During the first week of July speeches were made by Lord Grey and Mr. Arthur Balfour on the outlook for the future. The occasion of these speeches was the foundation of a British Institute of International Affairs, the purpose of which was to keep its members in touch with the international situation, and to enable them to study the relation between national policies and the interests of society as a whole. The idea of the Institute had originated during the Peace Conference at Paris. A provisional committee had then been formed to devise a

scheme, after the conference was over, for the formation of the Institute, and original members had been selected. Information rather than propaganda was the essential object of the Institute, and the Society was prohibited by its constitution from forming or expressing opinions on foreign affairs. The resolution constituting the new organisation was moved by Lord Grey of Fallodon, who said that there was no intention of using the Institution as an instrument for defending or attacking the policy of the Government of the day. It would not interfere with policy, but it would provide materials upon which statesmen, politicians, and journalists could form sound opinions. Asking what Governments could fairly be asked to do to help the Institute, Lord Grey said he thought that they might do two things: they could give it clearly to be understood that it was an axiom of all national Governments that the sanctity of treaties should be maintained; they could also let it be understood that they had adopted a rule of conduct whereby they would not, in time of peace, have secret treaties. Secrecy of treaties, he said, was always objectionable, though in war it might be necessary. One of the great lessons of the war, in his opinion, was that thinking nationally without thinking internationally led to disaster. Before the war Germany was thinking more intensely nationally and less internationally than any country in the world, and it led to disaster. Nations, on the other hand, were thinking internationally when they formed the League of Nations at Paris, and it was essential they should continue to think internationally.

Lord Grey's resolution was seconded by Mr. Balfour, who, after remarking that he had succeeded Lord Grey at the Foreign Office, referred to the work of the Peace Conference, saying that notwithstanding the criticisms brought against it, it had been the most fruitful work of international co-operation which the world had ever seen. He believed that the historian of the future, looking back upon the year 1919, would feel that the result of the colossal sacrifices made by the allied associated Powers had not been unworthy of the efforts brought forth. He called upon his hearers to recognise the truth that mutual comprehension could at least exist when the nations met together to discuss affairs common to them all. For an indefinite future the world was going to be arranged on a national basis. That was perfectly right. What was required was to combine with national feeling a desire for international comprehension and international amity, for this would be the surest guarantee against any repetition of the horrors of the previous five years. Mr. Balfour was then followed by Mr. Clynes, and the resolution inaugurating the Institute was carried unanimously. Lord Grey, Mr. Balfour, Lord Robert Cecil, and Mr. Clynes were forthwith elected Presidents of the new body.

Foreign affairs were discussed by the House of Commons on the 19th and again on July 21. On the 19th Mr. Ormsby-

Gore moved the adjournment of the House to call attention to the immediate danger to British interests in the Middle East arising from the threatened new hostilities in Syria. Mr. Bonar Law pointed out that the French had been given a mandate for the whole of Syria, and that it was for them to take what measures they considered desirable without interference from us, so long as those measures were in accordance with the Treaty of Peace.

On the 21st the adjournment of the House was again moved, in order that Mr. Lloyd George might make a statement on the Spa Allied Conference. He said that the Allies had decided to adhere substantially to the terms already submitted to Turkey, but they would allow Turkey a representative on the Straits Commission. It had been decided to use the Greek forces to restore order in the territory between Smyrna and the Dardanelles. M. Venizelos had done this in ten days, and the Greeks were undertaking similar operations in Thrace. Turkey had been given ten days only in which to sign the treaty. A document was sent from Spa to the Soviet Government declaring that if they did not grant an armistice to the existing Government of Poland, the Allies would give Poland all the assistance in their power. The Allies had insisted on Germany's issuing a proclamation that all rifles must be surrendered by September, and it had been settled that she should deliver 2,000,000 tons of coal per month to the Allies. Decisions had also been arrived at with regard to the distribution of reparation. British interests were to get 22 per cent., France 50 per cent., and Italy 10 per cent.

In the course of the debate which followed, Mr. Asquith, after commenting on the various aspects of the Conference at Spa, declared that instead of conferences between groups of Powers the machinery of the League of Nations should be brought into operation as the normal organ for dealing with these matters. Mr. T. Shaw and Mr. J. H. Thomas insisted that we ought now to hold out the hand of friendship to the Russian people. After some further speeches the motion for the adjournment was withdrawn.

Next day Lord Parmoor called attention in the House of Lords to the constitution of the League of Nations, and to the terms of the Covenant, and desired to know to what extent the provisions of the Covenant had become operative. Lords Bryce and Haldane expressed disappointment with the progress made in popularising the League, while Lord Sydenham thought that the most it was good for was to prevent war between two small countries. In reply to these and other criticisms, Lord Curzon pointed out that the work of the League had been crippled by the defection of America. The League was about to hold its eighth meeting, and the work done by it was most encouraging and promised a future of practical utility.

The annual Conference of the Miners' Federation of Great

Britain opened at Leamington on July 6. Mr. Smillie, in his presidential address, denied that the policy of nationalisation of the mines was dead. He expressed the hope that the period was not far distant when the nation in its own interests would take over the production of its own coal for the benefit of the community. The Federation had no desire to use its power merely because it could threaten the Government or nation, but it must not be forgotten, he said, that the great mass of human beings represented in the organised mining movement had been struggling to emerge from the cursed system of slavery and degradation which they occupied under private ownership of mines. The miners had had to work out their own social salvation in face of bitter opposition; they had done it through the power of combination and organisation. Mr. Smillie denied that there had been any necessity for the increase in price of 14s. 2d. per ton which the Government had placed upon household coal. He said that the Executive were very anxious that the miners should make an effort to reduce the price of coal by the amount at least of that extra 14s. 2d. The Executive now wished to ask the conference to decide whether the Government should not be called upon to reduce the price of household coal by 14s. 2d. per ton, and at the same time to give an increase in the wages of mine workers. He affirmed that the Government were now in a position to reduce the price of coal and to give an increase of wages while yet the coal industry would continue to be a paying proposition. He denied that the Government were entitled to put the profits into the Exchequer as they were doing. The miners had not yet reached a position in which they were able to face the increased cost of living, and the Exchequer was not entitled to make money from the industry until the miners were able to meet the cost of living.

After a discussion in private, the Conference of the Miners' Federation determined to make fresh demands upon the Government in accordance with the advice of their Executive. They demanded (1) an immediate reduction of 14s. 2d. per ton in the price of domestic coal, and (2) an advance in the miners' wages of 2s. per day flat rate for adults over 18, 1s. between 18 and 16, and 9d. per day for workers below 16. There was some opposition to the policy of the Executive in coupling a demand for cheaper coal with that for an advance in wages, the argument being that the miners should not concern themselves with the interests of coal consumers, and sacrifice the larger wages which they might otherwise claim. Mr. Smillie and other leaders, however, urged the wisdom of a modified demand. If the Government refused to take off the 14s. 2d. on coal it was emphasised that an amended claim for wages would probably be made, so to absorb all the surplus profits at present going to the National Exchequer. South Wales and several other districts were in fact pressing for an immediate claim for an increase of 4s. per day.

The prospect of a strike now appeared very imminent, for the discontent among the miners was not limited merely to questions of wages and prices. Before it separated the Conference of the Miners' Federation passed two ominous resolutions. In the first it refused to operate the Ministry of Mines Bill if that Bill should become law, Mr. Smillie declaring that the effect of the measure on wages would be to make a Federation strike inevitable. In the second, the conference decided to move, at the special Trades Union Congress to be held in the following week, that should the Government refuse to meet the Labour demands with regard to Ireland and Russia, a general "down tools" policy should be adopted.

The Congress met in London on July 13, and when the miners' resolution was brought forward it was decided by a card vote of 2,760,000 to 1,636,000 to demand the withdrawal of all British troops from Ireland and the cessation of the production of munitions of war destined to be used against Ireland and Russia. In case the Government refused these demands the Congress was to recommend a general "down tools" policy, and to call on the Trade Unions of the country to carry out the policy by taking ballots of their members, or by other methods which were in accordance with their constitution. Some surprise was occasioned by the action of the Congress in voting for the miners' resolution. The feeling of the delegates, as expressed by earlier votes, seemed to be in favour of attempting to secure better understanding between the workers of Ulster and the other Irish provinces, and of asking the Government to make use of this improved atmosphere, if it could be achieved, to give Ireland an immediate and substantial measure of Home Rule.

The demands of the Miners' Federation were then submitted to the Government, and on July 26 a meeting took place at the Board of Trade in which Sir Robert Horne informed the representatives of the Federation that the Government were unable to accede to the claims which had been made. Sir Robert Horne pointed out that miners' wages had risen more than the cost of living since the war, while in addition the miners got cheaper coal than the ordinary consumer. Whereas the average increase in colliery wages was 157 per cent., the skilled engineer had gone up by only 132 per cent. The Industrial Court had decided that there was no warrant for a further increase in the engineers' wages. Moreover, he insisted that several factors might tend to lower the export price of coal. The State had taken 60 per cent. in Excess Profits from the great industries, but if the miners had their way the coal trade alone would be exempt from that contribution. These surplus profits were "a bit of luck" to which the State was entitled. The British consumer was getting his coal cheaper than the consumer in other countries, and the Government were unable to subsidise the supply to the domestic consumer. In

the face of this definite refusal by the Government, the next move of the miners was referred for consideration to a conference summoned for August 12; we shall therefore resume later the further account of these negotiations.

The question of the Slough Motor Depot once again came before public attention in July, when the report was published of the Select Committee on National Expenditure, criticising the sale of the Depot by the Ministry of Munitions. It appeared that the purchaser was Sir Perceval Perry and the amount paid 7,000,000*l.*, while the dump at St. Omer had been sold to Leyland Motors Ltd., for 500,000*l.* In the course of their report the Select Committee expressed the opinion that the clauses in the Slough contract, which provided that all articles which might be declared surplus within the next two years were included in the sale without any extra price, were contrary to the interests of the taxpayer, inasmuch as the greater the number of articles declared surplus, the greater would be the share of the profit to the purchaser. The Committee also expressed the opinion that an effort should have been made to ascertain the value of the articles included in the Slough sale, and that the sale should not have included articles in various parts of the world the value of which was unknown. With regard to the sale of the St. Omer dump, they held that due care had not been exercised in negotiating this contract. They considered that the method of selling an indeterminate number of vehicles for a fixed sum was not likely to secure the highest possible price. A better method would have been for the price to depend on the actual number of vehicles handed over assessed on an average value per vehicle. Finally, the Committee expressed the view that the decision of the Cabinet that the Ministry of Munitions should cease to act as a purchasing department should be given effect to at once.

Considerable feeling had been raised in the country and in the House of Commons by the attitude of the Government towards General Dyer following upon the Amritsar incident. On the 7th Mr. Churchill, in reply to a question, announced that in the view of the Army Council General Dyer could not be acquitted of an error of judgment. The Army Council accepted, therefore, the decision of the Commander-in-Chief of India, and did not consider that further employment should be offered to General Dyer outside India. Much dissatisfaction was caused by this reply, and on the following day opportunity was taken of the vote for the India Office to discuss the matter at length. Mr. Montagu declared that the theory of partnership should be that which lay at the root of our relations with India. Sir Edward Carson dwelt upon the difficulties which beset the military authority called in to reinstate civil order out of chaos produced by a state of rebellion. Mr. Churchill defended the decision of the Army Council, while Mr. Asquith considered that General Dyer had been guilty of an error of judgment and

worse, and he heartily supported the course which the Government had taken. General Sir A. Hunter-Weston expressed the opinion that no good could be done either to General Dyer, the Army, or the country by attacking the decision come to by responsible soldiers. After a number of other speeches Mr. Bonar Law pointed out that we could not allow it to be said that we treated Indians less fairly than other subjects of the Crown. The amendment to reduce the vote was then negatived.

An echo of this discussion occurred in the House of Lords in a debate which lasted two days on July 19 and 20. Lord Finlay moved a resolution deploring the treatment that had been accorded to General Dyer. Lord Sinha declared that the suggestion that the Government of India had at any time held the opinion that General Dyer's action was justified, was most mischievous. Lord Middleton held that what the Government had done might not be against military law, but it was against military etiquette and precedent laid down by the highest authority. Lord Crewe thought it would have been wise to have made an inquiry, in the first place by the Government of India. The Lord Chancellor explained that General Dyer had merely been placed upon half pay, which was the mildest disciplinary treatment that was known to the British Army. Lord Harris complained of the lack of consideration accorded to General Dyer, and Lord Ampthill believed that General Dyer had been right in what he did. Lord Milner and Lord Meston urged that in the proceedings which had taken place at Amritsar the limits of justice and humanity had been exceeded. After various other speeches the resolution was agreed to by a majority of 43.

The vote for the Ministry of Health was dealt with on July 15. Dr. Addison stated that the Department had passed the plans of 200,000 houses and that 2,000 of these were already built and inhabited. He said that there was still a deficiency of labour, and he referred to the measures which had been taken for the prevention and treatment of disease. In order to meet the present need of the voluntary hospitals for pecuniary help, the King Edward Fund, in consultation with the Ministry, had put aside a quarter of a million from which grants were being made. Medical research work was steadily being carried on.

Among the new Ministries, the Ministry of Food was one which everybody hoped would before long become unnecessary. Indeed many people had thought that it would pass out of existence soon after the end of the war, but the difficulties of food supplies and prices prevented the fulfilment of this hope, and on July 23 the Government found it necessary to move the second reading of a Bill to continue the existence of the Ministry for some further period. The position was that the powers of the Ministry of Food were based on the Defence of the Realm Act, and would therefore terminate when that

Act lapsed. Mr. McCurdy, who moved the second reading, explained that the Bill was intended to continue the office of the Food Controller until September, 1922, subject to the power to bring that office and the Ministry of Food to an end at any moment when the need for its continuance had ceased to exist. A motion for the rejection was negatived by a majority of 66 in a small House and the Bill was referred to a Standing Committee. On the Report stage an attempt was made to limit the duration of the Ministry to March, 1921, but the amendment was defeated. Other amendments were moved to omit the paragraph which enabled the Food Controller to transfer his powers to other Government Departments, and also to omit a paragraph which granted to the Food Controller certain powers which it was alleged might enable a system of protection to be introduced. Both amendments were negatived; the Bill was read a third time on July 30, and received the royal assent on August 16.

During July the question of the increase of railway fares caused considerable agitation. The Ministry of Transport had appointed a Rates Advisory Committee which spent a great part of the month taking evidence upon the matter. The Committee were asked by the Ministry to provide for a deficiency for the fifteen months from April 1 last estimated at 72,000,000*l.* to be raised on new rates between August and June next. The British Railway Companies demanded that the passenger rates should be raised to double their pre-war figure, that is to say, to 2*d.* a mile third class, and in the case of goods traffic they asked for an average advance of 112 per cent. The threat of increased fares caused considerable outcry in the Press, more especially as it was feared that the increases might take place just before the commencement of the holiday season. Sir Eric Geddes, in reply to a question in the House of Commons on July 19, pointed out that in consequence of the rise in costs generally, and especially in wages and materials, a substantial increase in railway charges must be faced if the policy of subsidy was to be abandoned. He said that the Government had decided not to impose any increase of fares on ordinary tickets until after the Bank Holiday, but he gave figures showing the urgency of an alteration as soon afterwards as possible.

When it became known that the intention of the Government was to date the increase from August 5, protest meetings were held in which the Government was urged to postpone the rise until after the holiday season, and especially to give longer notice of whatever alterations might be made. The report of the Rates Advisory Committee was issued on July 26. They recommended that ordinary tickets should be increased by 16½ per cent. on existing fares, making a total of 75 per cent. above pre-war prices. Season tickets were to be increased by 50 per cent. on the fares existing before May, 1918. In Ireland the increase was to be 33½ per cent. on present fares, which was



equivalent to 100 per cent. above pre-war fares, and season tickets were to be increased by 75 per cent. over the fares existing before May, 1918. The report of the Committee was based on the assumption that the changes were to be brought into effect on August 5. The Government lost no time in adopting the report of the Advisory Committee. Mr. Bonar Law announced in the House of Commons on July 28 that the increases in railway fares would be as stated above, and that they would take effect from August 6. On the 29th Mr. Higham moved the adjournment of the House of Commons to call attention to the action of the Government in taking this decision. In the course of the debate Mr. J. H. Thomas pointed out that the railwaymen's wages had not been increased more than was necessary to meet the increased cost of living, and, while admitting that the increase in fares was needful, he argued that the application of it in August was unfair to a certain section of the community who had arranged for their holidays before the increase had been notified. Sir Eric Geddes replied saying that before the Government control of the railways came to an end a further sum of 66,000,000*l.* had to be raised from Great Britain. If the increase of passenger fares was applied at the beginning of August instead of later on, then it need not be more than 25 per cent., whereas if it was delayed it would have to be fixed at 40 per cent. Ultimately the increases came into force on the date determined by the Government, and public protests being of no further avail were soon dropped.

Disorder continued to be rampant in Ireland throughout the month. On the 10th two policemen were attacked near Cork while carrying official correspondence to the Post Office. One of them was severely wounded, and they were both deprived of their arms, despatches, and equipment. On July 12 the Orange celebrations in Belfast were held without any untoward incidents. There were the usual processions, bands, and speeches, preceded by a night of noise and impromptu bonfires. Sir Edward Carson, addressing the processionists, said that Ulster would never submit to the domination of a Parliament in Dublin, or to any system of Government under which the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church would be the real governors. It was a disgrace to the Great British Government that their fellow-subjects in the South and West of Ireland could hardly go outside their doors without fear of murder or assassination, and that their own officers were being sacrificed day after day without anyone being brought to justice. He called upon the Government to recognise that their duty was to protect Ulster from any interference by Sinn Fein or emissaries of Sinn Fein. If the Government wanted help the Ulstermen were prepared to help them, but if the Government were unable to protect Ulster from the machinations of Sinn Fein, then the Ulstermen would take the matter into their own hands, and would reorganise throughout the provinces the Ulster Volunteers

who had given such splendid help to the maintenance of the Empire during the war.

On July 13 a police motor car was ambushed by an armed party in County Kerry, two constables were shot dead, and the driver and a district inspector were dangerously wounded. A daring coup was carried out on July 15 when the whole of the mails intended for Dublin Castle came into the possession of the emissaries of the Republicans for the second time in the year. The scene of the incident was the temporary sorting office at the Rotunda Rink in the centre of Dublin. The sorters had just finished dealing with the morning mail when a number of men suddenly appeared in the building. Some of them mounted guard over the telephones while others covered the postal employees with revolvers. The raiders were evidently well informed, for they timed their attack at precisely the right moment, and they went straight to the place where the official mail had been deposited. They then made a careful selection from it, and placing what they had chosen in a motor car, which drove away, they all disappeared leaving no trace of the occurrence of any unusual incident.

A peculiarly brutal outrage was committed on July 17 when Colonel G. F. Smyth, Divisional Commissioner of Constabulary for Munster, who had lost his left arm in the war, was shot dead by a party of disguised men who burst into the County Club, Cork, where he was staying in readiness for the opening of the Assizes. Colonel Smyth was in the smoking-room of the Club in the evening when a band of thirteen or fourteen armed and disguised men held up the hall porter, and after finding their victim, riddled his head with revolver bullets, and wounded in the leg Mr. Craig, County Inspector for Cork, with whom Colonel Smyth was talking. The murder was regarded as a sequel to a speech on June 19 by Colonel Smyth to policemen in County Kerry, when he was alleged to have ordered men not to be afraid to shoot, and to shoot with effect. It had also been said that this speech had led to the resignation of five constables in the district. Sir Hamar Greenwood explained that he had spoken to Colonel Smyth on the subject, and that the Colonel had repudiated the accuracy of the reports, saying that the instructions given by him to the police were those already notified to Parliament by the Attorney-General of Ireland, and that the resignation of the constables was due to their refusal to take up their duties in certain barracks in a disturbed part of County Kerry.

The adoption of murderous tactics by the Sinn Feiners led to a strong feeling for reprisals among the police. On July 19 this feeling found expression in the little town of Tuan in Galway, which was raided by a party of police in reprisal for the murder of two of their comrades. Prominent buildings were set on fire and damage was done to the extent of many thousand pounds; many shots were fired though fortunately there was

no loss of life. The incident was provoked by an attack upon a police motor wagon which was ambushed and fired upon with the death of two of its occupants.

On July 22 the House of Commons had an opportunity of discussing the policy of the Government on the vote for the office of the Chief Secretary for Ireland. Sir Edward Carson expressed the view that the Government must either surrender to the Republic set up in Ireland, or grapple with it and put it down. Mr. Devlin declared that the Irish claimed no more than to be allowed to govern their country according to their own will and sentiment. Sir Hamar Greenwood then announced that in order to deal with the present deplorable state of affairs in Ireland, the Government intended to ask the House to pass immediately certain legislative measures. The Criminal Injuries Bill, already introduced, would enable the Government to intercept every grant paid by the British Exchequer to any disloyal local bodies, and would authorise the Lord-Lieutenant to set up new tribunals to supersede the Civil Courts which had failed to carry out their functions. Mr. J. H. Thomas advocated the setting up of Dominion Home Rule in Ireland. At the end of the debate the Attorney-General for Ireland pointed out that the actual question now before the House amounted in effect to a vote of censure on the Chief Secretary, who ought to be supported in the endeavour to put down crime and outrage. The motion for the reduction of the vote was then defeated by a majority of 139.

The murder of Colonel Smyth was the signal for rioting in Belfast and other parts of Ireland. In Belfast hostile crowds fought in several districts. On the first day eight persons were killed and many injured, soldiers and police were actively engaged, and machine-guns and barbed wire were in use. In Londonderry firearms were used for the first time by the two factions; the military were attacked and replied with several volleys which caused three deaths and nearly thirty cases of injury. On the 22nd a large number of arrests were made by the police. The headquarters of the rioting, however, was in Belfast. By July 23 the number of casualties had passed 100, and there were at least thirteen dead. Triangular contests took place between soldiers, Protestants, and Catholics, but notwithstanding the general disorder the daily routine of business continued comparatively unaffected. The wrecking of shops and public houses went on extensively, and fires were started which kept the fire brigade incessantly occupied.

The means of meeting the situation in Ireland were under the consideration of the Government at the end of July. Proposals tantamount to the granting of Dominion Home Rule to the Southern Provinces of Ireland had been put before the Government from various quarters. Under these proposals the Southern Provinces would be free to administer themselves as they might choose on condition that they remained an integral

part of the British Empire, and that their defence from external aggression should be left in the hands of the Imperial Government. Ulster would be free either to remain an integral part of Great Britain, or to accept arrangements similar to, but separate from, those suggested for the Southern Provinces. Mr. Lloyd George had expressed his readiness at any time to meet representatives of any political section for the purpose of discussing how affairs might be improved, and considerable attention was given to a statement by Mr. Thomas to the effect that the Government could obtain peace by the setting up of Dominion Home Rule in Ireland.

Further outrages occurred during the last week of July. On the 25th a police sergeant was shot dead by two men as he was entering church to attend Mass, and the assailants succeeded in making good their escape. In County Tipperary a typical incident was an attack by four disguised men on a young woman. They cut off her hair and destroyed the creamery where she was engaged, on the ground that she had been seen talking with policemen in the neighbourhood. One further death took place in Belfast on July 26, bringing the total casualty list up to eighteen deaths and about 300 wounded. The new victim was a taxi-cab driver who failed to stop when challenged by a military sentry. This was the final act of the Belfast rioting. On July 26 Mr. Devlin moved the adjournment of the House of Commons in order to raise the question of the riots. A long debate ensued, in the course of which Sir Hamar Greenwood declared that a disaster had been averted in the northern part of Ireland by the intervention of the police and military forces, who had shown the strictest impartiality.

The last outrage to be recorded during July is the murder of Mr. Frank Brooke, Chairman of the Dublin and South-Eastern Railway, and an Irish Privy Councillor, who was shot dead in his office at Westland Row Station, Dublin, by a party of armed men on July 30. The murderers pursued their usual tactics. They succeeded in approaching Mr. Brooke's room altogether unnoticed, and then suddenly entered and opened fire with revolvers. Eight or ten shots were fired, Mr. Brooke was immediately killed, and considerable damage was done by the bullets to the furniture of the room.

At the end of July General Lucas, who had been taken prisoner by the Sinn Féiners at Fermoy on June 26, succeeded in making his escape. Early on the morning of the 30th he managed to remove the bars from the window of his room and got away in the darkness. After wandering for some hours across country he had the good fortune to intercept a military lorry on the main road between Limerick and Limerick Junction. His adventures, however, were not yet over. The lorry had not proceeded far when its progress was barred by a fallen tree lying across the road; as it pulled up a volley was fired by men in ambush; the soldiers left the lorry and returned

the fire which continued for about half an hour. Two soldiers were shot dead and three were wounded before relief arrived and the attacking party were compelled to retreat. General Lucas made no complaint of the treatment which had been accorded to him while he was a prisoner.

On August 5 the Duke of Northumberland brought forward a motion in the House of Lords deploring the failure of the Government to warn the public of the true character of the revolutionary movement in Ireland, and of the international influences which were behind it. He urged the Government to appeal for the united support of the nation in the present crisis. Lord Grey and Lord MacDonnell believed that the Sinn Feiners could be satisfied by a grant of real self-government within the Empire, while Lord Salisbury and Lord Chaplin declared that all the resources of the Crown should be used to restore law and order in Ireland. In this respect they found the cordial agreement of the Lord Chancellor, who insisted that we must again restore and make effective the King's Courts and bring murderers and assassins to justice.

Nor did the Government delay in taking such powers as they thought would enable them to achieve this object. On August 2 Sir Hamar Greenwood formally presented to the House of Commons a New Bill entitled the Restoration of Order in Ireland Bill which provided for the suspension of trial by jury in disturbed areas and the substitution of trial by Court Martial. In cases where a capital charge was preferred, it would be in the power of the Lord-Lieutenant to add a civilian member to the Court Martial. This member would not necessarily be a judge though he must have legal qualifications. There was no provision in the Bill for bringing cases to England for trial as had been widely suggested. Power was given to the Executive to make regulations in excess of powers already possessed under the Defence of the Realm Act. The Courts Martial were to have the power to impose fines as well as to order imprisonment, and no time limit was fixed to the operation of the Bill. Notice of opposition was at once given by Mr. Clynes on behalf of the Labour Party.

The Bill was carried through Parliament at great speed. On the order for the second reading, Mr. Bonar Law moved a resolution limiting the discussion to four hours, declaring that the Bill must be brought to a conclusion on the following day. Sir Hamar Greenwood, who was in charge of the Bill, explained that it authorised the Government to substitute trial by Court Martial in any district where the ordinary tribunal was impossible, and that it also empowered the Government to intercept grants to local authorities which were disloyal or refused to discharge their duties. Mr. Asquith declared that the proposed measure was neither a correction nor a palliative to the state of affairs now prevailing in Ireland. Mr. Lloyd George said that until the Irish accepted the fundamental and

indefeasible fact that Britain would never, and could never, concede secession to them, it was futile to propose alternative claims for their consideration. The Bill was opposed by Mr. Clynes, and it was urged by Mr. Devlin that the outrages in Ireland were caused by the policy of the Government. The motion for the rejection was defeated by a majority of 218 and the second reading was then agreed to.

The Committee stage was taken on the following day. Sir Donald Maclean moved an amendment to limit the operation of the Act to a period of twelve months after the termination of the war, but the amendment was rejected by a majority of 148, as also was one providing that no new offences should be created under the Bill. On the motion of Mr. Myers it was agreed that regulations made under the Act should be laid upon the table of both Houses of Parliament. In the course of a subsequent amendment Mr. Devlin was suspended from the service of the House for disregarding the authority of the Chair. The motion for his suspension was moved by Mr. Shortt and carried by a majority of 186, the sitting being suspended by the Speaker until Mr. Devlin had withdrawn. The Government then introduced an amendment further qualifying the definition of the one person with legal knowledge who must be on the Court Martial. Other Government amendments were agreed to by majorities of over 200 and the third reading was then carried by a majority of 188. The royal assent was given on August 9. On the 20th the regulations made under the Bill were officially announced. The announcement stated that the regulations had been rendered necessary by the abnormal conditions at present prevailing in certain parts of Ireland, where an organised plan of violence and intimidation had resulted in the partial breakdown of the machinery of the ordinary law, and in the non-performance by public bodies and officials of their statutory obligations. In particular it had been found that criminals were protected from arrest, that trial by jury could not be obtained because of the intimidation of witnesses and jurors, and that local authorities and other officers stood in fear of injuries to their persons or property if they carried out their statutory duties. The regulations provided for the putting into operation of many of the existing Defence of the Realm regulations, and also for the trial of crime by Court Martial or by specially constituted Civil Courts; for the withholding from local authorities, who refused to discharge the obligations imposed upon them by statute, of grants which would otherwise be payable to them from public funds, and for application of the grants so withheld to the discharge of the obligations which the local authority had failed to fulfil. Power was given to the Courts in certain circumstances to order that cases should be heard *in camera*. The Government stated, however, that it was not their intention to apply these regulations in substitution for the provisions of the ordinary law in places where the

judicial and administrative machinery of the ordinary law were available, and were not restricted in their operation by methods of violence and intimidation.

Just before the introduction of the Restoration of Order Bill, a strong deputation of commercial and professional men from the South of Ireland waited upon the Prime Minister with a plea for the grant to Ireland of Dominion status within the Empire with generous financial treatment. The deputation was unanimous in condemning the Home Rule Bill. It also entered strong opposition to any scheme of partition, and demanded fiscal autonomy. The mere fact that this deputation took place afforded indication of the immense progress which had recently been made among Irish Unionists in favour of a wide measure of self-government. The scheme of settlement proposed was based upon the recognition of Dominion status for Ireland followed by the inauguration of a constitutional assembly elected by a system of proportional representation on a wide democratic franchise. It was suggested that the six Ulster counties should, after consultation, be entitled to vote themselves out of an all-Ireland scheme subject to the right of the rest of Ireland to withdraw any concessions offered by the majority of the Irish people for the purpose of securing the adhesion of Ulster.

The Prime Minister, in his reply, committed himself to no definite undertaking. At the same time he welcomed the expression of moderate opinion directed to the attainment of a peaceful solution. He remarked that this was the first occasion on which the spokesmen of moderate opinion had come to him, and he expressed his readiness to meet the deputation at any time it wished. He expressed a desire that moderate opinion throughout Ireland should be organised and should present its considered view to the Government. In his opinion the deputation was most useful and helpful.

In the course of August much interest was taken in a visit paid to Ireland by Dr. Mannix, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne. Archbishop Mannix was known in America as a stout advocate of Sinn Fein, and had made a number of inflammatory speeches in that country which gave the Government ground for belief that his presence in Ireland would constitute a real danger; accordingly they announced that he would not be allowed to land in Ireland. He left New York, however, in the *Baltic* on July 31, and elaborate arrangements were made by Sinn Fein for his reception at Liverpool. Municipal delegations from Dublin and Queenstown were appointed to welcome him, and arrangements were made throughout County Cork for bonfires to be lit when the liner was passing the coast. These preparations were, however, nullified by the action of the Government, who transferred the Archbishop from the *Baltic* off Queenstown, and conveyed him to Penzance in a destroyer. Great disappointment was manifested amongst

the Irish deputation when the *Baltic* arrived at Liverpool and it was found that Dr. Mannix was not on board. Before leaving Penzance he made a short statement in which he said that his landing in England was involuntary and he wanted to go to Ireland. This, however, the Government firmly refused to allow. He was also prohibited from visiting Liverpool, Manchester or Glasgow, but otherwise he was accorded freedom to travel where he pleased. He arrived in London on August 10, being met at Paddington by a delegation representing various Irish organisations in London.

The increasing popularity of the proposals for what was called Dominion Home Rule gave rise to the hopes that some settlement on these lines might shortly be effected. Mr. Lloyd George once again on August 16 stated that he would be pleased to discuss the terms of an Irish settlement with any responsible body, expressly including Sinn Fein within that denomination. He repeated the essential conditions which would have to be accepted, namely, that the six counties of the north-east of Ulster should receive separate treatment; that under no conditions would the Government assent to the secession of Ireland or any part of it from the United Kingdom, and that nothing should be done which could imperil the security of the United Kingdom and her safety in war. This statement of the Prime Minister was received with great disappointment in Dublin. It had been hoped that before the House of Commons rose for the recess the Government would attempt to formulate some new Irish policy, and it was held that merely to await advances from Sinn Fein would be entirely useless. It was urged that the initiative should be taken by the Government, for by no other procedure was it likely that the extremists could be displaced from the power which they had gained for themselves.

On August 23 announcements were made of the murder of six more Irish police. One was shot when leaving church by four men who subsequently escaped in a motor car. Others were shot in Dublin, in Macroom, and in Kilrush by unknown assailants who escaped. In County Galway a police party was ambushed and one policeman killed and another wounded; other patrols were similarly ambushed about the same time, while in County Cork a coastguard station was destroyed by fire. Forty men armed with revolvers surprised the guard and set fire to the station, carrying off a large quantity of stores.

At least one of these murders gave rise to prompt reprisals. During the night of August 22 a large number of Sinn Fein and Nationalist premises at Lisburn were burnt down and the local fire brigade was quite unable to cope with the outbreak of arson. Next day further buildings were destroyed by fire, and a detachment of the Belfast Fire Brigade had to be called in to assist. Business in Lisburn was almost entirely suspended, and in most of the large establishments and mills the workers



were called upon to sign a statement declaring that they were not Sinn Feiners nor had they any sympathy with Sinn Fein, but that they were loyal to King and country.

Further disturbances took place in East Belfast on August 25, as a result of which a number of persons were injured. It appeared that a rumour had got about that Protestant children coming from school were attacked near the Roman Catholic Chapel, and information to this effect was conveyed to the shipyards. A large number of men immediately ceased work and invaded the area in question. Stone throwing and some revolver firing took place in the vicinity of the Roman Catholic Chapel; police and military were quickly on the scene, and the soldiers mounted machine-guns outside the Chapel. Stone throwing between the rival factions continued, and the crowds, as soon as they were dispersed by the police, reassembled at other points where the rioting broke out anew. Early the following morning the rioting assumed a more serious character. The mob got completely out of control and soldiers were compelled to fire on them, several persons being killed or wounded. On the night of August 28 and 29, the rioting broke out in another part of Belfast even more fiercely than it had done in the preceding week. The origin of the outbreak was obscure, but it was stated that a number of Nationalists assembled in the evening and attacked the houses of Protestants. The houses were wrecked, and in retaliation for the burning of furniture belonging to Nationalists in Lisburn and other districts in Belfast, the furniture was taken out into the street and burned. A large crowd soon assembled and for a time fierce rioting took place, in which revolvers were freely used and stone throwing was general. A detachment of troops with armoured cars soon arrived on the scene and the military were compelled to open fire before the crowds could be dispersed. Sections of the rioters continued to fire revolver shots at the military and police, and throughout the night there was incessant sniping.

On August 30 Belfast experienced the worst rioting in its history, and business was entirely suspended in a great portion of the principal thoroughfares in the centre of the city. The rioting began in the morning when tramcars coming to the city were conveying crowds of shipyard and other workers. Sinn Feiners gathered at street corners and began throwing stones at the tramcars: for a short period the rioting was confined to stone throwing in which hundreds were engaged on both sides; the affair then took a more serious turn and shots began to ring out. One Sinn Feiner was seen to come out openly in the middle of York Street and fire a number of shots towards where a large crowd had assembled; many people were wounded, some being taken to hospital in motor cars, and numerous cases of serious injury by stone throwing were reported. The fighting was carried on with extreme ferocity for the greater part of an hour, during which the windows of numerous business

premises were smashed. Soldiers then arrived upon the scene and the Sinn Feiners retired into side streets. Desultory stone throwing continued for some time until the officer in command of the troops warned the opposing sections that if they did not clear the street they would be fired upon. After the York Street rioting had been quelled a crowd of shipyard workers marched off singing loyal songs and soon came into collision once again with Sinn Feiners and Nationalists. Stone throwing was succeeded by firearms, and at one point a number of Sinn Feiners suddenly dashed out and poured a regular fusillade of revolver shots into the advancing crowd. Nor was the rioting confined to a single district. In the neighbourhood of Brown Square stone throwing and shooting occurred and troops had to be called to the scene; armoured cars were also brought into service, but rioting continued more or less fiercely for some time and many casualties were reported. The military were compelled to open fire on a crowd which had attacked a shop and begun to loot the premises. A machine-gun was brought into action and the crowd quickly melted away, though not before a number of people had been seriously injured. Armoured cars continued to patrol the centre of the city throughout the day, and there were a number of isolated attacks upon Nationalists. On August 31 there was some further firing as also sporadic outbreaks of looting and rioting in some of the outlying districts, but the soldiers in general succeeded in restoring order with the aid of armoured cars and machine-guns. The street rioting was apt to break out with great suddenness, and often arose from very trifling provocation. The total casualties during the week-end were reported to be 20 dead and 169 seriously wounded, not including patients who were treated for minor injuries only. The troops were quite impartial in their efforts to keep order. In one case they opened fire on a party of Orangemen who were going to attack a Sinn Fein Club. This was alleged to be the first occasion on which the troops had fired upon the Union Jack.

A further feature of the rioting was the large number of fires which broke out in various parts of the city during the week; the number was estimated at about 170. The result was to render thousands of people homeless, and in spite of the efforts of charitable persons the greatest difficulty was found in finding fresh accommodation. A Relief Fund was started, and several buildings were converted into temporary dormitories. On September 1 fierce rioting occurred once more. The rioting began as before in the morning while shipyard and other workers were going to their work. Snipers opened fire upon the workmen's tramcars with revolvers and other weapons from a side street, and continued to fire even after the arrival of troops. The soldiers opened fire on them, which was returned by the snipers, and the fighting continued for nearly a quarter of an hour; it increased in intensity as the snipers were driven farther

into their retreats. Every tramcar as it came along had to run a gauntlet of fire, and each vehicle was carrying nearly twice its complement of passengers. As a result of this rioting the number of persons reported killed was increased to 25, while over 200 wounded were detained in hospital. A number of other premises were burned down, and the damage was estimated at over 1,000,000*l*. In consequence of this state of affairs military authorities introduced the Curfew Law on August 31, all citizens being required to remain within doors from 10.30 at night until 5 o'clock in the morning.

Meanwhile outrages continued to take place in other parts of Ireland. On August 28 Major Johnstone was fatally shot at Eden, near Glenties. He was sitting in his dining-room about 10 o'clock at night when he was fired at through the window and killed. On August 30 attempts were made to capture three police barracks in County Donegal; the police put up a successful resistance in each case and beat off the attacks. At Ross-lare, where a Fancy Dress Ball was being held in the hotel, masked and armed men entered the ballroom and ordered the dance to be stopped and the dancers to face the wall and hold their hands up. Many of them were then searched and some of the women were told to go home on the ground that they were insufficiently clad. On September 1 policemen were attacked in County Mayo; one was killed and another seriously wounded, and on the same day Mr. J. M. Galway Foley, formerly a County Inspector of the Royal Irish Constabulary, was shot at his residence. The residence of Lord Dunraven in County Limerick was also raided, sporting guns and ammunition being taken. The Browhead Signal Station, which had already been attacked on August 10, was totally destroyed by fire and bombs on the night of August 31. In short the end of August found Ireland in a more disturbed condition even than it had yet been.

The pressure of Government business at the end of the session led, as usual, to the appropriation of the whole time of the House of Commons for Government business. On August 2 Mr. Bonar Law moved that until the autumn adjournment of the House Government business should not be interrupted under the provisions of any order regulating the sittings of the House, and that it might be entered upon at any hour, although opposed. On the same day the House discussed the vote for the British share of the advances to be made in respect of German coal deliveries. The vote asked for was a nominal one of 100*l*. towards a sum of 5,000,000*l*. Sir L. Worthington-Evans said that the British participation in the total loan supplied by the Allies would be 24 per cent. The object of the loan was to secure to France the monthly deliveries of coal to which she was entitled under the treaty, and it was made for the purpose of paying the difference between the internal price of coal in Germany and the export, or world price, of coal. Mr. Lloyd

George explained that the loan would come out of shipping assets allocated to us by the Spa Agreement, and the vote was then agreed to.

Next day the vote for the Ministry of Munitions came up, and Mr. J. F. Hope said that on the face of the revised estimate a net increase of 19,003,000*l.* was asked for, whereas in fact the receipts considerably exceeded the expenditure. After some criticism concerning the action taken with regard to the St. Omer dump, the vote was agreed to by a majority of 153.

On August 4 Lord Curzon made a statement on the treaty with Turkey. He said that under the terms of the treaty a Financial Commission was to be set up in Constantinople which was to take over the entire control of the finances, revenue, and expenditure of the country. The Allied Powers had foregone all claim to reparation, and had not exacted any war indemnity. The Straits were to be guaranteed as an international highway. Turkey was assured of free access to the ports of the Mediterranean and *Ægean*, and was given freedom of transit in the ports taken from her, and a free zone in the port of Smyrna.

The situation in Poland was mentioned in the House of Commons several times at the beginning of August. On the 2nd Mr. C. Palmer moved the adjournment of the House in order to call attention to the disturbing effect which a manifesto on the subject of Poland, issued by a member of the Government, had had on foreign opinion, but the motion was negatived. On the 5th Mr. Lloyd George stated, in reply to several questions, that the British Government had sent a second note to the Soviet Government pointing out that if the Soviet Government insisted on peace conditions being settled between Poland and Russia to the exclusion of the other Powers, the basis on which it was proposed to conduct negotiations in London would have disappeared. Also that it appeared that the Soviet armies had now far advanced into ethnographical Poland, and should advantage be taken of the delay now caused to continue this advance, His Majesty's Government would be driven to the conclusion that it was not the intention of the Soviet Government to respect the liberty and independence of Poland. On August 9 the adjournment of the House was again moved by Colonel Wedgwood, to deprecate the taking of warlike measures against Russia without the House having an opportunity of discussing the matter or sanctioning the expense. This motion was negatived by a majority of 116.

A more complete statement on Poland was made by Mr. Lloyd George in moving the second reading of the Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill on August 10. The Prime Minister stated that at the Allied Conference at Lympe the Allies had agreed that it was the sole purpose of their policy in this matter to secure peace on the basis of the independence of ethnographical Poland. The Soviet Government had said that the Poles were meeting them at Minsk, and that they wished to

treat directly with them there. The Allies had agreed that if Poland accepted the terms of the Soviet Government, they (the Allies) would not intervene to prevent or upset the arrangement. If the Minsk Conference should fail because the Soviet Government insisted on terms not consistent with the existence of Poland as a free nation, then the Allies would assist the Poles with equipment and with necessary military advice, and thus, either by naval or international action, would exercise an economic pressure upon Soviet Russia, and would feel free to send supplies to General Wrangel. A debate followed, in which Mr. Asquith spoke of the inaction of the League of Nations, and Mr. Clynes recognised that the independence of Poland was essential to the continued peace of the world.

The Polish question was regarded by the Labour Party as a matter of very special concern, and a Council of Action had been appointed to consider what line should be taken on the subject. On August 13 a Trade Union and Labour Party Conference, convened by the Council of Action, was held in London, composed of 689 representatives of Trade Unions and 355 representatives of local Labour Party organisations and Trades Councils. The conference was entirely unanimous, and forthwith adopted the declarations and policy of the Council of Action. The principal resolution hailed with satisfaction the declaration of the Russian Government in favour of the complete independence of Poland, and threatened resistance to any and every form of military and naval intervention against the Soviet Government. The kind of resistance intended was defined in a later resolution as "any and every form of withdrawal of labour which circumstances may require." The precise plan of campaign was left to the decision of the Council of Action, which was authorised to remain in being not only as long as there might be a possibility of intervention on behalf of Poland or General Wrangel, but until the Soviet Government had been recognised and unrestricted trading and commercial relationships had been established between Great Britain and Russia. The resolution did not necessarily contemplate a general strike, though it was obvious that this weapon was to be held ultimately in reserve. Mr. Thomas pointed out how ineffective Parliamentary effort was to prevent war if the Government let themselves be drawn into war, and urged that under these circumstances the interference of Trade Unionists was justified. Mr. Clynes took up a similar attitude.

Its policy being thus endorsed the Council of Action proceeded to hold daily sittings, and to set up local Committees of Action in various parts of the country. It decided that Mr. W. Adamson and Mr. Harry Gosling should go to Paris to consult with representatives of the *Confédération Générale du Travail*, and the French Socialist Party. Labour bodies and Trade Union branches were to be advised to call representative conferences to establish local Councils of Action, and these

Councils, as well as Trade Unions, were to be asked to report on any orders on which members were at present working in the making of munitions or equipment or other war material, or the movement or transport of these munitions.

After a few days it became clear that the Council of Action did not really intend to call a general strike in support of Soviet Russia. Such a strike, if it were declared, could not long be maintained and would invite defeat. The policy of the Council would be directed rather to placing a veto on the manufacture of munitions and equipment, and to a refusal to carry war material or troops to the ports. They would not interfere with the provision of food or the running of trains, but they would not carry war material or soldiers. Mr. Adamson and Mr. Gosling forthwith obtained passports and went to France as directed by the Council, but they had no sooner arrived in that country than the authorities there gave them notice to leave, and they were compelled to return to England leaving their mission unaccomplished. With this incident the sudden enthusiasm with which the Council of Action had been initiated as suddenly came to an end, and little more was heard of its activities.

The House of Commons adjourned on August 16. Mr. Bonar Law moved that it should reassemble on October 19 for the autumn recess unless the Speaker, after consultation with the Government, should decide that the public interest would be served by its meeting at any earlier time. The only contingency which would make an earlier meeting necessary, he said, would be if the terms proposed by Russia to Poland should prove to be insincere, and others should be proposed which, in the opinion of the Government, would interfere with the independence of Poland and her ethnographical frontier. Mr. Asquith supported the motion, and Mr. Clynes, referring to the question of labour, declared that it ought not to forfeit its right to strike if the Government should decide on a foreign policy dangerous to the country and to the world at large. Lord Robert Cecil expressed profound regret at the threat of direct action on the part of labour made by the Council of Action. Mr. Lloyd George pointed out that at a time when he and his colleagues were striving for peace, any extra demonstration on the part of labour was entirely unjustifiable. The motion for the adjournment was then agreed to.

A similar statement was made on behalf of the Government in the House of Lords on the motion for the adjournment. Lord Curzon said that the only condition on which Parliament might be summoned during the recess would be if events in the Eastern part of Europe, and events now happening at Minsk, involved any direct infringement of the independence of Poland and of the maintenance of her ethnographical frontiers which we, with our Allies, were pledged to maintain by the Treaty of Versailles, by the Covenant of the League of Nations,

and by the declarations which from time to time we had made.

Just before the adjournment Dr. Addison introduced in the House of Commons the new Ministry of Health Bill, which contained important provisions relating to housing and municipal hospitals. The Bill provided that County Councils and County Borough Councils should be enabled, if they thought fit, to maintain or contribute to the maintenance of hospitals. Power was given to local authorities to hire houses suitable for the housing of the working classes. They were, moreover, entitled to use compulsion in taking over houses which had been withheld from occupation for a period of at least three months. The Appeal Tribunal, which heard appeals from orders prohibiting luxury building, was enabled to sit in more than one division, and thus accelerate the hearing of appeals. The Minister of Health was given power to take action for the purpose of checking luxury building in certain cases which were not covered by the existing law. There was a clause designed to facilitate the carrying out of housing schemes promoted by a local authority outside its own area. For this purpose agreements might be made between the local authorities concerned for the execution of works incidental to the scheme, and for the consequential financial adjustments. The Bill contained a further clause enabling persons suffering from incipient mental disorder, but not certified under the Lunacy Acts, to be received with their own consent in Institutions approved by the Minister for a period not exceeding six months, without exposing the persons receiving them to possible penalties under the Lunacy Acts. It was anticipated that this clause would be especially useful in cases of shell-shock and similar nervous disorders. It was also proposed in the Bill to continue the power of prohibiting the sale of clinical thermometers which had not been properly tested. The Bill did not apply to Scotland or Ireland. No discussion took place upon it before the House adjourned.

The result of Lord Milner's Mission to Egypt was announced about the middle of August, when the Foreign Office reported the termination of the conversations which had been taking place between the Mission on the one hand, and Zaghlul Pasha and his colleagues on the other. As a result of these conversations a certain common basis of agreement was attained, the chief points of which were as follows: The independence of Egypt was to be recognised by Great Britain, who would guarantee Egypt's integrity against outside aggression. In return Egypt would recognise Great Britain's privileged position in the Valley of the Nile, and would agree, in case of war, to give her every facility and access to Egyptian territory. Great Britain would maintain a garrison in Egypt in the canal zone. Egypt would regain control of her foreign relations subject to her not making treaties at variance with British policy, and would have the right to have her own diplomatic representatives

abroad. In countries where no Egyptian representative was appointed the British representative would act for Egyptian interests. The capitulations were to be abolished and the veto on legislation affecting foreigners would be vested in the High Commissioner. There were to be no more advisers in the different Ministries, but a British official was to be appointed to take over and carry out the operations of the Public Debt Commission, while another British official would look after the legislation affecting foreigners. If the Egyptian Government so desired they would be able to ask these officials for expert advice. The rights of the British officials at present in the Service were to be safeguarded, and any who were dispensed with by the Egyptian Government, or who wished to resign on the introduction of the new regime, would be generously compensated. All British officials retained or appointed in the future would be responsible to the Egyptian head of the department to which they were appointed. The final agreement, which was to be negotiated between properly accredited representatives of the two Governments, would have to be submitted for confirmation to the British Parliament and to the Egyptian National Assembly. It was highly probable that the latter would be asked to pass a new organic law embodying the new agreement and laying down the future constitution of the country and the relative responsibilities of the Minister and the Sovereign.

About the middle of August much interest was aroused by the publication of a number of wireless telegrams intercepted by the British Government which had reference to the financial circumstances of the *Daily Herald*, the leading labour newspaper, the editor of which was Mr. George Lansbury. The messages were exchanged between Tchitcherin, the Soviet Foreign Commissar, and Litvinoff, Soviet Envoy at Copenhagen. In the first of these telegrams Tchitcherin said that Lansbury was particularly anxious for help in obtaining paper, and spoke of a sum which was to be repaid in course of time. The second telegram referred to a credit which was being opened for Lansbury for purchasing paper. One telegram from Litvinoff remarked that on Russian questions the *Daily Herald* "acts as if it were our organ," and added that it needed 50,000 francs for six months. He advised that help should be afforded. Finally a telegram stated that Litvinoff had given instructions for handing over the Chinese Bonds to the *Herald*. It was understood that these Bonds were in the possession of the Moscow Norodny Bank.

The suggestion that the *Daily Herald* was being financed from Russia was indignantly repudiated by that Journal, which denied that it had ever received Bolshevik money, Bolshevik paper, or Chinese Bonds. As for the documents themselves the *Daily Herald* said that there was no proof beyond the word of the British Government which was "a notorious liar."



Three or four weeks later the incident was revived by the *Daily Herald* itself, which announced that they had received an offer of 75,000*l.* in Russian gold to ensure that the continued publication of the paper should be guaranteed. The offer had been received by one of the Directors, and the *Daily Herald* asked for the opinion of its readers as to whether it should accept this Bolshevik gold, adding that the financial position which it was intended to meet had in fact arisen, and that without it, it would be necessary at once to double the price of the paper. On September 14 the Board of Directors of the *Herald* met and passed a resolution declaring that they had no knowledge of any money offered to the *Daily Herald* from the Third International, and now that the fact was brought to their knowledge they decided not to accept the offer. They expressed their strong faith that the British Labour movement, and all loyal readers of the *Daily Herald* recognised the ever-increasing value of the paper to the movement, and would support it to the full extent of its financial requirements. After some correspondence with the Prime Minister the incident then came to an end.

The Increase of Rent Act proved to be unpopular in various quarters, and a movement was set on foot in Scotland for the declaration of a 24-hour strike as a demonstration against increases of rent. The strike took place on August 23. In Glasgow tramway cars were withdrawn completely from the streets in the early hours of the morning. In the shipyards on the upper reaches of the Clyde the stoppage was general, and business throughout the town was seriously interrupted. Before midday demonstrators began to assemble, and processions headed with banners and bands converged upon the centre of the city. In spite of the large crowds no disorder occurred. In Lanarkshire the strike was a comparative failure, although 60,000 miners remained idle for the day. In Edinburgh the men reluctantly obeyed the orders of the Unions and the processions and demonstrations were less enthusiastic than those which had taken place in Glasgow.

A far more serious situation, however, now began to be threatened in the gradually increasing discontent of the miners, which at last seemed as though coming to a head in a great strike. The Mining Industry Bill, which had from the start been unpopular among the miners, passed into law and received the royal assent on August 16. Before it passed certain further alterations were made in it as a result of its amendment in the House of Lords and subsequent re-amendment in the House of Commons. One amendment was agreed to which substituted for the Ministry of Mines a department under the Board of Trade with a Secretary for Mines as its chief. The Lords had dropped out a provision limiting the expenses incurred in any one year to 250,000*l.*, and fixing the salary of the Secretary of Mines at 1,500*l.* per annum, but this provision was reinserted by the Commons. An amendment by the Lords

requiring mine-owners to pay the expenses incurred by their representatives on Committees other than Pit Committees, was disagreed with, and amendments were inserted in its place which left the owners free to decide for themselves whether they would pay them. No further changes of importance were made.

The crisis in the coal industry started with a delegate meeting of the Miners' Federation on August 12. The specific demands of the miners were for a reduction in the price of coal to the domestic consumer, and an increase of wages for themselves, but in the background the question of nationalisation of the mines could always be felt. The reply of the Government to the miners was virtually that the home consumer ought to pay the economic price of the coal he burned. It was true that export coal was sold at a much higher price, but the Government held that this exceptional profit should be treated in the same way as happened in other industries, and be appropriated to national uses through the operation of the Excess Profits Duty. The miners, on the other hand, desired to share these excess profits with the consumer leaving the Government merely a working balance of 3,000,000*l.* When the delegate meeting met on August 12 it decided to take a ballot of its members as to whether they were prepared to strike in support of the demands put before the Government. Those demands, it will be remembered, were for a reduction in the price of domestic coal by 14*s.* 2*d.* a ton, and an advance of wages of 2*s.* per shift for members of 18 years of age and upwards, 1*s.* per shift from 16 to 18 years, and 9*d.* per shift below 16. It was calculated that the proposed increase of wages would cost the industry 27,000,000*l.*, and the reduction of price would deplete its income by 36,000,000*l.* in the year. The schemes were based on the estimate of the miners that the surplus profits arising from exported coal amounted to 66,000,000*l.*, and the Government, though not accepting these figures, held that in any case the destination of the excess profits should be different from that desired by the miners.

On August 23 Mr. Smillie spoke at a demonstration of North Wales miners at Wrexham. He said that the miners were determined that the nation should own the mines and that the time would come when the present exploiters would have to give them up. They were face to face, in all probability, with a strike within the next few weeks. The Government, through Sir Robert Horne, said that they could not and would not climb down: that, said Mr. Smillie, was also the position of the miners. The question should be settled on the justice of the claim. He expressed the hope that the Triple Alliance, of which the miners were one section, might feel that the claim was just and lend support. Unless the Government were prepared to give way or to prove that the claim was unfair, he was afraid there would be a stoppage in the coal trade in three weeks'

time. The miners, he said, did not desire the stoppage; they knew all about strikes and did not approach one lightheartedly, but there were times when it would be wrong not to use their organisation to secure their just demands. This speech was taken as an indication that the desire for nationalisation was really at the back of the miners' demands.

The miners' ballot was taken on August 25 and 26, and the result announced on August 31. The figures were 606,782 in favour of a strike, and 238,865 against, giving a majority in favour of a strike of 367,917. The percentage majority was thus 71·75, more than the necessary two-thirds required to authorise a strike. After the figures had been discussed by the Executive of the Miners' Federation, a meeting of the Triple Alliance was held at which the case for the miners was presented. It was subsequently considered separately by the Transport Workers and the Railwaymen, and on meeting again the conference passed a resolution stating that they were unanimously of opinion that the claims of the miners were both reasonable and just and should be conceded forthwith. On September 2, 200 delegates attended a Miners' Conference and decided, without hesitation, to act on the mandate given to them by the ballot. It had been generally anticipated that the handing in of strike notices would expire on September 18, but the conference fixed September 25 as the date, and the extension of a week was regarded as a sign that the miners would welcome an opportunity to resume negotiations with the Government. Thereupon both sides hastened to place their cases before the public. The miners' case was presented by Mr. Hodges, who pointed out that since 1914 there had been eight increases in the price of coal and one temporary decrease, but the Government had offered no justification of the alterations based on published figures of ascertained increased costs. He said that the real cause of the last increase of 14s. 2d. per ton was pressure by the coal-owners for decontrol. The miners claimed that this should be remitted because it was necessary to make a beginning in effecting a reduction in the cost of living. They asserted that the financial position of the industry allowed of the reduction without involving any disturbance of conditions prevailing in the industry, and that the general body of consumers was entitled to share in the present prosperity of the coal-fields. The coal-owners had pressed for the increase because, however high the general rate of profits in the industry might be, control could not be removed while some coal-fields were showing a very high profit and others, comparatively speaking, a loss. The inevitable result of the removal of control would be that the home price of coal would rise steeply and rapidly to meet the export price. The miners demanded a wage advance because they were not receiving wages of an amount commensurate with the expenses of living, or adequate to the dangerous nature of their calling. The total increase in miners'

wages on the pre-war average of 32s. 6d. was 50s., or 155 per cent., but of this the Sankey advance of 15s., or 30 per cent., was given definitely on the ground that the miner's pre-war wage was inadequate, and for the definite purpose of improving his standard of living. Finally, Mr. Hodges said that the two sides of the miners' claim stood together; the claim was one and indivisible; he insisted that the surplus earnings now available in the industry should be used for the joint benefit of the consumer and the producer, who were alike suffering under the heavy burden of high prices.

Sir Robert Horne explained the case of the Government to Press representatives at the Board of Trade. He claimed that the public indifference to the demand of the miners was due to a consciousness of the absolute fairness of the attitude taken up by the Government in this matter. He drew the inference from Mr. Smillie's speech at Wrexham that the present demands were put forward as a step towards the nationalisation of the coal industry, but he said that the House of Commons had already determined the attitude of the Government on this question, and the Government did not propose to go back on that decision, nor could they do so without consulting the House of Commons. It was not proposed to get rid of the control of prices, because the Government recognised the necessity of keeping a sufficient supply of coal in this country to satisfy our own needs at a price which was fair to the individual consumer. If full control were re-imposed it would be necessary to re-engage a large staff which would cost the country at least 400,000l. a year. If the wages claim of the miners were conceded an immediate increase in the price of coal would become necessary. The Government at any time would be prepared to meet the miners, though he saw no good purpose in issuing an invitation to them at that particular moment. In so far as the miners' claim was a wage claim, and not a question of policy, the Industrial Court was the body to decide it.

A move in favour of peace was made by Sir Robert Horne on September 7, when he invited Mr. Smillie to bring the Miners' Executive to the Board of Trade to discuss the position in order to avoid any misunderstandings in their respective points of view. The Executive accepted the invitation and the conference took place at the Board of Trade on September 9, but the hopes of a settlement which had been founded upon it were disappointed. The conference was opened by Sir Robert Horne, who insisted that if a fund were realised by the high prices obtained for export coal, the coal trade would be failing to do its duty in meeting the obligations of the country unless the fund were placed at the disposal of the Exchequer. He said that the Government thought that the position they had taken up would bring far more good to the community than that which would be brought about by the miners' proposals. The determination to sell coal at its economic price had been endorsed by Parlia-

ment, and he did not think that any section of the people had a right to strike upon any such issue of policy. The wage question should be decided by the Industrial Court. If a higher output could be achieved with consequently lessened cost, wage questions could be much more amicably settled. Sir Robert Horne's final suggestion was that the miners should meet the coal-owners to thrash out the anomaly of flat rates. The policy of the Government was the ultimate decontrol of the coal trade, though nobody suggested that coal prices should be decontrolled within any near period.

Mr. Smillie replied to Sir Robert Horne that his statement did not advance matters, but was merely a refusal to concede the claims. He insisted that without control the prices for domestic and industrial coal would be much higher than they now were, but he held that the Government were not entitled to put 14s. 2d. a ton on domestic coal. As regards wages, he did not think that the miners were prepared to put their claim before the Industrial Court. They felt that the increased cost of living entitled them to a higher increase than they had put forward. If they had not asked for a reduction in the price of domestic coal, the increase which they would have claimed in wages would have been at least twice as much. They agreed that there ought to be the largest possible output secured from the mines of this country, but they would hesitate to enter into any movement which might increase output if the Government were merely going to take the price of it and pay off war debt with it.

At the close of the discussion the miners' representatives conferred together, and later informed the President of the Board of Trade that they considered his statement contained no new proposal which would, in their judgment, lead to a just settlement of the miners' claims. The Executive accordingly departed without any improved understanding having been reached.

The next move came from the miners. The Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation, after long discussions on September 15, decided to seek a further meeting with the President of the Board of Trade, and a second conference was held on the 16th and 17th. The new proposals advanced on behalf of the Miners' Federation were, that the Government should concede forthwith the wage advances as originally formulated, and that the increased costs following on the concession of the wage application should not be put on the price of home-consumed coal. They suggested that a competent and representative tribunal should be appointed to inquire into and determine whether, in view of the financial position of the industry, a reduction in the price of domestic coal should take place, and if so, to what extent. They further suggested that a Committee should be appointed to inquire into the cause of declining output, and that there should be a full inquiry into

the wages system now prevailing in the industry, with a view to granting up to date standards of wages for both piece workers and time workers. Mr. Smillie expressed the belief that it was possible to increase output, but he did not think there was the slightest hope of endeavouring to convince the Miners' Conference that there should be no strike unless an increase of wages was secured and something was done to ascertain whether profits in the coal trade should not to some extent go in relief to the domestic consumer of coal. Sir Robert Horne, in his reply, admitted that the new proposals made an alteration in the situation. As regards the price at which coal should be sold, he insisted, however, that there was no room for setting up a tribunal to re-investigate a problem which had already been dealt with by Parliament. As regards the claim for increase of wages, he was prepared to hear anything more that had to be said on the subject, and since they had now united that claim with suggestions for the increase of output, a means seemed to be afforded of arriving at a peaceful solution. Although he did not think that the present wage claim was justified, he was willing that the question should be submitted to an independent tribunal. On the second day of the discussion Mr. Smillie made it clear that unless the wage advance demanded by the miners was conceded, the Miners' Executive Council would have no other course than to recommend that the threatened strike should take place. If those wages were conceded they would be prepared to discuss the question of declining output, and make recommendations with a view to rectifying the position. The attitude of the Government, on the other hand, was that they were willing either to submit the wage claim to an impartial tribunal, or to offer the miners a wage advance based definitely on increased output. Further than this neither side would go, and the issue of the discussion was therefore indeterminate.

On September 22 a conference took place between the Prime Minister and representatives of the Triple Alliance on coal prices. The object of the deputation was to impress the Government with the fact that the miners had convinced both the railway and the transport workers of the justice of their claim, and to urge the Government to make concessions. By this time the claim for a decrease in the price of coal had been definitely dropped, and the wage question was the only one that remained. Mr. Lloyd George, on behalf of the Government, offered either to submit the question of wages to an impartial tribunal or to determine it with reference to output under a scheme to be agreed to. The Committee of the Triple Alliance, however, decided that they could not recommend the acceptance of either of these proposals to the miners. But the discussion still continued, and the Government agreed that an immediate increase of earnings should be granted if an immediate increase of output could be ensured to warrant the

increased payments. The principle of this scheme was at length accepted by the Miners' Executive, and the only outstanding question then was as to how much increase of wage should correspond to how many tons increase of output. The determination of this question was referred to representatives of the coal-owners and the Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation at a meeting at the Board of Trade offices on September 25. The conference continued for several days, but finally failed to reach agreement, and the negotiations broke down on September 29. The main question at issue was as to what datum line should be fixed for coal output beyond which higher wages should be paid. The coal-owners suggested that the datum line should be fixed at 240,000,000 tons per year, but the miners declined to take this figure as a basis of discussion. They brought forward in place of it a counter-proposal, which amounted in effect to an offer to accept a datum line as a temporary measure to secure the immediate concession of the 2s. They did not name any figure, but insisted that the 2s. increase must be assured. They further suggested that a National Wage Board should be set up for the future regulation of the wages in the industry. This proposal the coal-owners refused to consider, and when the miners had made it clear that this and nothing else would satisfy them, nothing further remained but to report to the Government the failure to arrive at an agreement. During the progress of these negotiations the date for the handing in of strike notices had been put back by one week—that is to say until October 2. At the end of September the position appeared worse than it had previously been, and a strike was regarded as inevitable, but we must here break off for a moment the thread of the narrative in order to relate other events occurring during September.

These other events were all connected either with Labour or the state of Ireland. As regards Labour, an important Trades Union Congress was held at Portsmouth early in September under the Presidency of Mr. J. H. Thomas. In his opening address he referred to the unsettled state of labour in this country. He said that he did not believe that the workers were anxious for a fight merely for the sake of fighting, but the other side must clearly understand that the years of sacrifice and effort which had placed them in the position which they now held, would not and must not be lost. The workers, therefore, were prepared, not as a section but as a movement, to accept any challenge to their industrial freedom or economic emancipation. A large part of Mr. Thomas' speech had reference to the recently formed Council of Action. For the first time, he said, there had been a united and determined working-class effort to challenge the existing order of Parliamentary government. Their action had been bold, and there was no doubt that it definitely challenged the constitution. Dangerous as was the remedy he thought it justified by the result. The

danger could not be over until a complete peace and understanding with the Russian Government had been arrived at. The Council of Action had been called into being to secure the complete independence of Poland and peace with Russia, and having done that it would be content with the result of its labours. It had no authority or desire to usurp or extend the clearly defined mandate of the most representative and unanimous Congress ever held.

On September 8 the Congress discussed the dispute between the miners and the Government. Mr. Hodges presented the arguments by which the miners justified their demands, and a resolution was ultimately passed stating that the Trades Union Congress, having heard the miners' case for a reduction in the price of coal and an advance of wages, was of opinion that both claims were reasonable and just and should be conceded forthwith. It was noticeable, however, that no promise was made of financial or any other support beyond moral support. On September 9 the principal business before the Congress was a proposal to amend the constitution of their organisation in order to transfer the executive power at present placed in the hands of the Parliamentary Committee, to a larger and more representative General Council. An impression existed that the new Council would co-ordinate Trade Union activity, and the proposal laid down that it should promote common action on questions of wages and hours of labour, use its influence to promote a settlement in disputes, assist Trade Unions in the work of organisation, and enter into relations with foreign labour movements with a view to securing common action and international solidarity. Mr. Clynes, who opposed the scheme, declared that it did nothing to meet what they all desired, but simply enlarged the size of the Parliamentary Committee. He found support from the railwaymen in this view, but on a card vote the Congress decided on the creation of the Council by 4,858,000 votes to 1,767,000.

The demands of the miners did not constitute the only industrial crisis during September. In the Engineering trade a dispute had arisen owing to a strike at Sheffield against the appointment of a non-Union foreman by Messrs. Cammell, Laird & Co. Meetings took place between the Engineering Employers' Federation and the men's Federations, but by September 2 the negotiations had definitely failed and lock-out notices issued by the employers were due to take effect on September 4. About 2,000 electricians were directly involved, but it was anticipated that from 500,000 to 750,000 workers in the engineering trades would soon be affected. Efforts on the part of the Ministry of Labour to secure an agreement proved fruitless, and a lock-out began on the date arranged. Thereupon the Ministry decided to deal with the matter through the agency of the Industrial Courts Act, and they appointed a Court of Inquiry under Part 2 of that Act, with Sir David



Harrel as Chairman. The Court had scarcely started upon its investigations when peace was attained by more direct methods. The lock-out started by the Engineering Employers' Federation was at first met by the threat of a strike by the Electrical Trades Union, but on September 15 the first step towards settlement was taken at a meeting of the National Joint Industrial Council for the electricity supply industry. The Electrical Trades Union withdrew the point of principle which had been chiefly involved, namely, that foremen must be members of a Trade Union, and it was then mutually agreed that the men on strike should resume work, that the lock-out should come to an end, and that no victimisation should take place on either side.

While these labour problems were troubling the country, the state of Ireland continued to give anxiety not less serious. Among the embarrassments of the Government were the determined attempts of Irish prisoners to obtain their release by means of hunger strikes, and attention was specially directed to the Lord Mayor of Cork, who was confined in Brixton prison, and whose case became a test case both for the Government and for its adversaries. The Government determined, however, to remain firm on the subject, and resisted pressure from many sides to release the Lord Mayor. On September 3, after the hunger strike had been in progress for three weeks, an influentially signed appeal was addressed to the Government by prominent Labour leaders, insisting that public sentiment had been outraged and that the death of the Lord Mayor would bring about a terrible explosion of anger which could only lead to further bloodshed in Ireland. In reply to this appeal Mr. Bonar Law wrote pointing out that the Lord Mayor was one of the leaders of the Irish Republican Army, which had declared itself to be at war with the forces of the Crown, and according to his own written word in one of the seditious documents, for the possession of which he had been convicted, he and his followers were determined to pursue their ends, asking for no mercy and making no compromise. He had been arrested while actively conducting the affairs of a rebel organisation under cover of a mayoral court. Had he been taken at his word and dealt with as an avowed rebel, he would have been liable immediately to be shot. Instead of that he had been tried by a legally constituted tribunal, sentenced to a moderate term of imprisonment, and given at once all the privileges of a political prisoner. From that moment he had sought to defeat the ends of justice by refusing food in the belief that this course would lead to his speedy release. To release him would be a betrayal of those loyal officers on whose devotion to duty the fabric of social order in Ireland rested. Since the arrest of the Lord Mayor fifteen officers had been brutally and treacherously done to death without even a chance of defending themselves. Finally, Mr. Bonar Law made clear that the Government

did not mean to release him, adding that if the Lord Mayor died in prison the responsibility would rest, in some degree, upon those who by their repeated appeals had encouraged the belief that the Government would recede from its determination. Many appeals continued to be addressed to the Government on the grounds of humanity, but none of them had any effect. The Lord Mayor lingered on for several weeks longer and his death did not take place till late in October when we shall again refer to it.

On September 9 reports of no fewer than six deaths by violence reached Dublin, four in Galway city and two at Tullow in County Carlow. At Galway a disturbance arose at the Railway Station when a recent recruit to the Royal Irish Constabulary shot a civilian and was himself then shot in the chest by another civilian. Two other persons were shot dead by the police. At Tullow a patrol of four constables was attacked by armed and disguised men, two of the constables being shot dead and another wounded. On September 14 a police barrack was set on fire by a party of raiders. It had been vacated by its garrison earlier in the day, but a party of ten soldiers returned secretly and lay in ambush behind a neighbouring wall. When the raiders had just begun their work of destruction the soldiers sprang from their ambush and demanded surrender. The raiders tried to escape with the result that the soldiers opened fire killing two men immediately and wounding a third who died next day.

On September 19 the military made a very successful coup in the Dublin mountains. About thirty-six armed soldiers surrounded a spot where about 100 Sinn Féin Volunteers were engaged in drill and bombing practice. While these exercises were in progress the military, who had approached in small groups in civilian clothes, suddenly called on the Volunteers to surrender. Thirty-six of them did surrender and were captured, but others opened fire on the soldiers; the fire was returned, and one man was killed and another wounded seriously. In addition to the thirty-six prisoners a quantity of fire-arms and bombs was seized. Various outrages were perpetrated about this time. A police patrol was ambushed in County Limerick; one constable was shot dead and two others were wounded. An attempt also was made by a civilian to shoot the Officer Commanding a detachment of the 1st Lancashire Regiment, but the revolver missed fire, and after a struggle the assailant escaped. In the hall of Baker's Hotel, Galway, where some of the police were lodging, a young lady was attacked by six masked men who cut off her hair by way of reprisal because she had given evidence at a military inquiry into the death of a constable who had been murdered. On September 20 armed men made a daring attack on a small party of soldiers in Dublin; two soldiers were killed and three wounded, while one of the raiders was killed and one wounded.

. On September 20 a fatal outbreak took place in Balbriggan, a town on the Great Northern Railway 22 miles from Dublin. It began with the murder of District Inspector Burke, and the wounding of his brother Sergeant Burke, which gave rise to prompt reprisals on the part of the "Black and Tans"—the common name for the recently recruited police. Two civilians were killed and a Stocking Factory and other premises were burnt down, the disorders continuing for five hours. It was alleged that the police went along the streets firing their rifles at doors and windows, and setting fire to shops and dwellings, while now and then loud explosions were heard. Early in the morning of the 22nd a military party went to a hotel in Dublin for the purpose of arresting a man who was staying there. When they entered his room he fired at them with a revolver, and the fire being returned the man was shot dead. Among other outrages of this period was one on September 22 in County Galway, where a party of six police driving in a motor lorry were ambushed at a lonely spot by a large number of men who opened fire from a high hill overlooking the road; four policemen were shot dead and one was mortally wounded. At the end of the attack soldiers arrived in two motor lorries and the assailants retreated; subsequently the military made thirty-six arrests on suspicion. As a result of this conflict reprisals were carried out by uniformed men; seven houses were burnt in one village, six in another and five in another. Furthermore it was alleged that three young men had been shot dead, and the population of the villages was panic-stricken.

An attempt was made on September 24 to assassinate Major-General Sir E. P. Strickland, commanding the Cork Division. The General was motoring from Cork Military Barracks to the city when he was fired on by a number of men armed with revolvers. The driver was slightly wounded and the car was penetrated by bullets, but General Strickland returned the fire and the assailants made off. On the 25th an attack was made upon a police patrol in the Nationalist district of Belfast. The onslaught was of a most determined character: a party of men armed with revolvers suddenly emerged and attacked the police patrol, consisting of four men, without any warning. One of them was shot dead immediately, two others wounded, and the life of the fourth constable was only saved by the fact that he tripped and fell. While lying on the ground he took out his revolver and fired upon the attacking party which was taken by surprise and scattered in all directions. The noise of the firing brought other police patrols to the scene, and during the night there were several outbreaks between Unionists and Nationalists, and much revolver firing. As a result of these disturbances two men were shot dead near their own homes, and one while standing at his own door. Nearly a dozen people were detained in hospital with bullet and knife wounds, while

a considerable number of others received minor injuries. On the same day five policemen were fired at in the village of Broadford, County Clare, by a party of armed men; one constable was shot dead and another seriously wounded; the remainder succeeded in making good their escape.

On September 26 police barracks were burnt and the head constable shot in the town of Trim. On the following day a number of armed men, said to have been Auxiliary policemen, arrived in motor lorries and went through the streets shouting and firing their rifles. Many houses were set on fire, the damage to property being estimated at 50,000*l*. Earlier in the morning of the same date an explosion took place in Cork when the shopfront of a drapery stores was shattered by bombs. The Curfew Patrol on its arrival was attacked by snipers, whom they pursued and fired upon. Several shots were fired in succession followed by machine-gun fire. On the same day Mme. Markievicz, the Sinn Fein M.P. for St. Patrick's, Dublin, was arrested by a party of policemen near Dublin and lodged in the Central Bridewell in the city.

On September 28 an audacious Sinn Fein raid was made on the local military barrack at Mallow, County Cork. The barrack was occupied by about fifty men of the 17th Lancers, and while the majority of them were out exercising horses a large band of men arrived in the town in motor cars and dashed through the gate of the barrack, ignoring the challenge of the sentry. The soldiers were surprised and a sergeant was shot. The raiders thereupon removed everything which they could carry off in the form of equipment, including a machine-gun, a number of rifles, and a quantity of ammunition. Before leaving they set fire to the building, but the outbreak was extinguished. Some hours later reprisals were instituted by a large body of military, who proceeded to wreck the town. The Town Hall was the first building to be set alight, none of its valuable records being saved, and the work of destruction was then systematically carried out, though the people co-operated cordially with the local police in endeavouring to check the soldiers in their career of destruction. Several shots were fired by soldiers and two men were injured, one receiving a bullet wound in the arm and the other being shot in the face. The total damage was estimated at about 200,000*l*.

These attacks by the military made the question of reprisals a matter for the immediate consideration of the Government, and on September 27 a message from Sir Hamar Greenwood was issued from Dublin, stating that there was no truth in the allegations that the Government connived at or supported reprisals. The Government had condemned reprisals, had issued orders against them, and had taken steps to prevent them notwithstanding that 100 policemen had been brutally murdered, in some cases by expanding bullets which resulted in horrible mutilation. The Chief Secretary added that the

number of alleged reprisals was few, and the damage done exaggerated. Nevertheless the policy of reprisals continued to be defended by many persons on the ground that they were the natural result of extreme provocation, and that they had in fact restored order, or the semblance of order, in some districts.

An opportunity arose on the last day of September for the Chief Secretary to make a statement of the attitude of the Government towards the question of reprisals. Sir Hamar Greenwood attended a review of the Royal Irish Constabulary at the police depot in Phoenix Park, and addressed the men of the Force, who were drawn up on the parade ground under the Commandant. After congratulating them on their smartness and efficiency, he said that the standards of their famous force were high, and that they had shown a patience and courage during the last few years that commanded the respect of all law-abiding people in the civilised world. One hundred and three of their comrades, he said, had been brutally murdered; 170 had been wounded, and their wives, families, and relations had been boycotted because they had done their duty. He said that the accounts of reprisals in certain newspapers were often misleading, but that there had been cases in which members of the Force had unjustifiably taken action on their own account. He desired, therefore, to emphasise that reprisals would ruin the discipline of the Force and could not be countenanced by those in authority. He fully recognised the great provocation under which they suffered, but he begged them to remember that they had the British Government behind them, and he assured them that if they maintained their discipline the present calamitous state of Ireland would quickly be brought to an end, and peace would be re-established, as he believed was urgently desired by the vast majority of the Irish people.

Further rioting broke out in Belfast at the end of September. On the 27th there was stone throwing and revolver firing, and a couple of bayonet charges were made by the military. The following morning there was a further outbreak, an onslaught being made on the workers of a house repairing yard; three of the men were beaten and hunted from the establishment, and it was stated that the foreman was not only seriously assaulted but robbed. Another outbreak of lawlessness occurred in a Nationalist and Sinn Féin area later on, when two men were shot by the military and a number wounded. The assailants on this occasion took the precaution of extinguishing all the lights in the neighbourhood so that the entire community was in a state of panic. The military, however, soon established control of the town and the rioting then subsided. Up to this date there appeared to have been a constant increase in the bitterness of Irish feeling, and from no quarter did there come any suggestions for a method out of the impasse, which commanded general acceptance.

## CHAPTER IV.

## END OF THE YEAR.

THE month of October witnessed the final breakdown of the negotiations with the miners, and the outbreak of the strike which had for so long been threatened. There were, indeed, at the beginning of the month renewed attempts to reach an understanding which for a few days appeared as though they might be successful. The strike did not begin, as had been arranged, on October 2, for a revised proposal was made by the coal-owners on the 1st of the month upon which the Miners' Federation decided to take another ballot of their members. It will be remembered that the negotiations had broken down at the end of September owing to the inability of the owners and the miners to agree upon the question of a datum line. The miners desired that the 2s. increase of wages should be paid to them under any circumstances; the owners would only agree to pay it if the standard output of 240,000,000 tons were exceeded. The new offer of the coal-owners now agreed to an advance of 1s. a day for an output of 240,000,000 tons; 1s. 6d. a day for an output of 244,000,000 tons; 2s. a day for an output of 248,000,000 tons, and further advances of wages to follow further increases of output. The Delegate Meeting of the Miners' Federation thereupon decided to postpone the termination of the strike notices for a further fortnight, until October 16, and meanwhile to take a ballot on October 11 and 12 on the owners' offer.

The chance of that offer being accepted appeared to be very slender. One Miners' Council after another in different parts of the country resolved upon opposition, though some of the best-known leaders of the men expressed themselves decided in favour of acceptance. Notable among these was Mr. Robert Smillie, who issued a statement pointing out that the terms now put forward were only of a temporary character and could not be accepted as a final solution of the wages question. He advocated, however, that the miners should accept these proposals on the ground that it would give a period of a few months during which the whole question of wages and miners' conditions could be gone into, with a view to a national agreement being arrived at that would be subject to the approval of the men.

The Delegate Meeting of the Miners' Federation received the report upon the ballot on October 14. The figures in favour of the acceptance of the owners' offer were 181,428, and against the offer 635,098, showing a majority in favour of a strike of 453,670, or a percentage of 77·8. These figures were forthwith conveyed to the Government with an intimation that the strike notices would expire on the 16th inst. Mr. Lloyd George, in reply, dwelt on the disaster of a strike and declared

that the Government were still ready to explore every avenue to a peaceful solution. The Prime Minister's appeal, however, was of no avail. The miners' delegates resolved, on October 15, that work must cease in all the mines on the following day, and two days later the stoppage was in fact complete.

The Government were prepared with their measures to meet the emergency on the basis that a state of war had arisen. Arrangements for the distribution of food were already in existence, and although there was no serious curtailment of the train services, it was announced that measures in this direction would become necessary in a few days if the strike continued. A notice was issued by the Board of Trade calling upon every member of the public to cut down his consumption of coal, gas, and electricity to the lowest possible limit so as to conserve the stocks of coal that were available. All advertisement lighting was prohibited, the use of gas and electricity for power was limited, and the purchases or deliveries of coal for household consumption were cut down to 1 cwt. per week, and there was a general prohibition of any purchases by or deliveries to persons who had more than 10 cwt. in stock.

The strike had not been in progress many days before efforts were made on various sides to suggest a solution. Of these, one which attracted special attention came from Mr. Brace, one of the miners' leaders. He laid down four points:—

1. That a National Wages Board should be set up for the regulation of wages.

2. That a Joint Committee of coal-owners and miners and representatives of the Mines Department should determine the proportionate shares that the coal-owners, the workmen, and the State should draw from the mining profits pool.

3. That until the National Wages Board had established a permanent scheme for the regulation of wages the 2s. a day increase should be paid, but be reviewed in the light of the financial results obtained from the operation of Clause 2 at the end of the year.

4. That the coal-owners and miners should set up machinery forthwith and concentrate upon increasing output.

Informal conversations also took place between the members of the Government and some of the miners' leaders who were still in London. These conversations were interrupted by a sudden threat from a new quarter, for the delegates of the National Union of Railwaymen issued a statement that if the miners' claims were not granted, or negotiations resumed by October 23, the railwaymen would cease work at midnight on the 24th. This threat would very likely never have been realised, for there was pronounced opposition to a railway strike from Mr. Thomas and from a large proportion of the railwaymen, but the question was never brought to an issue, for formal negotiations were resumed between officials of the Miners' Federation and Mr. Lloyd George with other members of the Government. After

nearly breaking down these negotiations at length issued in an agreement which the Executive of the Federation promised to recommend to the miners for adoption. The agreement provided for joint District and National Committees on output. A joint scheme was to be submitted to the Government for the future regulation of wages. Advances of wages by 2s. a shift for men, 1s. for youths, and 9d. for boys were to be made immediately upon resumption of work. After January 3 wages were to be adjusted for four weeks on the basis of export coal values. The values of the September quarter were taken as a standard warranting advances of 1s., 6d., and 4½d. a shift on present earnings. Every increase in the proceeds of export coal by 288,000*l.* a week over the weekly average of the September quarter would entitle the workers to an additional 6d., 3d., or 2½d. a shift. All coal raised in excess of a tonnage at the rate of 219,000,000 a year was to be assumed to be export coal. Finally, there was to be a variation of the owners' one-tenth share of surplus profits proportionately with the rise or fall of wages.

The effect of this agreement was that the men got their way as regards an immediate increase of wages by 2s. a day until January 3. After that date wages were to be governed for some months by a sliding scale, which was ultimately to be superseded by a mutually agreed scheme approved by the Government for the permanent regulation of wages.

A fresh ballot of the miners was taken on this agreement on November 2 when the strike had been in progress for just over a fortnight. The voting amounted to 338,045 in favour of accepting the terms, and 346,504 against acceptance, showing an adverse majority of 8,459 on a much smaller poll than that of three weeks previously. Since these figures showed very much less than the two-thirds majority necessary for the continuance of a strike, the delegates of the Miners' Federation agreed that the strike should be declared off and the men be advised to resume work on November 4, or as soon after as possible. Thus ended a dispute which had been without parallel for its protracted negotiations. The miners' original claim was formulated on July 7 and presented to the President of the Board of Trade on the 26th of that month. On August 12 a strike ballot was decided upon, and on September 2 a delegate meeting ordered notices to be tendered to cease work on September 25. From that time onwards negotiations had been almost constant, and it was believed that there was no other instance of laborious negotiations continuing for so many weeks. Work was resumed in many collieries on the 4th, though in others the necessity for repairs prevented resumption for a further day or two. The emergency orders issued by the Government as regards heating and lighting were immediately revoked, and the train services also became normal.

On October 11 the Prince of Wales arrived in London after



his tour of Australia and New Zealand, which had lasted nearly seven months. The *Renown*, in which he travelled, arrived at Portsmouth in the morning and the Prince was welcomed by the Mayor and Corporation of the town. In reply to their address he thanked them for their courtesy and begged them to express his thanks to all the citizens of Portsmouth. He said that he had been most deeply impressed by the unity and strength of sentiment which bound all parts of His Majesty's dominions to the throne, and made the future of the British Empire secure. He now looked forward greatly to his stay at home, for he had seen very little of the United Kingdom, and he hoped to have the opportunity of making his first acquaintance with many great centres of British life which he had not yet seen.

On his journey to London the Prince met with a great popular ovation. He was met at Victoria Station by the King and Queen, and then, instead of driving direct to Buckingham Palace, he went home by a roundabout way, several miles long, through the West End in an open carriage so that he might be seen by as many as possible of the hundreds of thousands who wished to bid him welcome home. The tour had in fact been followed in England with widespread interest, and had done much to ensure popularity for the Prince. On behalf of the King a telegram was then sent to the Governors-General of Australia and New Zealand, and to the Governors of the Australian States and West Indian and other Islands, expressing thanks for the universal affection and loyal enthusiasm evinced towards the Prince throughout his travels. The King added that the Prince had derived from them special opportunities to gain a knowledge of our oversea dominions and colonies, and to become personally acquainted with their peoples. He hoped that such mutual intercourse would create further ties of confidence and devotion between the throne and the generations, present and future, of those great lands, and thus promote the unity, strength, and prosperity of the Empire.

Parliament met on October 19, and found itself faced with the two urgent problems of the coal strike and the state of Ireland, both of which were among the first subjects to be discussed. After the formal business of the opening, Sir Robert Horne moved the adjournment of the House of Commons in order to give an opportunity for discussion of the miners' strike. He pointed out that since the Sankey Commission sat, the cost of living had risen by forty-nine points, which would have entitled the miners to an increase of about 10s. a week, but they had actually received an increase of 12s. a week and were now asking for 2s. a day more. The miners had refused to submit their present demands to the decision of the Industrial Court, and had chosen instead to come out on strike. Before the war the output of coal was 287,000,000 tons a year; in the third quarter of the present year it was at the rate of about 236,000,000

tons a year. It was absolutely essential for the public well-being that this output should be increased. Mr. Brace proposed that the 2s. should be given at once as a temporary measure on the understanding that between the present date and December the coal-owners and miners should concentrate on output; that a Joint Committee of coal-owners and coal-miners, and representatives of the Mines Department should determine the proportionate shares to be drawn from the mining profits pool, and that a National Wages Board should be set up to prepare for future wages regulation. After some discussion Mr. Lloyd George declared that there must be guarantees as to output, and increased reward for increased output seemed to be the only solution of the difficulty. After Mr. Adamson had asked for a conference between the Prime Minister, the President of the Board of Trade, the coal-owners, and the Miners' Executive, the debate was adjourned.

During October the pinch of unemployment began to be felt, and on the 18th there were riotous scenes in Whitehall attending a march and demonstration of unemployed when the Mayors of a number of Metropolitan Boroughs interviewed the Prime Minister at 10 Downing Street. It was found necessary for the police, mounted and foot, to use their batons to break up the crowd, and between thirty and forty people were injured, chiefly about the head, twenty being treated in hospital; ten of the police themselves suffered more or less serious hurt. On the 19th Mr. Lloyd George, in reply to a question in the House of Commons, announced the conclusions reached by the Cabinet Committee on unemployment, and the measures which were being taken as the outcome of those conclusions. The chief proposals were, for the employment of further large numbers of ex-Service men on the housing programme; for a large scheme of new arterial roads for London and similar schemes in the country; and lastly, for the admission of additional men into the foundry, iron-puddling and railway waggon building trades in which there had been a serious shortage of skilled labour. On the same date the subject was discussed by the London County Council, amidst noisy interruptions from unemployed in the Gallery. The Council appointed a Committee to deal with the problem.

On the 21st Mr. Adamson moved a resolution in the House of Commons regretting the growing volume of unemployment, and declaring that every possible step should be taken to arrest the decline in trade and industry, and to provide work or maintenance for those whose labour was not required in the ordinary market. Dr. Macnamara spoke of the great extension of unemployment benefit granted under the Act which would come into force in three weeks' time, and of the various measures taken by the Government on behalf of ex-Service men. Captain Coote suggested that the Trade Unions should take on the duties of the Employment Exchanges. After some

further debate, Major Hamilton moved an amendment for the insertion of words expressing regret at the number of ex-Service men still unemployed, and satisfaction with the steps already taken by the Government. Dr. Addison expressed the opinion that the Labour Party might help to devise fair and efficient means of providing work for unemployed soldiers and others. The resolution was ultimately talked out. Figures issued by the Ministry of Labour showed that the out-of-work donation and unemployment insurance claims on October 21 were 330,275 in England and Wales, compared with 244,729 on October 8. The total number of workpeople discharged at works closed on account of the coal strike up to, and including, October 21, was 50,803. Workpeople discharged through reductions of staff numbered 102,062, and workpeople placed on short time amounted to 89,366.

The Church Congress opened at Southend on October 19 when the Bishop of Chelmsford, who was President, delivered his inaugural address. The general subject for discussion was "The Living Christ and Problems of To-day." The President said that they believed that this was the dawn of the era of progress and peace. There had never been, he said, in the history of the world a Treaty of Peace so impregnated with the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount as that signed last year. The clauses on labour and on international relationships were in a spirit akin to Christianity itself. In the course of the discussion Dr. Inge, the Dean of St. Paul's, said that we must purge our minds of the artificial war mentality which had filled our hearts with hatred and perverted our judgments. He expressed the opinion that fear as much as anything else had driven the nations to fly at each others' throats. He thought that the verdict of history would not acquit the Germans of waging war atrociously, but he was not sure that we were not now waging peace atrociously. There could be no more fatuous policy, he said, than to try to get Germany permanently crippled, for this would not only inflict grave injury on our own economic life, but would drive Germany into alliance with the Military Government of Russia. The League of Nations had a difficult task but the alternative was a mutual suicide club. At a later sitting of the Congress considerable controversy was aroused by the question of the attitude of the Church towards amusements, on which subject several papers were submitted both by clerical and lay members of the Congress. The meetings ended on October 22. The general impression left as a result of them was that the tide of unity in the Church was rising, and that this fact accounted for the success of the Congress. A marked feature of the Congress was the excellence of several papers contributed by women.

Several political speeches were delivered during October by prominent statesmen. The most important was one by Mr. Lloyd George at Llandudno on October 8, in which the Prime

Minister defended the Coalition Government. He said that as a matter of fact we had had government by Coalition in this country since 1886. If it had not been for the mishap of 1916 Mr. Asquith would have been now at the head of the Coalition Government. Coalition did not mean the surrender of principle by anybody. Every belligerent country, with the exception of America, had been driven to Coalition to save its face. The conflict of parties in America had resulted in this, that they had not yet signed a Treaty of Peace with Germany. The great issue which engaged statesmanship in all lands was peace at home and abroad. He did not mean treaties of peace, he meant the atmosphere of peace and accord not merely in Russia and Poland and Lithuania, but in our factories, workshops, and mines at home. It was of no use making peace with Russia. The Government of Russia itself made that difficult. It did not command confidence, it broke pledges, it made a pretence of making peace and then assiduously took advantage of it to poison the atmosphere of the country with whom it was negotiating. Peace at home was very necessary and very urgent. The average number of people who went out of work on strikes before the war was 800,000 per annum. Last year it was 2,500,000, just when the country needed production more than ever. Mr. Lloyd George said that he was all for strict justice and equity in dealing with every demand which came from men who contributed to the wealth of the nation, but he was equally resolved that whatever happened the rights of the community could not be surrendered to any minority however powerful. If a minority could hold up the community by denying to them the necessities of life, there was an end of democratic government in this country. It was the beginning of the Soviet Government in Russia. Mr. Lloyd George then referred to the impending strike of the miners, and finally turned to Ireland, predicting that Home Rule would be carried by Coalition, and denying that he was in the hands of Sir Edward Carson.

The next day Mr. Lloyd George addressed a meeting in Carnarvon on the Irish question. He insisted that nothing which had been done in the past could justify altogether the conditions of the present. During the past thirty or forty years more had been done to redress the evils of the past in Ireland than in any country in the world, and yet what was the position in that country? During the last year 283 policemen had been shot in Ireland, 109 of them being shot dead. About 100 soldiers had been shot and many more had been fired at. The police had endured the attacks upon them patiently for two or three years, but finally their patience had given way and there had been some reprisals. The Sinn Feiners justified their action by saying that there was a state of war, but what they called a war was carried on by men, not in uniform, who attacked the police unawares and under the guise

of peaceful civilians. This was more than the police could be expected to tolerate. Moreover, there was a system of demoralisation which made it impossible to find any evidence to convict the murderers. Turning to the question of restoration of order in Ireland, the Prime Minister referred to the cry for Dominion Home Rule, and pointed out that there was no one who had the authority to speak for his countrymen who would be prepared to accept Dominion Home Rule, but the main objection to it was that it was not possible to give Ireland the right to organise a separate Army and Navy.

On October 14 Mr. Asquith dealt with the question of Dominion Home Rule in a speech at Ayr. He said that he had no fears whatever of Irish separation, and the only possible solution of the difficulty was to give Ireland Dominion Home Rule in the largest and fullest sense. This meant complete legislative independence in all matters of local concern. It also meant actual fiscal autonomy, including the imposition of Customs and Excise Duties. It meant further the power to raise local Military Forces for home defence, and also (subject to certain clearly defined conditions and limitations) the power to raise a Naval Force. As a matter of fact he did not believe that Ireland would create a Navy, for she could get all her Navy work done much more cheaply and efficiently by the Imperial Navy close at hand.

Mr. Churchill replied to Mr. Asquith in a speech at Dundee on October 16. He said that the best chance of making an Irish settlement had been in 1916 when Sir Edward Carson had offered to try to bring about an Irish Home Rule settlement. He did not blame Mr. Asquith or Lord Grey, or any of the other Ministers of that time, but it was not for them, after having missed that opportunity, to lecture those who succeeded them for having failed to turn good opportunities to account. He pointed out that the Government possessed the unshaken support of an enormous majority in the House of Commons, and he thought that Mr. Asquith might have given it his powerful aid instead of splitting up the Liberal Party. It was the intention of the Government to break up the murder gang in Ireland. A permanent settlement on a Home Rule basis with the Irish people could never be on the basis of surrender to treacherous murder, but only on the basis of justice and of generosity.

Among the Irish prisoners confined for political offences the hunger strike continued notwithstanding the firm attitude of the Government. On October 17 Michael Fitzgerald died after having refused food since August 10 when he had been lodged, with ten other prisoners, in Cork Gaol. He had been arrested in connexion with the shooting of a soldier at Fermoy and was awaiting trial on the capital charge. By the middle of October the condition of Alderman McSwiney, the Lord Mayor of Cork, had become extremely critical, and his death took place on

October 25 in Brixton Prison on the seventy-fourth day of his hunger strike. Next morning the Nationalist newspapers in Ireland appeared with heavy black borders, and their contents were concerned almost entirely with accounts of the life and death of the late Lord Mayor. The body was taken from Brixton Prison to St. George's Roman Catholic Cathedral, Southwark, after an inquest had been held at which a verdict was returned that Alderman McSwiney had died from the results of exhaustion due to prolonged refusal to take food. On the 28th a procession went through the streets of London in which the coffin was conveyed to Euston to be taken to Cork for burial. The original intention of landing the remains of the late Lord Mayor at Dublin had to be abandoned owing to the action of the Government, who feared the risk of political demonstrations, and placed a special steamer at the disposal of the relatives and friends to proceed direct to Cork without landing at any other place. The funeral took place on October 31 in the circle of ground known as the Republican Plot, and marked by every sign of public sympathy and lament. Dense masses lined the route, and a Requiem Mass was held at the Cathedral, the whole population of the city of Cork being swayed by the single desire to honour their late Lord Mayor.

Murders and outrages were continually reported in Ireland during October. On the 1st of the month the police found the dead body of Captain Lendrum in a coffin on the railway line near Kilmurphy Railway Station. Captain Lendrum, who was Resident Magistrate at Kilkee, had disappeared on September 22 under circumstances which gave rise to the belief that he had fallen into a Sinn Fein ambush. Since that time threats of reprisals had appeared in the Press unless Captain Lendrum's whereabouts were promptly revealed. Official steps were at once taken to prevent any such unauthorised acts, but apparently those responsible for the murder thought it best in the circumstances to reveal the truth, and Captain Lendrum's body in a coffin was placed in a position where it would be discovered. On the same day that this discovery was made a motor police patrol was ambushed in County Sligo, a police officer being killed and two policemen who were with him wounded. On the 2nd three auxiliary policemen were attacked by civilians in Patrick Street, Cork, one constable being wounded. The Sinn Feiners, however, did not have it all their own way. On the 4th a patrol of thirty soldiers surprised about sixty civilians who were preparing an ambush in County Cork. One of the civilians was killed and several shot-guns, a quantity of ammunition, bicycles, steel helmets, and equipment fell into the hands of the military. On the same day soldiers raided a Sinn Fein Quarter Sessions Court which was sitting at Navan. They seized all the documents including the Solicitors' Briefs, searched the members of the Court, and took the names of all present. On the following day the military in Dublin seized

the mails for the second time within a fortnight. All the mail bags were carried from the Rotunda Rink to Dublin Castle where the letters were examined. While this was going on a daring robbery was committed by five young men armed with revolvers at the South Richmond Street branch of the Provincial Bank in Dublin. Two of the men took up positions as sentries at the door; the others entered the Bank and, presenting revolvers, held up the staff and three people who were in the office at the time. One of the men next cut the telephone wires while another seized a cash box. It was estimated that a sum of 800*l.* was taken. On October 6 an officer of the West Riding Regiment was shot in the grounds of Collinstown Aerodrome, County Dublin.

Cork was the scene of many outrages. On October 8 a military lorry driving along Barrack Street was bombed by civilians from a street corner, one of the bombs exploding in the centre of the lorry and blowing a hand off one soldier who died shortly afterwards; three others were dangerously wounded. The remaining soldiers fired about twenty rounds in the direction from which the bombs were thrown, and the streets, which had been crowded at the time, were quickly cleared. It was then found that two men and one girl had received bad wounds from fragments of bombs. About the same date another attack was made on the police in County Clare. The sergeant and five constables left their barracks to go to the Post Office, but when they arrived there fire was opened on them from the windows of the upper part of the house and of adjoining houses and from the other side of the road. Two constables were shot dead while the remainder succeeded in getting back to their barracks though under fire the whole way. Another military car was ambushed near Cork on October 9, one officer being killed and another officer dangerously wounded, while three soldiers were also hit. On the following day another outrage of the same nature was committed in County Cork; the driver of the motor lorry was in this case killed, and one N.C.O. and three men wounded. Six rifles, a revolver, and some ammunition were captured. The attacking party was said to have been 100 strong, and used a hotchkiss gun and bombs.

On October 12 Dublin was startled to learn that two military officers had been killed in the performance of their duty on the north side of the city. The officers and a party of men had gone to a house to make an arrest, and soon after being admitted they were fired upon, the young men whom they were trying to arrest succeeding in escaping by the back of the house. On the 14th two serious shooting affrays occurred in Dublin. In the first, which broke out in the afternoon, men attacked an armoured car, wounding one of the soldiers but having one of their own number killed. Two hours later soldiers who were raiding a shop were fired at by a body of civilians and

returned the fire. An official report stated that an officer and two civilians were killed, and one N.C.O. and a Dublin Metropolitan police constable were wounded. Two other shooting affrays took place in Dublin on October 17, both of them fatal, while on the same date new rioting took place in Belfast, revolver firing being freely indulged in, as a result of which one man was shot dead and about a dozen admitted to hospital suffering from gunshot and other wounds. Some of them died later. Meanwhile from County Galway there came stories of reprisals on the part of the police which were more or less well authenticated. When Parliament opened Sir Hamar Greenwood said that the outrages against the police and military forces since January 1 had included the loss of 118 lives. The effective strength of the Royal Irish Constabulary was now higher than it had been for the last fifteen years.

On October 20 Mr. A. Henderson moved a resolution in the House regretting the present state of lawlessness in Ireland, and declaring that an independent investigation should at once be instituted into the causes and extent of reprisals taken by those whose duty it was to preserve law and order. Sir Hamar Greenwood said that the difficulty to-day was based on a demand for complete independence reinforced by an army equipped, organised, and working day and night by a policy of assassination and of burning; the paramount duty of the Irish Government was to break up the murder gang which had terrorised Ireland. Mr. Bonar Law also pointed out that in the conditions prevailing in Ireland at the present time it was impossible to have any inquiry, which would be fair, in public, because men would be terrorised into swearing falsely. Mr. J. H. Thomas expressed the view that the Government had no right to put into gaol railwaymen who refused to carry armed soldiers or munitions in Ireland. In the House of Lords at the same time a request for an inquiry into the question of reprisals and other points was also refused.

On October 22 a military party of the Essex Regiment was ambushed 15 miles from Cork by 120 armed men, three of the soldiers, including the lieutenant in command, being fatally wounded. The military were in occupation of two large motor lorries and were taken completely by surprise. They returned the fire and continued the fight for nearly an hour, but were eventually obliged to surrender and allow the raiders to take their arms and equipment. Another successful ambush was carried out on a police patrol in County Galway on October 25. The patrol consisted of a sergeant and eight men; three of them were wounded and three killed, while the assailants escaped. The tactics of Sinn Féin were all of a similar character, and the outrages which occurred during October are far too numerous for individual mention. A considerable sensation was caused, however, at the end of the month by an outbreak of a similar kind in Scotland. At the village of Bothwell some



constables interrupted a band of armed Sinn Feiners who were contemplating a raid in search of arms at a Drill Hall where a quantity of ammunition was stored for the use of the local Territorials. An attack was made by two policemen on a band of armed men, and one of them was wounded by two bullets while the other succeeded in escaping to obtain assistance.

The Committee stage of the Home Rule Bill in the House of Commons was completed during October. Colonel W. Guinness moved an amendment designed to confer on the Irish Parliaments the control of Customs and Excise. Mr. Fisher, however, pointed out that so long as Ireland was divided into Southern and Northern Governments it would be impracticable to establish a Customs barrier across the Island. The amendment was ultimately negatived by a majority of 129. The last day of the Committee stage was October 29, when Major Hills moved an amendment to give the control of Income Tax to the Irish Parliaments. The amendment was negatived. Mr. Reid then moved a new clause to provide that no law made in Ireland should have the effect of prejudicing or diminishing the rights of any existing or pensioned officer of a Local Authority. This clause, slightly amended by Mr. Fisher, was agreed to, and the Bill was then reported as amended.

One further Bill has to be named which passed through all its stages in the course of a week in the latter half of October. This Bill was the Emergency Powers Bill introduced with special reference to the miners' strike which was then in progress. Its second reading was moved in the House of Commons by Mr. Bonar Law on October 25. He explained that its object was to provide the Government with the powers essential to deal with any widespread emergency which might threaten the life of the community as a whole. The Bill empowered the Government to make such regulations as should be needful to secure the supply of food, water, fuel, light, and other necessities, and to preserve peace. The rejection of the Bill was moved by Mr. Adamson on behalf of the Labour Party, and Mr. Asquith expressed the view that it required prolonged and careful Parliamentary discussion. Mr. Clynes thought that the moment chosen for putting forward the Bill was inopportune, while Sir Donald Maclean suggested that a Select Committee should report on the proposals contained in it. The second reading was then carried by a majority of 202 after the closure had first been applied.

The Committee stage was taken next day. Clause 1 provided that if at any time any action taken or immediately threatened were calculated to deprive any substantial portion of the community of the essentials of life, a "state of emergency" might be declared by proclamation. The clause was eventually carried after a short debate ended by the closure. Mr. Shortt moved an amendment, which was agreed to, to secure that no proclamation should be enforced for more than one month. An

amendment moved by Mr. Grundy providing that Parliament, if not sitting at the time when a proclamation was issued, should be summoned to meet within five days, was also agreed to. On Clause 2 Government amendments were introduced providing that there should be no power to enforce compulsory military service or industrial conscription, and that it should not be made an offence under the Act for any person to take part in a strike or peacefully to persuade any other person to do so. A further amendment was agreed to providing that the regulations should not continue in force longer than seven days after they had been laid before Parliament unless both Houses agreed to them by resolution. The Bill was read a third time and passed on October 27. On the 28th it passed through all its stages in the House of Lords, and the royal assent was given on October 29.

The second reading of the Ministry of Health (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill was moved by Dr. Addison in the House of Commons on November 4. He explained that the object of the Bill was to deal with post-war problems. Under it Local Authorities were empowered under certain circumstances compulsorily to hire empty houses. It also prolonged the period for granting subsidies. Other provisions concerned housing schemes, continued temporary hospital treatment, and empowered Local Authorities to contribute in aid of voluntary hospitals. The rejection was moved by Lord Winterton, and after some further debate the discussion was adjourned till November 9. On its resumption Mr. A. Samuel expressed the fear that the Bill would heavily tax the finances of the country. After the closure had been moved and carried the Bill was read a second time. A motion that it should be referred to a Committee of the whole House was negatived, and it was referred to a Standing Committee.

The Agricultural Bill passed through its remaining stages in the House of Commons during November. On the 2nd of the month a new Government clause was agreed to, allowing the tenant of a farm under an incumbent to continue in occupation of the farm notwithstanding the termination of the incumbent's interest until his tenancy was determined by a notice to quit in the ordinary fashion. A clause was also added applying the provisions of the Bill with regard to compensation to cottages in holdings under the Act of 1908. Mr. W. Smith moved a new clause to provide that where a rental was not actually reserved, a workman who was put in occupation of premises of small value should be assured that they were fit for human habitation. The clause was agreed to by a majority of 224, and another clause providing for the establishment of Wages Committees in Wales was also added to the Bill. Many other amendments were made, at the end of which the third reading was passed on November 25. Its main provisions in the form in which it left the House of Commons, were as follows ; It continued and

amended the Corn Production Act, 1918, and provided for the termination of that Act by Order in Council on an address to His Majesty by both Houses of Parliament. Guaranteed prices for wheat and oats were continued, though they were no longer to be fixed in advance but to vary from a datum line for the year 1919 of 68s. per quarter for wheat and 46s. for oats as the cost of production varied. The Agricultural Wages Board was continued, a separate Wages Board for Wales being set up. As regards control of cultivation, the Act of 1917 was greatly modified. Orders might be issued requiring that cultivation should be according to the rules of good husbandry; that an improvement or change of cultivation should be made, or that necessary works of maintenance should be carried out; but no interference was allowed with the discretion of the occupier as to the crops to be grown. Provision was made for an appeal to an arbitrator. Power was given to the Minister to put into the hands of a Receiver or Manager any estate on which good husbandry and food production were prejudiced by general mismanagement. Powers were also taken for the destruction of weeds.

The second part of the Agriculture Bill amended the Agricultural Holdings Acts; while the right of a landlord to give a tenant notice to quit was preserved the existing provisions for compensation for disturbance were extended. The tenant farmer would receive compensation for disturbance in every case where he left his holding in consequence of a notice to quit, provided that he (the tenant farmer) was not himself at fault. He would receive full compensation for all loss directly attributable to the quitting which might be incurred by sale or removal of his stock, etc., together with an additional sum equal to one year's rent. If the notice to quit were given capriciously this additional sum might be increased by an arbitrator up to a maximum of four years' rent. Provision was made for payment of compensation for disturbance in the case of allotment gardens, and the same principle of compensation was applied to tied cottages occupied by agricultural labourers.

During November some discussion took place in the House of Lords on affairs in Egypt and also in Persia. As regards the former country Lord Curzon said that a new memorandum had been sent to Cairo in August, a summary of which had already appeared. Lord Milner explained that his Mission had not yet reported as they were anxious to hear the views of Zaghlub Pasha and other influential Egyptians who had arrived in London.

The position in Persia was discussed on November 16. Lord Curzon then stated that the whole of our policy was directed towards steadying the situation in that country. We had now informed Persia that we expected the Mejliss to be summoned in the ensuing month in order that the Anglo-Persian Agreement might be submitted to it before the com-

mencement of the new year. If the Persian Parliament accepted the agreement we should do our best to help them with troops.

Early in the year two important arrests were made in connexion with affairs in Ireland. The first was that of Mrs. Annan Bryce who had been arrested without warrant at Holyhead and taken as a prisoner to Ireland on an order from the Irish Executive. This action was criticised in the House of Lords on November 9, but was defended by Lord Crawford, who explained that Mrs. Bryce had been arrested under a regulation of the Defence of the Realm Act which empowered arrests to be made without warrant on the authority of a person authorised by the competent Naval or Military Authority.

The other arrest was that of ex-Colonel Malone, M.P., who had made a revolutionary speech at the Albert Hall on November 7. On the 9th his flat in London was raided, and a large number of documents removed which were alleged to be of a revolutionary nature. On the following day ex-Colonel Malone himself was arrested in Dublin where he had gone to take part in the inaugural meeting of Trinity College Historical Society. On the 12th he was formally charged at Bow Street Police Court with having committed an act (namely, delivering a speech at the Albert Hall) likely to cause sedition and disaffection among the civilian population. Among the passages of the speech in question was one in which he adjured his audience to leave no stone unturned in preparing for a social revolution. He hoped that the Russian revolution would soon be followed by a British revolution, even if it had to be achieved by the execution of various statesmen. "What," he said, "are a few Churchills or Curzons on lamp-posts compared to the massacre of thousands of human beings?" Ex-Colonel Malone was remanded for a week, at the end of which his case came again before the magistrate, and he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment in the Second Division. Notice of appeal was immediately given, and the defendant was released on bail pending the hearing of the appeal.

The second anniversary of the armistice was celebrated with even greater ceremony than in the previous year. Two outstanding events characterised the celebration: the King unveiled the Cenotaph in its permanent form, and an unknown warrior was buried in Westminster Abbey. The body of this unknown soldier had been disinterred from the battle-fields in France and was brought to England on November 10. On the morning of the 11th the coffin, covered by a Union Jack, was carried from Victoria Station with Field-Marshal and Admirals as pall-bearers, and traversed a long route to the Cenotaph amidst hundreds of thousands of silent spectators. In Whitehall the Cenotaph was draped with the National flag. The King, in the uniform of a Field-Marshal, stood near the Colonial Office

waiting to step into his place as chief mourner, and his first act after the arrival of the procession was to step forward to the coffin and place upon it a wreath of laurel leaves and crimson flowers. As the clock struck eleven the King pressed a button and the flags which veiled the Cenotaph fluttered down. The King then placed the first wreath at the base of the Cenotaph, followed by the Prince of Wales, the Prime Minister, the Adjutant-General, and the representatives of the Dominions and Colonies. The coffin was afterwards conveyed to Westminster Abbey where the King scattered over it soil brought from the battle-field. For some days the grave was left covered with the pall and the Ypres Flag, while Westminster Abbey was kept open all day long in order that it might be visited by the large crowds of people who wished to see it. The grave was not sealed till the night of November 17 when it had been visited by over a million persons who formed a queue that was almost continuous during the week.

The Defence of the Realm (Acquisition of Land) Bill was debated in the House of Lords in the course of November. Lord Peel moved the second reading on the 15th of the month. He explained that the Bill empowered the Government to dispose of land free from restrictive covenants to which it was subjected immediately before its acquisition. The Bill also did away with the pre-emptive right of the owner of any land adjoining that to be sold to be given the first refusal of such land. Clause 3 dealt with the resale of land, and other clauses were inserted for the purpose of clearing up legal doubts. Lord Salisbury pointed out that under the Bill a purchaser of pre-emption would be deprived of his bargain, but the motion was agreed to and the Bill read a second time.

In its Committee stage an amendment was added to Clause 1 which empowered the Government to dispose of land free from restrictive covenants. The amendment, which was moved by Lord Malmesbury, was intended to secure that the Government should not have unlimited control over land which had been acquired solely for the purposes of the war. A few other amendments of less importance were also added.

On the 17th Lord Gainford moved a resolution declaring that reductions should be immediately set on foot in the staffs of Government Departments, so that all buildings which had been erected by the Government on spaces to which the public had access prior to the war should be removed, and that for the retention of any such spaces later than June 30 Parliamentary authority should be obtained. Lord Stanmore explained that the evacuation of hotels, museums, and other public places had been steadily progressing, and that the evacuation of temporary buildings was now being dealt with. Lord Buckmaster expressed the view that during the two years which had elapsed since the cessation of hostilities greater progress ought to have been made. Lord Crawford stated that the

Government were resolved to end the present state of things as soon as the efficiency of the Public Service made it possible. Lord Gainford's motion was then carried by a majority of twenty-six. Shortly afterwards a Parliamentary Paper was issued showing the staffs of the principal Government offices on October 1. The return showed a slight total reduction of 1783 as compared with the September figures, but the staffs of all Departments still amounted to 366,243, being a reduction of only 64,257 in the two years succeeding the armistice. In three cases the staffs had recently been increased, namely, in the Pensions Ministry, the Inland Revenue Department, and the Ministry of Health.

The problem of unemployment became more acute as the winter advanced. Early in November the Government introduced an Unemployment (Relief Works) Bill, the object of which was explained by Mr. Munro in moving the second reading on November 18. He said that the intention of the Bill was to give power to Local Authorities and any appropriate Government Departments to acquire and enter upon land compulsorily for the purpose of contributing to works of public utility with a view to finding immediate work for the unemployed. This power could only be exercised with the express approval of the Ministry of Labour. A Local Authority was also empowered, with the approval of the Minister of Health, to contribute to works of public utility which were being extended beyond his area. The second reading was agreed to, and after a few amendments had been added the Bill was read a third time and passed on November 26.

The programme of the Government for the relief of unemployment was outlined by the Prime Minister in reply to a deputation from the London County Council on November 24. The deputation pressed for powers which would enable them to act promptly in beginning relief work, particularly as regards the acquisition of land for arterial roads, and the Prime Minister promised to do what was possible to secure immediate possession for the Council. Mr. Lloyd George's exposition of the Government schemes followed on the lines of a statement which had just been issued by the Cabinet Committee on unemployment. The position was, that in out-of-work donation 35,000,000*l.* had already been spent, which was to be increased to 40,000,000*l.* by March 31 next. The Civil Liabilities Department had spent 2,000,000*l.* since the armistice, which was to be increased to 4,000,000*l.* Industrial training for disabled men had cost 5,000,000*l.*, which was to be increased to 26,500,000*l.* On the broken apprenticeship scheme 1,000,000*l.* had been spent, and 5,500,000*l.* was to be the total expenditure. On land settlement 23,000,000*l.* were to be spent, of which 7,500,000*l.* had already been spent, while on overseas settlement 1,000,000*l.* were to be spent. Altogether 5,525,000 men had been demobilised, of whom 250,000 were still out of work and received the

out-of-work donation at 1*l.* or 1*l.* 9*s.* per week. The Cabinet Committee had decided that productive work must be found for them in the form of road work and housing. As regards the former, a great new arterial road scheme was to be instituted round and about the outskirts of London. New arterial roads were to be made in the provinces, and in nineteen large towns schemes for their construction had already been scheduled. As regards housing, there was a shortage of 500,000 houses, in the construction of which it was hoped to absorb a large number of unemployed.

Parliament was occupied with the question of Ireland from time to time during November. Not only was the Home Rule Bill still under consideration, but another Bill called the Criminal Injuries (Ireland) Bill was brought up for its second reading on November 5. The Attorney-General explained that the object of the Bill was to compel County Councils to pay the sums awarded for criminal injuries, and the Bill empowered the Lord Lieutenant, in certain circumstances, to allow the payment due to be spread over five years instead of one, and empowered County Councils, with the consent of the Local Government Board, to borrow from banks for the payment of compensation. The Bill was opposed by Mr. MacVeagh and others, but the motion for the rejection was negatived by a majority of 126, and after an abortive attempt to refer it to a Committee of the whole House it was sent to a Standing Committee.

The Lord Mayor's Banquet on November 9 provided an opportunity for Mr. Lloyd George to make a statement on public affairs. He began, according to custom, with foreign questions, referring especially to the German Peace Treaty and the Russian situation. He said that there were still perils to be faced, but nevertheless things were going right, and the disarmament clauses of the Peace Treaty were being carried out. The German Navy had practically disappeared; the Army had been reduced below 150,000 men, and was rapidly approximating to the figure of 100,000 specified in the Treaty. The big guns were practically all surrendered, although there were still too many rifles at large. As to reparation, the Prime Minister indicated that proposals by Germany for liquidating her liabilities would be examined by conferences of experts on behalf of Germany and the Allies, and he looked forward with great hope and confidence to really tangible results. As regards Russia, he said that Bolshevism was a passing phase which could not survive though it might be followed by a generation of anarchy which might poison all the nations of the world. It was for that reason that the Government had persevered in its efforts to secure peace, and they would continue to persevere because they realised the danger of a Russia sodden with anarchy. From foreign affairs Mr. Lloyd George passed to the industrial situation, and referred particularly to the coal strike

which, in his opinion, was now revealing a better atmosphere on all sides. The voting of the men against a settlement had shown that there was an atmosphere of suspicion even with their own leaders, and that this must be removed by giving the workers confidence in the present form of Government. The Prime Minister then dealt with the Irish situation, declaring that while they had witnessed a spectacle of organised assassination of the most cowardly character, Ireland would soon be less disturbed. "We have murder by the throat!" he exclaimed, and too much attention should not be paid to the distorted accounts of partisans who gave vivid descriptions of the horror of what they called reprisals, and slurred over the horror of murder. Until the present conspiracy of murder was suppressed there was no hope of the real peace or conciliation in Ireland which everybody desired. Finally, Mr. Lloyd George emphasised that the Government were offering Ireland "not subjection but equality, not servitude but partnership."

Mr. Asquith also spoke on Ireland on November 19 with special reference to the question of reprisals. The occasion of the speech was a luncheon at the National Liberal Club, and Mr. Asquith began by observing that for the last six months a state of civil war had, to all intents and purposes, existed in Ireland. Beginning with raids upon barracks it had developed into a sporadic campaign of ambush and murder. Difficult as the task of detection and punishment was, the practice of reprisals put justice altogether in the background. The situation was one of the most serious that the British people had ever had to face. Mr. Asquith then referred to several cases of alleged reprisals, with a strong condemnation of the Chief Secretary who had denied that there was any evidence of reprisals having occurred. Finally, Mr. Asquith said that the people of the country should be brought to realise what was implied by a policy of reprisals, adding that he would not rest until he had opened their eyes as far as he could to the dishonour that was being done in their name.

The subject was further discussed by the National Liberal Federation which met at Bradford on November 26. Sir Donald Maclean moved a resolution regretting the continuance of international unrest and the failure of the Governments of the Allies to secure a settled state of peace. This resolution was carried with only four dissentients. Another resolution was then moved by Sir John Simon attributing the present state of anarchy in Ireland to the denial of self-government to the Irish people, and affirming that further coercion and military rule would aggravate the situation. The resolution further called for Dominion Home Rule, and urged the Government to call a representative conference to consider practical methods of carrying it into effect. Sir John Simon then dealt with the question of reprisals, saying that any honest inquirer who examined the detailed information available must



come to the conclusion that the Government had connived at reprisals. Amendments were then put forward by two Coalition M.P.'s who spoke amidst much interruption, but these amendments were rejected and the main resolution carried by large majorities.

The Government of Ireland Bill passed the House of Commons during November. On the 8th of the month the Bill was recommitted in respect of certain amendments and new clauses. Mr. Fisher moved that the Southern Parliament should pay annually certain sums of money to the University Colleges in Dublin, Cork, and Galway. This was agreed to, as also was a Government clause setting up machinery by which the two Parliaments by agreement could constitute Second Chambers. On the Report stage Sir L. Worthington-Evans moved the insertion of a clause providing that if either of the Irish Houses of Commons was not properly constituted, the King in Council might by order provide for the dissolution of the Parliament, for postponing the issue of a proclamation for summoning a new Parliament, and for the exercise of the powers of government by the Lord-Lieutenant with the assistance of a Committee and a Legislative Assembly. Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Carson criticised the new clause which, however, was agreed to by a majority of 126.

On November 10 a further amendment was agreed to on the motion of Captain C. Craig, to provide that the identical Acts of the two Irish Parliaments for establishing a Parliament for the whole of Ireland must be agreed to by an absolute majority in each Parliament at the third reading. Another amendment was agreed to, moved by Sir J. Butcher, with the object of preventing either of the Irish Parliaments from levying a tax on capital. A Government amendment was subsequently accepted to allow Irish Members of Parliament to continue to sit in the British House of Commons until the dissolution of the present Parliament.

The third reading was taken on November 11, when the rejection was moved by Mr. Adamson supported by Mr. Asquith. Mr. Lloyd George then pointed out that, although Great Britain could give to Ireland no powers which would endanger the integrity of the United Kingdom or its strategic safety, or which would enable South Ireland to coerce Ulster, practically all other powers of self-government were handed over to her under the Bill. Sir Edward Carson said that Ulster, having accepted the view of the Government that it was essential that they should be put under a Parliament of their own which they did not ask for, would do her best to make the arrangement a success. Mr. Devlin declared that the Irish problem was rooted in religious differences which the Bill would increase. The motion for the rejection was then negatived by a majority of 131, and the Bill was passed.

In the House of Lords the Lord Chancellor moved the

second reading of the Home Rule Bill on November 23, and Lord Dunraven moved its rejection on the ground that it met with no support from the great majority of the Irish people, and afforded no prospect of any permanent settlement. Lord Oranmore and Browne believed that if a settlement were proposed on the lines suggested by the Irish Convention, with the addition of full fiscal control, Ireland would be willing to accept it. The second reading debate extended in all over three days. On the second day Lord Salisbury declared that before the Bill was put into force there should be evidence that the South of Ireland was fitted to work it and wanted it. Lord Londonderry insisted that we must keep control of the coasts of these Islands and of Customs and Excise. On the third day Lord Midleton urged the postponement of the Bill to see whether a settlement could not be arrived at on the lines suggested by the large body of opinion in the South and West of Ireland. He moved the adjournment of the debate for a fortnight. Lord Crewe expressed the opinion that the Government should try again to obtain some united expression of the Irish views. Lord Curzon asked the House to accept the Bill as the contribution of the Government to the solution of the Irish problem. He pointed out that the responsibility for the destiny of Ireland would then pass to the Irish. The motion for the adjournment was defeated by a majority of eighty-six, and Lord Dunraven's motion by a majority of eighty-nine, and the Bill was read a second time.

The opening of November was notable for the announcement of a widespread series of outrages in Ireland, resulting in the deaths of seven servants of the Crown and the wounding of twelve others. These were evidently the outcome of a pre-arranged attack on members of the Royal Irish Constabulary throughout the country. In County Donegal a police patrol consisting of a sergeant and three men was ambushed by a large party of armed men and one constable was wounded. In County Longford a district inspector was shot dead in an hotel. In King's County a sergeant of the Royal Irish Constabulary was fired on when proceeding from his home to the police barrack and died later in an infirmary. In County Tyrone a police patrol was fired at by a party of men in ambush, and a constable was wounded. In County Tipperary a police patrol was fired at and one constable was killed and another wounded, while in the same County an unsuccessful attempt was made to shoot an Army Officer. In County Kerry two constables were shot dead at one village, and police patrols were attacked in three or four other parts of the County. Similar outrages occurred also in County Roscommon, County Kilkenny, and County Galway. As a sequel to the shooting in Tralee, County Kerry, armed men arrived in lorries on November 1 and fired their rifles through the streets; the County Hall was also burned down. In Tipperary much

damage was done. It was alleged that soldiers smashed the windows in many shops in two of the streets and destroyed a great amount of property.

Very few of the murderers of the police were ever discovered, but when they were the Government did not hesitate to apply the final punishment of the law. On November 1 the execution took place of Kevin Barry, a young medical student who had been condemned to death by a general Court Martial for the shooting of a soldier. Numerous efforts had been made to secure a reprieve for him, but the Prime Minister refused to consider the matter and the sentence was duly carried out in Mountjoy prison.

On the following day another long list of outrages was reported; more policemen were murdered and several civilians were also killed. In County Clare and County Kerry houses were burned.

On November 2 Lord Loreburn brought forward a resolution in the House of Lords condemning the murders and other excesses perpetrated in Ireland, and urging the Government to bring into operation a measure of self-government for Ireland including fiscal autonomy, and reserving to the Imperial Parliament the control of the Navy, Army, and foreign affairs. Lord Salisbury then expressed the opinion that there was no remedy except reprisals, which, if authorised by the Government, would be carried out with a proper discipline. Lord Curzon said that the Forces of the Crown were entitled to go to great extremes in self-protection. He thought it would be a mistake to introduce any fiscal measures which would have a disuniting effect. Lord Loreburn's motion was accordingly negatived by a majority of thirty-one. Two days later Mr. T. P. O'Connor moved the adjournment of the House of Commons in order to call attention to "the policy of frightfulness pursued in Ireland." Sir Hamar Greenwood stated that the Commander-in-Chief in Ireland and the head of the police were insisting on strict discipline, and any of the police or the soldiers found guilty of reprisals were severely punished, but the policy of the Government was to assert the authority of the Crown and do their best to stamp out the murder of policemen, soldiers, and loyal citizens.

The organised series of attacks on servants of the Crown, which started at the end of October, continued for several days into November. News reached Dublin on November 3 of the murder of two more policemen and the wounding of others. Burnings, which were described as reprisals, also took place, and a great deal of property was destroyed. A larger measure of reprisals took place that evening when the town of Granard in County Longford was partially destroyed as a reprisal for the murder of a district inspector of the Royal Irish Constabulary. Shortly before midnight eleven lorries entered the town carrying men who were said to have worn uniforms. Shots were fired in the streets and soon afterwards an attack was made with

bombs and petrol on one of the largest public houses in the town. It was soon in flames and other houses afterwards shared its fate. The raiders went from street to street firing shops until fourteen of them were ablaze. When the shooting began most of the inhabitants left their homes and sought places of safety. After some hours the raiders re-entered their lorries and drove away. Shortly afterwards a police patrol and some soldiers were ambushed in the neighbourhood and a sergeant was murdered and two constables wounded. At the same time terrorism broke out again in Tralee. It was alleged that numbers of uniformed men left the police barracks armed with hatchets and crowbars and carrying tins of petrol, and attacked the business premises of prominent Sinn Feiners. They confined their operations to two districts; the principal streets were not damaged, but the whole town was alarmed by the breaking of glass, the smashing in of doors and shutters, the explosions of bombs and volleys of rifle fire. During the night the sky was lit up by the flames of burning buildings and there were scenes of the wildest panic. Meanwhile the continued refusal of railway workers in Ireland to carry Government traffic produced a crisis on more than one of the principal lines, and the country was within measurable distance of the closing down of three or four of the larger railways.

The climax of outrage which occurred at the end of October and the beginning of November was followed by a brief period of comparative quiet, and a spirit that appeared more harmonious to peace. The death of the Lord Mayor of Cork had made clear that the Government did not intend to be coerced by the policy of the hunger strikers, and the lesson was taken to heart by Sinn Fein. Up to the middle of November prisoners in Cork Gaol were still on hunger strike, but on November 11 a telegram was received from Mr. Arthur Griffith, the acting President of Sinn Fein, calling off the strike and expressing the opinion that the prisoners had sufficiently proved their devotion and fidelity, and that they should now, as they were prepared to die for Ireland, be prepared again to live for her. Thus the strong action of the Government definitely ended the policy of hunger striking.

The Sinn Fein tactics of ambushing police patrols still continued, however, in a desultory manner. On November 15 armed and disguised men took four passengers out of the Cork and Bandon train and drove them off in motor cars, all trace of them being lost. These passengers were Staff officers attached to Victoria Barracks, Cork, and they were dressed in plain clothes in order not to attract hostile attention. On November 17 reprisals occurred in Cork, following upon the murder of a sergeant of the Royal Irish Constabulary. Three men were killed and two wounded, the military entering their houses during the night.

It was quite clear that Sinn Fein did not mean to hesitate to pursue any tactics, however extreme, that might be necessary to attain their end. On November 18 Sir Hamar Greenwood read to the House of Commons a document written by the Commander-in-Chief of the Irish Republican Army to his Chief of Staff, suggesting that typhoid fever should be spread among the English troops by means of microbes, and glanders among their horses in the same manner. The kidnapping of members of the Forces of the Crown by Republicans soon began to spread in Cork and the south of Ireland. At noon on November 21 two policemen, after leaving Mass, were suddenly held up by eight civilians who placed revolvers to their heads and took them completely by surprise. One of them was set free but the other was driven off to an unknown destination and no trace of him could be found. The most desperate of all outbreaks by the Republican murder gang took place in Dublin on November 21, when houses and hotels were raided simultaneously in different parts of the city, and British officers and ex-officers were murdered in cold blood. The raids were made on hotels in the city and private houses in the city and suburbs. They usually began with a knock on the door; if it was answered by the officer he was shot dead on the spot; if the door was opened by a servant, the raiders rushed into the house and killed the unprepared officer or officers at sight. In two or three cases officers' wives were pulled out of their beds and their husbands were murdered before their eyes. In all fourteen men were murdered including ten unarmed British officers. Later in the day a battle occurred on a football ground at Dublin, the military being fired on by scouts posted about the field. They returned the fire and the people stampeded, the report stating that nine persons were killed and between fifty and sixty wounded.

These murders gave rise to a debate in the House of Commons on November 22, when Mr. Lloyd George affirmed that the Government were convinced, in spite of recent outbreaks, that the Irish authorities were gradually succeeding in breaking up the gang of assassins. A disorderly scene then arose between Mr. Devlin and Major Molson, and the Speaker suspended the sitting. On its resumption Major Molson offered an apology to Mr. Devlin, to the Speaker, and to the House, which was accepted. Two days later Mr. Asquith moved a resolution condemning the outrages committed against Forces of the Crown and civilians in Ireland on November 21, and the attempts of the Executive to repress crime by methods of terrorism and reprisals, and declaring the urgency of taking immediate steps to bring about the pacification demanded in the interests of Ireland and the Empire. Sir Hamar Greenwood pointed out that the cessation of the outrages would mean that peace would be immediately and automatically re-established. There was no policy of reprisals, he said; on the contrary, the

British officers had successfully maintained discipline in the face of inhuman provocation. He claimed that, notwithstanding what had happened and was still happening, the Government were succeeding in their Irish policy, and he asked the House to show every consideration for those who, at the orders of that House, were fighting the battle against assassins. After some debate Colonel J. Ward moved the omission of the words naming the date November 21, and the substitution for them of words expressing the thanks of the House to those servants of the Crown who were fulfilling their duty in Ireland under circumstances of unexampled difficulty, and its approval of the steps taken by His Majesty's Government to restore peace. After the application of the closure the amendment was carried by a majority of 220, and the resolution as amended was then agreed to.

On November 23 a report was issued from Dublin Castle of the shooting of three prisoners during an attempt to escape from military custody. The men were well-known members of the Irish Republican Organisation, and their arrests were regarded as of some importance. It appeared that the prisoners had been confined in a room containing a large quantity of army material and equipment. One of them seized a bomb which he threw at the sentry; it did not explode, however, since it had not been detonated. Another prisoner took a rifle and fired at the other members of the guard. The commander of the guard then entered and the prisoners were shot. The same day a series of searches began in Dublin, as the result of which many men were taken into custody. Meanwhile, Cork continued to be a centre of disturbance: three further deaths occurred there as the result of a bomb explosion, the cause of which was not ascertained.

The officers who had been murdered on November 21 were buried with full military honours. Their bodies were brought to England on November 26, and a vast crowd of people assembled at Euston Station to witness their arrival in London. From the station processions went to Westminster Abbey and to the Roman Catholic Cathedral at Westminster where a Requiem Mass was celebrated.

The Sinn Feiners did not restrict their activities to Ireland when they saw any chance of carrying out their methods elsewhere. In the last week of November a Sinn Fein document was captured containing plans for the destruction of Stuart Street Power House, Manchester, and for a concerted attack on Liverpool Docks. The attack was to be carried out by over seventy men provided with sledges, paraffin oil, waste, and gun-cotton, and was designed to compel Manchester to "shut down," since the Power Station supplied more than half the factories as well as coal mines and tramways. The Liverpool scheme was also an extensive organisation. It provided for an attack on twenty-one points, and included the opening of dock gates

and the demolition of pumps and Power Stations. A few days later a plot was successfully put into execution; incendiary fires broke out in various quarters, and many cotton warehouses were damaged. In each case the method followed was the same; bolts were severed with powerful bolt cutters, paraffin and petrol were scattered about, and lighted paper thrown down to ignite the trail of oil. At one period fifteen fires were in progress at the same time. The plan evidently had been to destroy the great business quarters, but owing to the alertness of the fire brigades it fortunately failed in its intention. At this time fears were also entertained of an attack upon the Houses of Parliament, as also upon official headquarters in Downing Street. Barricades were erected at both ends of King Charles Street and the Whitehall entrance to Downing Street, and the usual privilege of the public of being shown over the Houses of Parliament on Saturdays was suspended.

On November 29 the most disastrous of the long series of ambushes of soldiers and police in Ireland by revolutionary gangs was reported, when it became known that on the previous day every member of a patrol of seventeen auxiliary police had been killed, kidnapped, or wounded by a body of armed men who outnumbered them by five or six to one. Fifteen were killed on the spot, one was wounded and died later, while the remaining man was missing. Their ammunition and arms were taken and the lorries burned. This patrol was composed entirely of ex-officers, every one of whom had been selected because of conspicuous merit on the field of battle during the late war. The ambush took place at Johnstown, a village between Macroom and Dunmanway. Following the outrage shops in the district were set on fire and a large number of people left the neighbourhood fearing further reprisals. On November 29 the auxiliary police carried out further searches of houses in Dublin. These began with a visit to the Sinn Fein Bank in Hertford Street. The safe was blown open, bundles of books and documents were taken away, and a considerable sum of money in notes and silver. On the last day of the month the police also carried out a search of the offices in London of the Irish Self-Determination League, and afterwards searched the residences of seven of the leading members of the organisation. On that day Mr. Bonar Law made a speech to the Unionist Club, in which he spoke on the situation in Ireland. He said that there were only two possible alternatives as to the self-government which could be given to Ireland. One was to realise that the question affected not only Ireland but also the whole of the United Kingdom, and that any possible solution must be one which commended itself as just and right, not merely to the majority in Ireland, but to the great mass of the people in Great Britain as well. That was the alternative which had been adopted by the Government, and if Mr. Asquith had been Prime Minister he would, said Mr. Bonar Law, in all

probability have dealt with it precisely in the same way. But now, instead of supporting or trying to improve the measure which had been introduced, he poured contempt on it in every way, although it undoubtedly gave a larger measure of self-government to Ireland than his own Home Rule Bill. Another alternative was that which had been put forward by Lord Grey, to the effect that at the end of two years the whole position should be handed over to the Irish to settle among themselves. This alternative was condemned by Mr. Bonar Law on the ground that the two years' interval would be spent by both parties in gathering their strength in order to fight each other at the end of it.

On the last day of November Mr. Lloyd George made an important speech to members of the Federation of British Industries at the Hotel Cecil. He admitted that the period was one of depression, and whether long or short it would be serious. The causes were not peculiar to our own country, for all countries, whether with good or bad Governments, were equally affected. It seemed to be forgotten that there had been a war which cost over 40,000,000,000*l.* sterling, and that the damage could not be repaired by another 10,000,000,000*l.* Europe was practically impoverished and not able to buy our goods. Until wealth had been again created neither Governments nor Federations could do anything to a solution of the problem. The first remedy was peace. The whole energy of business men and statesmen ought to be concentrated on the task of restoring the wealth of mankind, and this could not be done except in peace. Mr. Lloyd George expressed the view that industries should be left as far as possible to work out their own salvation. He did not believe in Government control and Government interference either for home or foreign trade. The policy of the Government was that the less interference there was with trade on the part of the Government, the better it was for trade and the better it was for the Government. Public and private economy were necessary on the strictest lines. Public economy came first. It was the business of the Government to set the example, but examples ought to be followed.

Several supplementary votes were taken at the beginning of December. The most important of these was one for the Ministry of Food, which was agreed to after Mr. McCurdy had stated that the Ministry would come to an end at the close of the year. A supplementary vote of 6,500,000*l.* for the Navy was dealt with on December 14. Sir J. Craig explained that it was rendered necessary firstly by the miscalculation made when the estimates were prepared the previous year in connexion with war commitments, and secondly by the increases in wages. The largeness of the staff was partly accounted for by non-normal work, and two large items of 1,829,000*l.* and 1,648,000*l.* arose through clearing up contracts entered into during the war. The scheme for the retention and improvement



of the Royal Naval Reserve and the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve had now been approved. The reduction of the vote was moved first by 500,000*l.* and afterwards by 1,000,000*l.*, but both amendments were rejected. On the same day there was a supplementary vote of 1,935,300*l.* for the Air Force. Mr. Churchill said that the vote would involve no new charge to the State nor any disbursement by the Exchequer. It chiefly concerned the year 1919-20.

On the following day there was a supplementary vote for 40,000,000*l.* for the Army. Mr. Churchill stated that 20,000,000*l.* of this was new money, and the remaining sum represented no additional new charge to the Exchequer; it was for paying off war debts, chiefly to India. Of the new money between 1,500,000*l.* and 2,000,000*l.* was for special expenditure in Ireland and 18,000,000*l.* was for Mesopotamia and Persia. Mr. Asquith moved to reduce the vote by 1,000,000*l.* but the amendment was negatived by a majority of 104 and the vote was agreed to.

The most important debate during December, however, was one on national expenditure on December 9, in which Mr. G. Lambert moved "that this House resolves that it will not sanction expenditure for 1921-22 in excess of 808,000,000*l.*, the amount estimated as being necessary for a normal year by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on October 23, 1919." The motion was seconded by Mr. Marriott. Mr. Chamberlain then pointed out that in 1918-19 our expenditure was 3,140,000,000*l.* and in 1919-20 it was reduced to 2,160,000,000*l.* This year, apart from the provision for the redemption of debt, it was reduced to 1,282,000,000*l.* The Army supplementary estimate was for 40,000,000*l.*, but of that sum 18,000,000*l.* were due to terminal charges of the war, and 16,000,000*l.* were due to the disturbed condition of the Middle East. Various reductions, amounting to 8,500,000*l.*, came as a set-off to the additional expenditure. The Budget estimate of the revenue would probably be approximately realised, but there would be less for the redemption of the floating debt. In pursuance of the policy of reducing national expenditure, the Cabinet had decided, he said, that schemes involving expenditure not yet in operation should remain in abeyance; that certain Departments created during the war should be wound up; that military expenditure should be curtailed as much as possible; that the Committee of Imperial Defence should at once investigate the whole question of Naval strength, and that the utmost economy should be exercised with regard to the Air Force. Mr. Clynes then expressed satisfaction that the efforts to economise would not affect insurance for unemployment. Sir Godfrey Collins moved an amendment expressing the necessity for reducing to the utmost extent possible the expenditure in all public services. Lord Hugh Cecil suggested a Select Committee to ascertain the country's taxable capacity. After the debate had continued for

some time, Mr. Lloyd George said that our Budget had increased much less heavily than that of other countries, and that we were the only country that was paying its way and reducing its debt. The amendment of Sir Godfrey Collins was then carried by a majority of 255, and the original motion as amended was agreed to by a majority of 277.

Among the Bills considered during December was a Roads Bill, the object of which was explained by Sir Eric Geddes in moving the second reading on the 2nd. He said that it gave administrative power to impose the new taxation levied on power instead of on oil, and to substitute the Ministry of Transport for the Roads Board in regard to the funds under the Board. Sir I. Phillips thought that the Bill gave the Minister very autocratic powers, but the second reading was carried and no material alterations were made during the Committee stage. The Bill passed its third reading on December 14.

The Committee stage of the Ministry of Health Bill was dealt with on December 8. A new Government clause for the purpose of applying the provisions of the Bill to Ireland was agreed to. On the motion of Sir F. Banbury, any house required for the occupation of a worker on an agricultural holding was excluded from the scope of Clause 1, which gave power to hire houses compulsorily for housing purposes. After some further amendments had been carried the Bill was read a third time and passed. Its career in the House of Lords was brief. The second reading was moved by Lord Sandhurst on December 14, but an amendment by Lord Strachey to postpone the second reading for two months was carried, after a short debate, by a majority of sixteen.

The state of Ireland showed no improvement up to the end of the year. At the beginning of December rumours were current that indirect negotiations were in progress between members of the Government and members of Sinn Féin. It was known that Mr. Arthur Henderson had gone to Dublin, and it was believed that he was working towards an Irish peace. On December 3 Mr. Lloyd George was the guest of the Constitutional Club at a dinner given in his honour, this being the first occasion upon which a Liberal Prime Minister had been entertained within the walls of the Club. He devoted his speech to a denunciation of the murder campaign in Ireland, declaring that rebellion must be suppressed before the Irish problem could be faced and concord established. He said that a well-organised, highly subsidised murder campaign was going on in Ireland against men who were engaged in discharging the elementary duties of civilisation, but he had heard of no demonstration to be addressed by Mr. Asquith to denounce it. All the execration was for the victims and their avengers. For the honour of his Party he declared that faction did not represent liberalism. Slander always had a big circulation; if they had any doubt, let them inquire as to what books were selling at the present

moment. He regretted that French journals should send men to Ireland to scavenge among the people who conspired to destroy France in her darkest hour, and he believed Frenchmen were ashamed of the journals. Not even the Turks were guilty of the brutal savagery which had marked some of the murders in Ireland. A report which came to the Headquarter Staff from the police a fortnight ago stated that they were breaking up the murder organisation and regaining authority in Ireland, but one of the greatest obstacles was the way in which some newspapers and public men in this country used their influence on the side of organised opposition to this country. The real danger was the encouragement given to the forces of disorder in Ireland by the appearance that this country was weakening. It was not weakening, said Mr. Lloyd George. The present Government, as long as they were in office, meant to use every power they possessed to stamp out these evils. The best methods of establishing peace could not be considered until the terror in Ireland had been destroyed. Finally, the Prime Minister insisted on the necessity to suppress rebellion, restore freedom to Ireland, and then face the problem, establish concord, and make Ireland a worthy partner in the Empire.

Early in December many arrests were made both in Dublin and Glasgow. Arrests in Dublin included that of Mr. Joseph McGrath, who was the sixth Sinn Fein member of Parliament who had been arrested in the recent series of searches in the city. In Glasgow eight men were arrested who were suspected of being associated with Sinn Fein activities. In the case of some of them it was alleged that they had tried to purchase arms and ammunition from soldiers.

Mr. Arthur Henderson returned from his mission in Ireland on December 6, and expressed the view that he had never seen so marked and so widespread a desire for peace in that country. He strongly urged, therefore, that advantage should be taken of this desire for peace to promote a settlement by conference and conciliation as a beginning. He expressed the belief that steps towards a settlement would be supported by the heads of the Catholic Church and by organised labour in Ireland.

These negotiations were echoed in resolutions in favour of a truce from violence that were on the agenda of the Dublin City Council at a meeting on December 6. Before this meeting had proceeded far with its business, however, six of the members were arrested, including one member of Parliament, and the Council was obliged to adjourn before the resolutions had been reached. In Glasgow also further arrests took place, one involving a midnight motor chase ending in the capture of the motor which was found to contain a considerable quantity of arms and explosives.

A few days after Mr. Henderson's return he addressed a meeting in Lancashire, in which he made a vigorous attack upon the Government. He said that the settled policy of the

Government was reactionary in conception, brutal in its application, and destructive in its consequences. The agents of the Government had by their actions produced in the minds of the Irish people the same effect as a mad dog loose in the public streets would produce. With regard to reprisals, he affirmed that the Government had struck a blow at the sanctions of law and order, and that they had used the Forces of the Crown as the instrument of a blind and ruthless vengeance. Yet he was convinced that there was a possibility of making peace with the Irish people. Wherever he had been in Ireland he had found an earnest desire for peace, and he was convinced that it could be turned into a constructive settlement.

On December 10 Mr. Lloyd George made a statement in the House of Commons on the Irish policy of the Government. He made special reference to overtures which had been received in the form of resolutions passed by the Galway County Council, and also of a communication from a distinguished Irish priest, Father O'Flanagan, who was described as the President of Sinn Fein in the absence of Mr. de Valera. Both these communications indicated a desire for peace, but Mr. Lloyd George insisted that the first necessary preliminary to the re-establishment of normal conditions was that murder and crimes of violence should cease. He was not clear how far these overtures represented the opinion of Sinn Fein, and he thought that their offers had too much of the appearance of one independent power negotiating with another. He suggested that peace might be secured by consent, if the Sinn Fein M.P.'s already legally elected were to draft terms which included some understanding to work loyally the Government of Ireland Bill, for the Prime Minister expressed his firm determination to go on with that Bill. On the other hand, he insisted upon the need for a relentless prosecution of the war on the murder gangs as a condition of the free expression by Ireland of her real opinion. He proposed to issue a proclamation calling on all people in the proclaimed districts to surrender their arms either to the military officer or to the parish priest. After the period for surrender had expired, anyone within the proclaimed district found with arms or wearing uniforms without authorisation would be liable to arrest, to trial by Court Martial as rebels, and to punishment. The proclamation was issued immediately afterwards. It referred to the declaration of Martial Law in the Counties of Cork, Tipperary, Kerry, and Limerick, and fixed December 27 as the date by which all arms and ammunition held by unauthorised persons in these Counties must be surrendered, the penalty for infringement being death.

Further serious events occurred in the middle of December. During a raid on premises situated in the heart of Dublin the authorities discovered extensive plant for the manufacture of bombs and explosive material in quantities sufficient to blow up a considerable portion of the city. The centre of the main

disorder was, however, the city of Cork. On December 11 a murderous attack was made on a party of the Forces of the Crown, which resulted in the death of one cadet and the severe wounding of seven others. As usual they were ambushed in a lorry on the outskirts of the city. This outrage was promptly followed by a series of appalling reprisals, as the result of which almost the entire centre of the city was set in flames, and a general exodus of the people took place into the country areas. The reprisals began in the evening when the streets were crowded and the shops full of people. Lorries drove rapidly around the principal streets, and the occupants discharged their rifles at short intervals, while incendiaries went about burning and looting, removing valuables in portmanteaux. Among the buildings which were burnt to the ground were the City Hall and the Corn Exchange covering 2 acres of ground, and the Carnegie Free Library. Patrick Street, the main commercial artery of the city, was devastated on a frontage of over 100 yards. It was stated at the time that the number of buildings destroyed was about 300 and the damage was provisionally estimated at over 3,000,000*l*.

The allegation that this destruction was an instance of reprisals by the police was repudiated in the House of Commons on December 13 by Sir Hamar Greenwood, who said that there was no evidence whatever that the fires were started by the Forces of the Crown. He added that there were no incendiary bombs in the possession of the Forces of the Crown in Ireland, though the Sinn Feiners possessed them and the Government were seizing them in numbers every week. In the evening Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy moved the adjournment to call attention to the events in Cork, and the Chief Secretary again affirmed that there was no evidence as to who started the burnings in Cork, and he did not believe it was the Forces of the Crown. An order had been issued by General Strickland, who was in command of the Military Forces, declaring that anyone found looting or burning or attempting either would be shot.

Up to this time the Church had exercised little influence for the repression of crime, but the climax in Cork led to a strong pronouncement by Dr. Cohalan, Bishop of Cork, a leader of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. After a strong denunciation of murder and arson, he promulgated a decree to the effect that anyone within his diocese who organised or took part in an ambush, or kidnapping, or should otherwise be guilty of murder or attempted murder should incur by that fact the censure of excommunication. About this period two attacks were made on police barracks, both of which involved sharp fighting. One took place in County Armagh, when a party of police and soldiers going to the rescue was ambushed. All the roads in the neighbourhood had been barricaded, but the relief party got through and broke up the attack on the

barracks. The Sinn Fein Hall in Newry was burnt down on December 13. Another fight lasting five hours took place at barracks in County Longford, but the attackers were obliged to retire, though they succeeded in blowing in the end of the barrack building with explosives. On the 16th a patrol of eight policemen was ambushed in County Tipperary by 100 men; four constables were shot and one was seriously wounded. On the same day some sensation was created by the shooting of an inoffensive priest, the Rev. Canon Magner, by a cadet who, however, was understood to be out of his mind. On the 17th District-Inspector Sullivan of the Royal Irish Constabulary was shot dead in Dublin by two masked men who had concealed themselves in a doorway.

Measures for the repression of reprisals were still carried out by the Army Authorities. On December 18 a warning was issued that under Martial Law acts of indiscipline by Forces of the Crown might involve the death penalty. A day or two later a series of encounters between soldiers and civilians took place on the borders of County Kilkenny and County Tipperary in a very mountainous and thinly populated district. These encounters developed almost into a pitched battle, in the course of which a number of casualties were inflicted upon the attackers. A more satisfactory incident was the termination of the railway strike which had been in progress for many months owing to the refusal of the railwaymen to handle Government traffic. The Government had announced their intention of closing the Irish railways, and the Labour Party thereupon issued a national manifesto calling upon the Irish railwaymen to resume work in order to prevent the dislocation of trade and commerce which would ensue. At a conference on December 21 the railwaymen unanimously decided to accede to this demand and to resume work without discrimination as to the class of traffic conveyed, provided that the men who had already been dismissed or suspended were reinstated by the Companies. To this proviso the Government readily agreed.

There was no pause in the campaign of murder and outrage during the Christmas holidays in Ireland. Reports from various parts of the country showed that eleven persons were killed and several others injured. Two banks were robbed and attempts were made to destroy two newspaper offices. One policeman and five civilians were shot in County Limerick and two civilians in Tralee. A farmer in Tyrone was killed while defending his house against raiders. A soldier lost his life in Dublin through neglect to answer the challenge of a sentry, and a young man was killed in Limerick. On December 30 a bomb was flung in the commercial office of the *Freeman's Journal* and blew a hole in the floor. This was the third attempt that had been made within a short period to burn these offices. The end of the year gave little hope for an early truce, for it was stated that the negotiations between Downing Street and Sinn Fein had

not yet led to any satisfactory result. It appeared that the Government had asked for more effective guarantees than a mere truce could give, and had encountered a firm refusal from the advanced section of Sinn Féin.

Meanwhile the Home Rule Bill had been passed into law. In Committee of the House of Lords on December 1 a number of amendments were moved and rejected. One moved by Lord Oranmore and Browne, to the effect that the Southern Parliament should have a Senate was, however, carried by a majority of eighty-four, and a second amendment was then also inserted giving a Senate to the North of Ireland. An amendment was subsequently carried that the two Senates for Southern and Northern Ireland sitting together should constitute an Irish Senate to take the place of the Council of Ireland. On December 6 an amendment was agreed to, on the motion of Lord Balfour, to take away the power to impose a sur-tax while retaining the power to grant relief. Another amendment was carried providing that the Act should not come into force in either Southern or Northern Ireland until resolutions had been passed by both Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom, declaring that Ireland was in a fit state to govern itself. After a number of other amendments the third reading was carried on December 14.

The Lords' amendments came before the House of Commons on December 16, when the amendments giving a Senate to each of the Irish Parliaments were agreed to. The amendment altering the constitution of the Council of Ireland was, however, disagreed to, as also was that which required a resolution of both Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom before the Act could come into force. When the Bill returned to the Lords they decided not to insist on their amendment constituting the Council of Ireland, but to amend it by substituting for the Lord Chancellor of Ireland as the President some person named by the Lord-Lieutenant, and by deleting the provision for the election of members of the Council by the lower House of Parliament by proportional representation. After some further conversation between the two Houses agreement was reached and the royal assent was given on December 23.

Apart from the Home Rule Bill the most important measure before Parliament during December was the Agriculture Bill, the second reading of which was carried in the House of Lords on December 8. During the Committee stage an amendment moved by Lord Parmoor was carried, omitting the sub-section which gave the Ministry of Agriculture the power both to prescribe improvements in existing methods of cultivation, and to order that land should be put or kept under the plough. A Government amendment providing for a Central Agricultural Wages Committee for Wales was agreed to, as also were several amendments on the subject of compensation. Lord Selborne moved that a landlord might regain occupation for a holding

which he had let to a tenant within seven years of the creation of the tenancy without payment of compensation. This also was agreed to by a majority of forty-two. The third reading was carried on December 21. On the 22nd the House of Commons met in the afternoon to consider the Lords' amendments, upon which they were occupied during a continuous session of twenty-two and a half hours. During the prolonged proceedings the chair was alternately occupied by the Speaker, the Chairman of Committees, and the Deputy-Chairman of Committees. The Government proposed to agree with practically the whole of the Lords' amendments, but this attitude met with stout opposition during the night from a group of members, including several members of the Labour Party, who protested against what they described as the surrender of the Government to the House of Lords. Eventually agreement was reached between the two Houses on December 23 and the Bill passed into law.

Another Bill which was passed during December was the Dyestuffs (Import Regulation) Bill. Sir R. Horne moved the second reading in the House of Commons on December 7, and explained that the object of the Bill was to prohibit (except under license) the import of synthetic organic dyes, colours, and colouring matter, and the intermediates of organic dyes. Provision was made for setting up a Licensing Committee composed of consumers and producers with three neutral members. Major Barnes moved the rejection of the Bill on the ground that it re-introduced the protectionist system of prohibition and licenses. Ultimately the Bill was read a second time after the application of the closure. The closure was applied frequently during the Committee stage and the third reading was carried on December 17. The Bill was read a second time in the House of Lords on December 21 and received the royal assent on the 23rd.

The third reading of the Appropriation Bill was utilised by Mr. Balfour for a survey of the work of the League of Nations during the first eleven months of its existence. He divided the work of the League into three heads: the work of organisation, the economic work, and the political work. He referred to the establishment of a permanent Court of International Justice, raising the question as to whether the appeals to this Court should be made compulsory on both parties. The plan which had actually been adopted was to pass the scheme in a voluntary form and then to put an additional protocol which any nation might sign declaring its adhesion to the obligatory form. Every nation was invited to sign it, and in the voluntary form it had already been signed by this country and all the members of the British Dominions and a large number of other nations. Mr. Clynes, who spoke next, regarded the decision of the Assembly at Geneva as very disappointing, and insisted that in future the delegation should not represent merely the Government if it was to command confidence.



Parliament was prorogued on December 23 at the end of a year characterised by a very large output of new legislation. The hold of Mr. Lloyd George over the House of Commons showed no signs of weakening, although defections from the Coalition were regarded as likely to occur before long. Discontent was gradually arising over unemployment and high prices, and there was a general tendency to connect these evils with excessive taxation and multiplication of Ministries. It was anticipated, therefore, that the next session would be less preoccupied with new legislative measures, but would devote its time to the important work of controlling the Executive through finance.

The problem of unemployment was the leading topic of discussion at the end of the year, for the position had gradually become very acute. The policy of the Government was set forth by Dr. Macnamara on the motion for the second reading of the Appropriation Bill on December 21. He said that they proposed to draft 50,000 ex-service men into the building trades, to embark upon the construction of arterial roads, to introduce certain amendments in the Unemployment Insurance Act modifying the four weeks' period as a qualification for benefits, and finally to establish a Central Committee under the Chairmanship of Lord St. Davids to administer a fund of 3,000,000*l.* on schemes other than roads and housing. Mr. Clynes objected that the proposals did not go far enough. He said that there were at least 1,000,000 unemployed, of whom not more than one-tenth would be affected by the policy of the Government. The test of the Government was how far it could secure employment to the masses and contentment in their employment. He regarded the problem as one that could only be solved by State action, and he concluded by urging that a complete cure was impossible until complete peace and the conditions of peace were restored to the earth. Mr. Lloyd George, who took part in the debate, doubted whether there were any cure for unemployment, and did not claim that the proposals of the Government were any more than palliatives. He pointed out that the malady was not confined to this country, being worse everywhere else except in France where there was an enormous amount of State employment in the restoration of the devastated regions. As regards housing, there was work for ten years ahead even in overtaking arrears. In the circumstances he could not understand the fears of unemployment in the building trade, and he thought that the attitude of the Unions was selfish in raising objections to the introduction of new men.

On December 22 the Prime Minister received a deputation representing the City of London and many great municipalities, who urged that the Government contribution towards the cost of local relief works for meeting unemployment should be increased from 30 per cent. to 75 per cent. The proposal, declared Mr. Lloyd George, was impossible of acceptance. He pointed

out that the great difficulty was the restriction of cash. Rates had doubled and taxes had gone up five times owing to the gigantic cost of the war. Germany was bankrupt and was increasing its indebtedness enormously. England was differently constituted; the burdens on the taxpayer had been increased to relieve the burdens on the ratepayer. The Government was anxious for fresh suggestions for dealing with unemployment. When it was suggested that they should provide work for women he was unable to see how it could be done. There was a vast demand for domestic servants which was not satisfied. The Government was doing its best to consider schemes for restarting the demand for our goods in Europe. There had never been such generous contributions before from the Exchequer towards the solution of the problem of unemployment. The Exchequer could not grant the request of the municipalities because the only way to find the money would be by new taxes. Only by contributory co-operation between the Government and the local authorities, and by co-operation between all classes, could they hope to reach a solution or to alleviate suffering.

The Committee referred to by Dr. Macnamara under the Chairmanship of Lord St. Davids was immediately appointed under the title of The Unemployment Grants Committee. Their duties were to administer a sum of 3,000,000*l.* which Parliament would be asked to place at their disposal for the purpose of assisting local authorities in the United Kingdom in carrying out approved schemes of useful work other than work on roads and on housing schemes. The expenditure was not to exceed the total of 3,000,000*l.* Works were to be approved only in areas where the existence of serious unemployment, not otherwise provided for, was certified by the Ministry of Labour. Preference in employment was to be given to unemployed ex-service men. The grant must not in any case exceed 30 per cent. of the Wages Bill of additional men taken on for work. Finally, the works must be such as were approved by the appropriate Government Departments as suitable works of public utility.

So urgent had the position become that a conference was held at 10 Downing Street on Christmas Day. Dr. Macnamara stated that on December 10 265,000 ex-service men, 148,000 civilian men, and 131,000 women were registered as unemployed. Beyond these figures there was known to be a considerable margin of persons unemployed but not registered. The trades in which the greatest number of unemployed were registered were engineering and iron founding 88,000, general labourers 81,000, and transport trades 52,000. The subject was still the main preoccupation of the Government when the year closed.

The passing of 1920 raised few regrets. The state of Ireland throughout the year was worse than it had ever previously been: crime and outrage were continuous from beginning to end. Labour problems still remained acute,

though the disturbances were not greater than the previous year. Both in 1919 and 1920, the autumn had been marked by a great strike, in the former case of the railwaymen, in the latter of the miners. Social and political conditions were still those prevailing at the close of hostilities. But at the end of 1920, signs were not wanting of a change. A depression of trade and concomitant rise of unemployment were the gloomier aspects of this change. On the other hand, a heavy fall of prices at the end of the year was a welcome sign. On many sides, the belief was entertained that the period of transition was over, and that the country would now by slow and gradual steps revert to a more stable condition. None supposed that the future was going to be easy; but none doubted that, whatever difficulties might arise, they would be successfully surmounted by the determination and good sense of the British people.

## FOREIGN AND COLONIAL HISTORY.

### CHAPTER I.

#### THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

THE League of Nations, in regard to which there had been a large amount of discussion in all countries during 1919, came into existence with the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles on January 10, 1920. The circumstances in which the League was born were in one respect anomalous and unexpected. Dr. Woodrow Wilson, the President of the United States of America, had been more responsible than any other statesman for the foundation of the League, and for the terms of the League's Constitution or "Covenant." And yet, owing to the opposition of the Republican Party in Washington, with which we deal fully elsewhere (see *The United States*), the American Republic was not a member of the League at the time of its final inauguration; and throughout the year with which we are dealing, she failed to join the new brotherhood of nations. The unexpected absence of America was, of course, a serious handicap to the League at its origin, and a grave disappointment to the European statesmen—especially the British statesmen—who had seconded with sincerity President Wilson's work in Paris, as also to every well-wisher of the League and every advocate of international peace; but in view of certain other and favourable developments which we shall have to relate, it is possible to exaggerate the importance of the absence even of such a great country as the United States of America.

The horrors and colossal waste of the Great War had deeply impressed the imagination of all the civilised nations of the world; and out of the real determination to endeavour to prevent the occurrence of any such catastrophe in the future, the League of Nations arose. The prime object of the League was to threaten with an overwhelmingly powerful combination of forces any State which should contemplate an aggressive war in the future. The text of the Covenant of the League was given in full in the last number of the *ANNUAL REGISTER*; but it may be well to quote again Article 10, which in the opinion of President Wilson was the very essence of the new scheme to preserve peace. This article read as follows:—

"The members of the League undertake to respect and

preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled."

It was this Article which committed the nations who were members of the League to something in the nature of a general alliance: an alliance which President Wilson hoped to see so general that it would be virtually universal.

Now although President Wilson had taken the lead in the foundation of the League, a highly important part was played by the statesmen of other countries, particularly by statesmen from all parts of the British Empire, and in the event the ideas which gave birth to the League proved to have a stronger hold in the British Commonwealth than in the United States. In the foundation of the League, the work of Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Robert Cecil, and General Smuts needs perhaps special recognition; and mention must also be made of the important support given to the project by the enlightened French statesman, M. Léon Bourgeois. And hence it was that the European leaders were disappointed but not dismayed when it became necessary to go forward in the absence—temporary or otherwise—of the United States.

The first members of the League were of necessity those States which signed the Treaty of Versailles. Thirty-two countries took part in the negotiations which preceded the Treaty of Versailles; but one of these, and not the least important, namely, China, did not sign the Treaty. All the other States signed the Treaty, of which the League Covenant was a part, and all save three duly ratified the Treaty by means of votes in their respective Parliaments. The three which did not ratify were the United States and the two petty republics of Ecuador and Nicaragua. China subsequently signed and ratified the Treaty with Austria (Treaty of St. Germain) of which the Covenant was also a part, so that in this manner China became a member of the League. Thus twenty-nine States joined at the outset. The British Empire represented six of these, because Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and India entered as separate units, whilst Great Britain signed for the United Kingdom and for the remainder of the Empire. It may be remarked in passing that it was this six-fold entry of the British Empire into the League, carrying as it did six votes in the Assembly instead of one, which was one of the points which gave rise to a great deal of criticism in the United States, and which led to the adoption by the Republicans for party purposes of the cry of "Six votes to One." The virtual independence enjoyed by the British Overseas Dominions was not understood by the American masses, though the Republican criticism, based upon the contention that the British Empire was a single State, had perhaps greater weight in the case of

India, which in all important respects was actually governed by Great Britain.

This American contention was, however, a sufficient answer to the diametrically opposite criticism of European sceptics, that the League was in its origin a purely American project; indeed, the Republican opponents of President Wilson averred that he had been led astray by the British.

To return to the question of the original membership of the League, these signatories included, in the second place, the Great Powers, France, Italy, and Japan, who were to have, like Great Britain, permanent representation on the Council. The following European States were also signatories: Belgium, Greece, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Portugal, and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State. The following American "associated" countries also joined: Brazil, Bolivia, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Peru, Panama, Uruguay, and (after long delay in ratification) Honduras. As stated above China gave her adherence in a different manner, and two other Oriental States, Siam and the Hedjaz, were also signatories of the Treaty of Versailles. Liberia was also a member of the Paris Conference and a signatory of the Treaty.

We now come to what was undoubtedly the most encouraging development during the year. In the annexe to the Covenant thirteen countries, which had remained neutral during the war, were formally invited to accede to the Covenant. Notwithstanding the almost universal character which the war had possessed, most of these neutral countries were of considerable importance, particularly from the moral point of view. They included, in the first place, Spain, and the five Teutonic neutrals, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. The reader may be reminded that the aggregate population of these States was about 40,000,000—equal to that of France; and the ancient grandeur of Spain, and the pinnacle of progressive civilisation reached by the five other countries, need no emphasis. Moreover, owing to the fact that these six European countries had remained neutral during the war, they were in a position of peculiar moral authority, and it rested with their statesmen more than with any other statesmen in any other part of the world, to meet the criticism of the League which was made in Germany and elsewhere, that it was merely a continuance of the war alliance. All these six States adhered to the Covenant; and they thus gave to the League an impartial character which it could not have acquired in any other way—not even if there had been no defection on the part of the United States.

In addition to these European countries, six American Republics were invited to join, these being. Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay, Venezuela, and Salvador. All these countries likewise joined; and the adhesion of Argentina and Chile (which together with Brazil constituted the three leading

Republics of Latin America) may be regarded as only second in importance to the accession of the European neutrals. The thirteenth country which was invited to join was Persia, and she also accepted the invitation.

It will be remembered that the representative bodies of the League were a "Council" and an "Assembly." These had been likened respectively to a Government and a Parliament, and there was a certain element of truth in the simile, though the comparison ought not to be pressed too far. The Assembly was the main representative body, and in it every State in the League was to be represented, and was to possess one vote and only one vote—though a State might have more than one representative in the diet. The Council was, in some sense, an executive body, and did in this respect truly resemble a Government. In the case of the Council the theoretical equality of every sovereign State disappeared. As originally arranged, what were known during 1919 as the "Principal Allied and Associated Powers" were each to have one representative and one vote in the Council; whilst all the other States who were members of the League were to have collectively only four representatives on the Council. Thus the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan were to be represented permanently on the Council, whereas the remaining four councillors would be only temporary members—and would also, in some sense, represent not only their own countries, but the whole body of the League. The first four temporary members of the Council were appointed under the authority of the Treaty of Versailles itself, and were Spain, Belgium, Greece, and Brazil.

It was, of course, the intention that the Council should meet much more often than the Assembly, but it will be observed that the complete Council was unable to meet, in the manner originally intended, owing to the non-ratification of the Treaty by the United States. As will be seen, however, the Council (thus consisting of only eight members) met on a number of occasions during the year, and was able to carry out not unimportant work.

In addition to the Council and the Assembly, the League possessed a permanent Secretariat, which functioned to some extent as an international civil service. The head of this body was the Secretary-General of the League, Sir Eric Drummond. After a brief sojourn in London the Secretariat took up its abode in Geneva, which was to be the League capital. The possession of this permanent Secretariat was a most important point, and placed the new League of Nations in a position of great advantage as compared with all earlier movements towards internationalism.

It was decided that the first meeting of the Assembly should be held at Geneva in November, 1920. But in the meantime, not only did the Secretariat, under the energetic guidance of Sir Eric Drummond, work continuously on the matters which

it was the duty of the League to supervise, but also no fewer than ten meetings of the Council were held. The first session of the Council was summoned by President Wilson (in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles) to meet in Paris on January 16; and between February and October three other sessions were held in Paris, three in London, one in Rome, one in San Sebastian, and one in Brussels. During the first year of its existence the Council had the rather difficult task of working in conjunction with a somewhat parallel body, the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers. The Supreme Council of the Allies was, of course, both in theory and in fact, what the German critics accused the League Council of being, namely, a continuance of the Supreme Allied and Associated Council of the period of the war. Both Councils were, of course, international bodies; and in some degree the importance of the decisions of the Allied Council may have overshadowed the doings of the League Council. But whereas the Allied Council had passed its zenith, the League Council was in its infancy, and might be expected to grow. In this connexion, it is important to remember that the allotment of mandates under the Treaty of Versailles was a duty pertaining not to the League Council, but to the Allied Council.

The Council showed wisdom in proceeding at first slowly and with great caution. The Council had to remember that they had not yet met the diet to which they were largely responsible, and also that in view of the possibility of an eventual adhesion to the League by the United States, it was better not to take decisions which might have to be modified after that adhesion had occurred. Nevertheless, important matters came up for consideration by the Council. One of the first duties that the Executive performed was the appointment of three out of the five members of the Commission which was to trace the border-line of the Saar Basin. It was also the duty of the League, represented now by the Council, to take over the Government of the Saar Basin for fifteen years, until the plebiscite there should take place. And in February the Council duly took over the Government of this territory. Another duty of the Council was to establish Danzig as a free city with an Executive and Legislature of its own; and in February the League Council, in conjunction with the Supreme Council of the Allies, appointed Sir Reginald Tower as High Commissioner for Danzig, and it was his duty to supervise the working-out of the new constitution of the port.

In another important matter the League actually intervened to prevent war, of which there appeared to be serious danger. Grave friction arose between Sweden and Finland on the question of the Aaland Islands, and the Swedish Minister was actually withdrawn from Helsingfors. The British Government (acting in accordance with Article 11 of the League Covenant) drew the attention of the Secretary-General to the



danger of war, and the League thereupon intervened in the discussion and induced the two disputants to debate the case under the supervision of the League Council itself.

A similar case arose in the autumn, when hostilities broke out between Poland and Lithuania. Here again the League intervened, with the consent of both belligerents, and the military operations were suspended pending an inquiry. In this case the Council advised that a plebiscite of the district in dispute between the two countries should be held, and at the end of the year bodies of neutral troops were despatched to Vilna in order to keep the peace during the prospective referendum.

Various other matters of scarcely less importance were also dealt with by the Council. Under the Treaty of Versailles it was the duty of the League to adjudicate on the destiny of the small districts of Eupen and Malmédy; after investigating the matter, the Council gave these districts to Belgium. The League also interested itself in the repatriation of Russian prisoners of war in Central Europe, and of German and Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war in Russia. The Council was thus instrumental in sending hundreds of thousands of unfortunate men back to their homes. At the end of September and beginning of October an International Financial Conference was held at Brussels under the auspices of the League. But on this occasion the conference was not really one of the League of Nations itself, since it included various countries which were not members of the League, to wit, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Finland, and the United States. Moreover, not all the countries members of the League were represented at this conference. Among other matters with which the Council dealt, may be mentioned the attempt to prevent the spread of typhus fever in Eastern Europe, the proposed simplification of the passport regulations between various countries, and sundry international labour regulations. In reference to the work of the Council it should be mentioned that, under the terms of the Covenant, it was not necessary for the same country to be represented for any given length of time by the same personage, complete freedom being allowed in this respect. Sir Eric Drummond attended the meetings of the Council in his official capacity.

The first session of the Assembly was held at Geneva in November. The meetings were held in the Salle de la Réformation, and the first sitting was opened in the morning of November 15. Forty-two countries were represented, namely, twenty-eight of the signatories of the Treaty of Versailles (as detailed above) and China and all the thirteen neutrals who had accepted the invitation to become original members. An address of welcome was given by M. Motta, the President of Switzerland, who emphasised the necessity that the League should become universal, and in particular that "America

should soon take its rightful place in the League;" and he also said that "The more universal the League becomes, the more its help and impartiality will be guaranteed. The victors will not for ever be able to dictate, and the collaboration of the vanquished is a vital necessity. Hate is a curse; the people are great by their generosity or their repentance."

M. Motta proposed that M. Hymans, the chief Belgian delegate, should be elected President of the Assembly, and this motion was carried by 35 votes to 6. During part of the period when the Assembly was in session Mr. Balfour represented Great Britain. Mr. Barnes also represented Great Britain.

The meetings of the Assembly lasted for more than a month, and various interesting and important matters were dealt with. To some extent, however, all the delegates seemed to be conscious of the absence of the United States from the World-Parliament, and there was undoubtedly a disinclination to take important decisions, pending a general clarification of the American attitude towards the League. This attitude on the part of the delegates was particularly noticeable when the representatives of various neutral countries, the Scandinavian kingdoms and Argentina, submitted important amendments to the Covenant. All these proposed amendments were shelved.

On other matters definite progress was made, however. A scheme for a Permanent International Court of Justice was drawn up, and after a prolonged discussion recommendations were adopted on the vexed question of the limitation of armaments. This recommendation was that the Powers should undertake to limit their armaments on the basis of expenditure, and should agree, taking as a basis their expenditure in the next financial year, not to exceed that expenditure in the two years immediately following. Lively discussions also took place upon the propriety of admitting to the League the ex-enemy countries, particularly Germany. And actual applications for admission were received from Austria and Bulgaria. The representatives of the nations which had been neutral in the war were almost without exception in favour of the early admission of Germany to the League. One of the Argentine delegates, for instance, Senor Pueyrredon, averred that the non-admission of certain States would tend to create the appearance, quite unfairly, that the League was a partial alliance, framed to end the war, and not an organisation to preserve peace. Mr. Barnes also entered an eloquent plea for the admission of all the enemy States, and the same attitude was taken up by Lord Robert Cecil, who was acting temporarily, by the way, as a representative, not of Great Britain, but of South Africa. Lord Robert Cecil made it clear, however, that Germany would have to apply for admission and could not be specially invited. But it appeared probable that the early admission of Germany would be thwarted by the opposition of the French delegates.

At the beginning of December some friction arose with the Argentine delegates; these representatives were strongly in favour of certain amendments to the Covenant, and appear to have keenly resented the motion postponing the consideration of all amendments until the next meeting of the Assembly; and it created some discussion when the Argentine delegation withdrew from the meetings. But it was subsequently made clear that this was not intended to indicate that Argentina had withdrawn from the League.

On December 15 the Austrian application for admission to the League came up for consideration, and after a long discussion it was decided to admit that country. Of the thirty-six countries represented at this meeting, thirty-five voted in favour of the admission of Austria, whilst Mr. Millen, the Australian delegate, abstained. On the same day the Assembly elected the four new non-permanent members of the Council, the countries elected being, Spain, Brazil, Belgium, and China. Thus the only change in the composition of the Council was that China replaced Greece.

On December 16 the question of the admission of Bulgaria came up, and that country was admitted by thirty-five votes. Four other States were also admitted, namely, Costa Rica, Finland, Albania, and Luxemburg. Various other countries also applied to be admitted, including Armenia, Esthonia, Lettland, and Lithuania, but these applications were refused on the ground that the countries in question were not sufficiently established.

It was decided that the Assembly should meet in Geneva every September, and should meet on other occasions elsewhere if necessary.

The opinion was general that the proceedings at Geneva were more satisfactory and hopeful than had been anticipated; and more than one observer called attention to the fact that the debates had been strikingly amicable, notwithstanding the fact that representatives of forty-two nations, many of them with conflicting interests, were present. Indeed, except for the one instance in which the Argentine delegates thought that undue deference was being paid to the absent United States, no serious friction of any kind occurred. The constitution of the League was necessarily open to criticism in many different respects. In particular it was pointed out that the provisions of the Covenant requiring unanimity in the decisions of both the Council and the Assembly, on almost all important matters, before such decisions could be effective, were provisions which would be extremely likely to hamper the activities of the League in the future. And it was also pointed out that the equality of all States in the Assembly, for instance, the equality of Honduras with France, was really an absurdity. Nevertheless, it was probably inevitable that this latter provision should be incorporated in the Covenant in the first instance, until some

different and more satisfactory system of representation was worked out by the Assembly itself. And, speaking generally, it was quite inevitable that there should be serious blemishes in the organisation of the League in its early years, and such blemishes were not to be regarded as in any way a discouraging feature.

The adherents of the League pointed out that it already included over three-fourths of mankind. This was, perhaps, an unduly optimistic method of looking at the matter. A more important point was the proportion of the white race which was included. And unfortunately more than half the white race, and much more than half the area of the white man's world, still remained outside. Apart from smaller States, the United States, Germany, Russia, and Hungary were still outside the League. But there were hopes that the United States would eventually join, even though the Covenant might have to be somewhat modified to admit her. And if the moderate parties in Germany succeeded in maintaining their position as against the reactionary Royalists on the one side and the friends of the Bolsheviks on the other side, there appeared to be a good prospect that she would be admitted in due course to the League, and would bring an important element of stability to it. In regard to Russia the case was, of course, entirely different. Bolshevism was at war with historic civilisation, and until Russian Socialism changed its character it appeared to be inevitable that a fundamental antagonism should exist between the aims of Russia and the aims of the League.

The encouraging features have already been mentioned ; the adhesion of the European neutrals, bringing with it a unique possibility of healing the breaches of the war : and the adhesion of the whole of South America, except the minor republic of Ecuador, which left the United States isolated even in her own hemisphere. And it may be remarked that the entrance of almost all Latin America into the League made the Monroe Doctrine an irrelevant anachronism. The Southern Republics having voluntarily entered into the obligations of the League, the Monroe Doctrine had really ceased to have any meaning. And although it may be said that the prophet was without honour in his own country, he was certainly not without honour in his own continent.

What was, however, of greater importance than any detail was the fact that the League existed. Its mere existence was a unique and unprecedented tribute to the idea of international peace. And whatever the shortcomings of the League at its birth, there was a widespread hope at the end of 1920 that it would grow and prosper.

## CHAPTER II.

## FRANCE AND ITALY.

## FRANCE.

At the opening of the year 1920 France was in a stronger position than she had been in for several generations. The Allied victory over Germany and the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France had placed France in the position which she occupied during the seventeenth and eighteenth century—that of the strongest power on the European continent. At the beginning of the year M. Poincaré was still President and M. Clemenceau was still Prime Minister, but as both Senatorial and Presidential elections were due in January, important political changes occurred early in the year. It will be remembered that at the General Election for the Chamber of Deputies which took place in November, 1919, there had been a strong tendency towards Conservatism, the Socialist Party being badly defeated. The elections for the Senate were held on January 11, and these exhibited the same trend of opinion as had been shown in the previous autumn. Owing to the postponement of elections during the war, two-thirds of the nine-year Senatorial seats had to be contested, and altogether 240 Senators had to be elected. The elections proved to be an overwhelming victory for the various Liberal and Republican groups, who secured 218 seats. The parties of the Right won 20 seats, and the Socialists won 2.

Whilst these important events were taking place in the internal politics of France, the final stages in the ratifying of the Peace Treaty with Germany were being passed through. It will be remembered that the Treaty of Versailles was to come into force so soon as it had been ratified by Germany and by three of the principal Allied and Associated Powers; and since it had now been ratified by Germany and by France, Great Britain, Italy, and Japan (though not by the United States), it was only necessary that the protocols certifying these facts should be signed by the parties to the Treaty, and formal peace would then exist between the Allied Powers and Germany. The Supreme Council of the Allies decided that this final ceremony should take place in Paris on January 10. Two delegates were sent by the German Government to carry out the signing of the protocol, Baron v. Lersner and Herr v. Simson. The ceremony took place at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Quai d'Orsay shortly after four o'clock on the afternoon of January 10. The protocol was signed by M. Clemenceau for France, by Mr. Lloyd George for Great Britain, by Signor Nitti for Italy, and by Mr. Matsui for Japan; and, of course, by the two German delegates. The protocol was also signed by the representatives of various minor Allied and

Associated Countries, which had already ratified the Treaty, these being Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Czecho-Slovakia, Guatemala, Panama, Peru, Poland, Siam, and Uruguay. The formal End of the War was timed at 6.15 p.m. on January 10, but the actual signing of the protocol took place, as already stated, somewhat earlier on that same afternoon.

On January 14 M. Léon Bourgeois was elected President of the Senate. And the election of the new President of France, by a joint session of the two Houses of the Legislature, was fixed for January 17. The two most important candidates were M. Deschanel and M. Clemenceau. Among the other candidates was Field-Marshal Foch, who, however, secured very little support. The rivalry between Deschanel and Clemenceau revealed certain very interesting tendencies in French politics. The contest turned mainly on the terms of peace which had been imposed upon Germany. Clemenceau's supporters contended that the terms of the Treaty of Versailles were satisfactory from the French point of view; his opponents declared that he had given way too much to the American and British standpoints, and that the peace was unsatisfactory, particularly in respect of the guarantees for the reparations due to France and in the matter of the French eastern frontier. It will be remembered that a large body of French opinion had desired that France should secure the line of the Rhine as her eastern frontier. M. Deschanel represented these critics of the Treaty of Versailles. A preliminary ballot of the Republican groups gave 408 votes to Deschanel, and 389 votes to Clemenceau; and when this result was announced Clemenceau withdrew his candidature, but his name figured, nevertheless, in the formal voting of the National Assembly on January 17. Altogether 888 legislators cast their votes, and Deschanel secured no fewer than 734 votes. The success of Deschanel was regarded in France as in some sense a victory for the opponents of the Treaty of Versailles. M. Deschanel was born in 1856, and had held the office of President of the Chamber of Deputies. M. Poincaré was to remain in office as President until February 18.

On January 18 M. Clemenceau resigned office as Premier; and M. Poincaré entrusted M. Millerand with the task of forming a Cabinet. M. Millerand found no difficulty in obtaining the necessary support, and the full list of the members of his Cabinet was published two days later. M. F. Marsal was Minister of Finance, M. A. Lefevre was Minister of War, and M. A. Sarraut was Minister for the Colonies. M. Alexandre Millerand, who himself took the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, was sixty years of age, and had greatly distinguished himself as Minister for War during the critical days of 1914. His first reception by the Chamber of Deputies was somewhat stormy, and a vote of confidence on January 22 was only passed by 281 votes to 240. But a second vote of confidence on January 30 was passed by 510 votes to 70.

On February 5 and 6 there was an important debate on foreign policy in the Chamber of Deputies; and a long speech was delivered by the Prime Minister. He said that the new Cabinet had every intention of continuing the same foreign policy which had enabled France to surround herself with such faithful allies during the war. In reference to the Adriatic problem, M. Millerand said that the only desire of France was to reach a satisfactory solution of the difficulties existing in this part of the world—a solution in perfect agreement with the sister nation of Italy and with the Serbian people. In regard to the Bulgarian question the Premier said that on the previous day he had received news that the Bulgarian Parliament had ratified the Treaty. Passing on to a consideration of the proposed peace terms for Turkey, M. Millerand answered certain criticisms which had been made earlier in the debate by M. Cachin. France, he declared, had important and historic interests in the East, and these she had no intention of abandoning. "M. Cachin declared yesterday that we appeared to be threatening the independence of the Syrian populations. No French Government has ever entertained such a design, and it is a libel on France to reproach her with a policy of conquest which has never entered her mind. The only wish of France is to give these populations justice and a good administration. When yesterday I heard the Government credited with intentions which it has not, I seemed to hear an echo of the slanders levelled by the German Government at the work of France in Morocco."

Turning to the question of relations with Russia, M. Millerand said that, contrary to the allegations of M. Cachin, Great Britain had been true to her agreements, and none of the Allies had entered into any agreement with the Soviet Government. In regard to Poland, the French Government intended to maintain the closest friendship with that country, and if she were attacked by the Bolsheviks she would receive every support. Finally, the Prime Minister dealt with the carrying out of the Treaty of Versailles. He said that the Cabinet intended to maintain complete accord with France's Allies; and although it was regrettable that the United States had not so far ratified the Treaty, yet the Reparations Commission had begun its work smoothly, and he felt no anxiety as to the ultimate adhesion of America to the Treaty. He said that Germany had been dilatory in the matter of fulfilling the stipulations of the Treaty, particularly in regard to the essential deliveries of coal. "I mean to avail myself at the right moment of all the means placed at my disposal by the Treaty, and I declare, without making any kind of threat, but merely in order that the position may be quite clear and well understood, that we do not intend to claim anything from Germany to which she is not strictly bound under the terms of the Treaty, but we shall exact everything she owes us, and to obtain it we shall have recourse to the measures of all kinds provided for in the Treaty."

After the conclusion of the debate the House passed a vote of confidence in the Government by 513 votes to 68.

After his assumption of office on February 18, M. Deschanel sent the usual Presidential message to Parliament. M. Deschanel said that there was no higher destiny than that of serving France, and he thanked the Legislators for having permitted him to continue to serve her in union with themselves. He hoped to maintain the national unity which had been so conspicuous during the war. "Our first duty is to define clearly our diplomatic, military, economic, and financial policy to the country. We can only build up our policy for the future on sound bases. I appeal to all the experience and talent of the members of this assembly on behalf of this act of sincerity and moral probity. To strengthen the unity between all peoples who fought for the right, and who, by reason of that fact, are great, to strengthen the bonds with those peoples whose affinities or interests bind them to us—this is the first guarantee of peace and the basis of that League of Nations to which the Treaty of Versailles entrusted the execution of certain capital clauses, and which we should support by means of effective action in order to spare the world fresh horrors. France wishes that the Treaty to which Germany appended her signature shall be obeyed, and that the aggressor shall not take from her the fruits of her heroic sacrifices. She means to live in security. To-day, as yesterday, our policy is an affair of will-power, energy, and faith. The Russian people fought by our side during three years for the cause of Liberty; may it, master of itself, soon resume in the plenitude of its genius the course of its civilising mission. The Eastern question causes periodical wars. The fate of the Ottoman Empire has not yet been settled. Our secular interests, rights, and traditions ought to be safeguarded there too."

Turning to questions of internal politics, M. Deschanel said that the work of restoring France to prosperity would be arduous, and he declared that the person who evaded the payment of taxes was acting like a soldier who deserts his post on the field of battle. It was essential that conflicts between Capital and Labour should be avoided. In his peroration M. Deschanel exhorted the Legislators to follow in the footsteps of the heroic Frenchmen who had won the war: "We shall accomplish our formidable task if we keep in our souls that sacred flame which rendered France the Republic Invincible, and saved the world."

In the middle of February the trial of M. Caillaux, the ex-Prime Minister of France, who had been under arrest for treason since January, 1918, commenced. The case was regarded as the most important of the treason trials, of which there had been a long series since the middle of the war. M. Caillaux was tried before the Senate, sitting as a High Court of Justice, with M. Léon Bourgeois as President of the Court.



The prolonged delay in bringing M. Caillaux to trial was due to the fact that investigations had to be made in many different parts of the world, including South America. M. Caillaux was charged with "having sought to weaken the security of the State abroad by intrigues, machination, and intelligence with the enemy of a nature likely to favour enemy action in regard to France, or her Allies, fighting against common enemies, and thus to advance the progress of the enemy armies." M. Lescouvé (the Public Prosecutor), M. Moinet, and others appeared for the prosecution. M. Giafferi, M. Moutet, and others appeared for the defence. The trial was extremely long and also in many respects extremely dramatic. The trial began, on February 17, with a series of interrogations by the President of the Court, and this part of the scene alone lasted for several days. Next there came a cross-examination of the prisoner by the Public Prosecutor. All kinds of activity on the part of M. Caillaux were investigated in great detail and at great length. He was questioned regarding his relations with an enemy agent named Minotti, in South America, regarding his relations with another enemy agent, a certain Count Lipscher, and also in regard to his associations with the traitors Lenoir, Bolo, and Duval, who had already been executed for treason. The prisoner had also to account for his close association with various schemers in Italy, including the notorious Cavallini. During these interrogations, M. Caillaux frequently made long speeches on all manner of political questions. In the matter of Count Lipscher little to his discredit appears to have transpired; but apart from the details of the investigation it was obvious that if the prisoner had been entirely innocent of the charges brought against him, he had had a surprising amount of association with undesirable persons. And it was also established that the German Government regarded Caillaux as the right man to approach under circumstances favourable to Germany. M. Moutet, speaking for the defence, attributed political motives to the accusers, and said that notwithstanding the fact that the world had been ransacked for evidence for many months, the evidence produced was of a ridiculous and trumpety character. After many weeks of investigation the capital charge of treason was dismissed, and the prosecution did not ask for the death sentence; but Caillaux was found guilty on the minor count of correspondence with the enemy, and was sentenced to three years' imprisonment, ten years' interdiction of rights of voting, and eligibility for any public function, and five years' prohibition from appearing in certain places indicated by the Government. It was found that his relations with Bolo and Almereyda did not fall within the penal code, but he was condemned for his friendship with Minotto, Cavallini, and to some extent for his association with Count Lipscher. Having already served more than two years' imprisonment, Caillaux was set at liberty at the end of the trial. The verdict was given on April 23.

During the spring there were serious Labour troubles in France. At the end of February a serious dispute arose on the Paris, Lyons, and Mediterranean Railway system, owing to disciplinary measures which had been taken against one man. A strike was declared on that line on February 25, and subsequently spread to the State lines also. The Government immediately called to the colours those employees who were in the Army Reserve. A general strike of railwaymen was declared on February 29; but the response was only partial, and an agreement was reached within twenty-four hours. At the beginning of May another railway strike broke out, and on this occasion the Labour agitators hoped to make the strike universal, and it was supported by the General Confederation of Labour, who called out the seamen, dockers, and miners in support of the railwaymen. The aims of the General Confederation were not only economic, but also partly political: and they announced that they aimed at the international allotment of war burdens, an economic *entente* of all peoples on a basis of co-operation, at the cessation of all colonial expeditions, and at general disarmament. The response to the call on the part of the workers was, however, half-hearted and partial, though in certain localities, including Marseilles, the strike was almost universal. The strike was extremely unpopular in the country at large, and the Government took legal proceedings against the revolutionary ring-leaders. Within a week it was clear that the strike would fail, owing to the apathy or actual hostility of a large part of the working classes, but it was not until May 21 that the leaders of the General Confederation declared the strike at an end.

In February the Government issued a new 5 per cent. State Loan, which became known as the "Recovery Loan." The subscription lists remained open for several weeks, and it was announced in April that the total amount subscribed was 15,700,000,000 francs.

During the spring and summer certain differences of opinion, important but not fundamental, arose between the French and British Governments. In a debate in the Chamber of Deputies on March 25, M. Barthou, who had once been Prime Minister and was now Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Lower House, delivered a speech on foreign policy generally in which he took occasion to attack the policy of the British Government. He complained that Great Britain had profited more than any other country by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles; and that the course of events had recently been such that the hatred of Germany was now directed almost exclusively against France. This was, he said, particularly the case in the matter of permitting Germany to deal with her own war-criminals, for which concession Great Britain had gained all the credit in German eyes. The speaker made various other complaints against the British Government in

general and Mr. Lloyd George in particular; but it was clear before the end of his speech that he did not carry the Chamber with him. On the following day, M. Millerand made a reply in which he endeavoured to remove the bad impression created by M. Barthou's speech. The Prime Minister said that there was no "crisis in the alliance;" and he pointed out that the reason the concession to Germany in the matter of the war-criminals was signed by the British Prime Minister was that at the time the note was sent the Peace Conference was sitting in London. The Premier said, however, that France was determined to see the terms of the Treaty of Versailles fulfilled, and although the British Government were in favour of allowing the German Government to send troops into the Ruhr district, to suppress the Spartacist insurrection there, France viewed these movements of troops with grave concern.

The differences between the French and British Governments were also apparent at the beginning of April, when the German Government was suppressing the Spartacist revolt. It will be remembered that to the East of the Allied armies in the occupied portion of Germany there was a neutral zone, into which, by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, the German Government were not allowed to send troops. During the Spartacist insurrection which followed the *coup d'état* in Berlin (see Germany), the revolutionaries in the Valley of the Rühr, a highly industrialised district which was included in the neutral zone, took advantage of the unavoidable absence of the Government forces to seize control of the entire administration of this important part of Germany. The German Government applied for permission to send forces into this part of the neutral zone in the exceptional circumstances which had arisen, as without doing so it was impossible for them to overcome the revolt in the neutral zone itself, or to prevent the successful insurrection in that zone lending important support to the Spartacists farther East. The British, Italian, and American Governments were all in favour of allowing the German Government, which in the circumstances existing was a bulwark against the spread of Bolshevism, to send a limited number of troops into the neutral zone until law and order had been re-established there. The French Government, however, interposed obstacles to the granting of any such license to the German Government. The revolt continued to spread, and at the beginning of April German troops marched into the Rühr Valley to restore order, although no permission for them to do so had been granted by the Allies as a whole. Thereupon the French Government, without the consent of the British and Italian Governments, ordered their own troops to march forward into the neutral zone—though not into the same part of the neutral zone—and to occupy various German towns as a penalty for the German advance. Frankfort, Darmstadt, and Hanau were occupied on April 6, and Homburg was entered on the

following day. Black troops took part in the advance, a point which gave special umbrage to the Germans. This independent action on the part of the French Government led to an interchange of somewhat sharp notes between London and Paris, the British Government taking exception both to the French advance in itself and still more so to the fact that the advance had been made without due consultation with the other Allied Governments. Within a few days, however, an agreement between the French and British Governments was reached. The black troops were immediately withdrawn, and the French Government made it clear that in the future they would not act without securing the consent of the other Allies. The British Government on their side made it clear that they intended to see the terms of the Treaty of Versailles respected by the German Government. After the suppression of the Rühr revolt, both the German and French troops were withdrawn. (For further particulars of these occurrences, see Germany.)

During the spring and summer there were various conferences between the French, British, and other Allied Governments, at San Remo, Hythe, Spa, and elsewhere, these conferences relating largely to the reparations due from Germany under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. At these discussions similar differences of opinion appear to have existed between the British and French representatives, the British being more disposed than the French to recognise the difficulties with which the German Government were confronted. But these differences of opinion only related to questions of method, and were in no way fundamental. In the middle of May M. Poincaré, the Ex-President of France, resigned his position as President of the Reparations Commission, on account of what he regarded as the undue leniency which had been shown towards Germany. M. Millerand stated publicly, however, that he thought M. Poincaré's fears were groundless.

On May 23 a serious accident occurred to M. Deschanel. The President, who was travelling by night, fell from his train near Montargis. Considering the nature of the accident, the injuries sustained were not grave, and no bones were broken. But it subsequently transpired that the President was suffering from a serious nervous breakdown, owing to overwork, and he was unable to return to his official duties. His illness continued for weeks, and as he made no progress towards recovery, it was announced in the middle of September that in accordance with the recommendation of his medical advisers, the President had resigned his office.

It was soon evident that the great majority of public men desired that M. Millerand should himself become President. The Premier at first declined to accede to these demands, but after some delay he consented to do so. The election took place on September 23, and out of 892 votes cast, no fewer than 695 were given M. Millerand. A Socialist candidate, M. Delory,

obtained 69 votes. M. Millerand announced that he hoped somewhat to increase the powers of the Presidential office, particularly in regard to foreign policy. M. Georges Leygues became Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs; but otherwise the composition of the Cabinet remained unchanged. On September 25 the Chamber of Deputies passed a vote of confidence in the new Government by 515 votes to 71. It was notable that in the statements issued both by the new President and by the new Government, it was proclaimed that France would do her utmost to make the League of Nations a success. At the end of November M. Leygues visited London to confer with British and Italian statesmen on the Greek crisis and other matters.

In the middle of November it was announced that the Government proposed to reduce the period of military service from two years to eighteen months.

In November Lord Derby, the British Ambassador in Paris, retired from that office, and was succeeded by Lord Hardinge. It was also announced that M. Paul Cambon, the veteran French Ambassador in London, would retire in January, 1921.

Throughout the year there was considerable, though intermittent, discussion of the proposal that France should resume diplomatic relations with the Vatican; and at the end of November the Government proposal to renew relations was approved by the Chamber of Deputies by 387 votes to 210.

The defeat of the Socialists at the General Election of 1919 appeared to have caused that party to become more extreme in its views. And after much discussion throughout the year 1920, a great Socialist Conference held at Tours in December voted by a large majority in favour of adhesion to the so-called "Third International," the international organisation of Socialists which was under the control of the Bolsheviks of Moscow.

The financial situation in France gave occasion for most serious anxiety. Among other unfavourable features, the exchange value of the franc had fallen greatly since the end of the war, and, with fluctuations, stood at about 60 francs to the pound sterling during most of the year; and the value of the franc in terms of the American dollar was even lower.

The Ordinary Budget for 1920 provided for a Revenue of 15,885,000,000 francs and for an Expenditure of 17,860,000,000 francs. It was anticipated that the Extraordinary Expenditure would amount to over 7,000,000,000 francs.

#### ITALY.

At the beginning of the year Signor Nitti's Liberal Government was still in power. It will be remembered that a General Election was held in November, 1919, and that the results had shown a great increase in the strength of the Official Socialist Party. An equally important result of the elections was that

the newly-formed Clerical Party gained over a hundred seats in the New Parliament. The increase in the numbers of the Socialists and Clericals had been achieved mainly at the expense of the Conservative groups, though the Radical, Republican, and Reformist Socialist parties had also fared badly. After the elections the Government were still able to rely upon the support of the Conservatives, Radicals, Republicans, and Reformist Socialists, whilst the Ministerial party itself (the Liberals) was still powerful. Moreover, the new Catholic party could be expected to support them on many important questions; and there was no possibility of any alliance between the Clericals and the Official Socialists.

Notwithstanding the endless discussions which had taken place during 1919, no solution of the Adriatic question had been reached at the end of that year; and the difficulty of adjusting the conflicting claims of the Italians and the Jugo-Slavs did not diminish as time passed. And the extraordinary escapade of the poet D'Annunzio, who had seized the port of Fiume, naturally exasperated the feelings of the Jugo-Slavs.

Signor Nitti went to Paris at the beginning of January, and took part in the final ceremony by which the Treaty of Peace with Germany was ratified.

Parliament was opened for the spring session on February 3, and the Government entered upon a decidedly troublous period, owing mainly to the uncertainty of the attitude of the Clericals. In March Signor Nitti found it necessary to reconstitute his Cabinet, and he re-allotted the portfolios with the object of consolidating as closely as possible all the parties in the House, other than the Clericals and the Official Socialists. Signor Scialoja remained at the Foreign Office. Signor Luzzatti, a Conservative leader, was given the post of Vice-Premier, and President of the Treasury. Signor Allessio, the Radical leader, became Minister of Posts, and Signor Bonomi, the well-known leader of the Reformist Socialists, was given the post of War Minister. This latter appointment was noteworthy in that it was an innovation to place a civilian at the Ministry of War. The Cabinet was strengthened by the reconstruction, but it was obvious that the Parliamentary position was still unstable.

On March 28 Signor Nitti made an important speech in the Chamber of Deputies on the Adriatic question. He declared that he had never regarded the Jugo-Slav people as enemies of Italy, but had, on the contrary, always desired to regard them as friends, and had wished to see them co-operating with the Italian nation. He condemned the chauvinist campaign which had taken place in the Press of both countries. There were, said the Prime Minister, three possible solutions of the Adriatic question. The first was a direct agreement between the Italian and Jugo-Slav Governments, and he himself thought that this would be the best solution, and he wished to see an effort made in this direction. The second solution was to demand the

enforcement of the Pact of London. He had candidly explained to France and Great Britain that if Italy claimed the application of the Pact, it was their duty to give their assent to this course. But the Italian people must understand that if they demanded the Pact they must take it as it was: they could not have the Pact of London and Fiume as well. He had, however, suggested that if Italy were given the territory accorded to her by the Pact, an autonomous form of government should be bestowed upon northern Dalmatia. The third solution was to accept the proposal formulated by President Wilson in the previous December, but this involved the creation of a buffer state at Fiume, which was wanted neither by Italy nor the Jugo-Slavs. He himself believed in a direct understanding with Belgrade.

During the meeting of the Supreme Council of the Allies at San Remo in April, Signor Nitti acted as Chairman; and he gained credit from the moderation of the counsel which he there gave. The Italian Premier took his stand by the side of Mr. Lloyd George in protesting against the French idea of independent action by one ally in the event of any infringement of the Treaty of Versailles by Germany, but at the same time, and again like Mr. Lloyd George, he made it clear that Italy was resolved that the terms of the Treaty should be fulfilled.

Whilst, however, Signor Nitti gained in credit in so far as the general question of the treatment of Germany was concerned, in the more special problems which affected Italy herself more nearly, it became apparent that he was finding extreme difficulty in discovering a solution. The attention of the country was still largely concentrated upon the question of the Adriatic. And the fact that the Premier was obliged to return from San Remo without a solution of this vexed question, favourable to Italy, and, indeed, without any real solution at all, caused a great deal of adverse comment. It was said that whilst many of the sentiments expressed in Signor Nitti's speeches were admirable, he had been unable to achieve anything definite.

It therefore came as no surprise to the country when, on May 11, the Government were defeated in the Chamber of Deputies. The motion on which the defeat occurred, was not one of first-rate importance, but the Government regarded it as a question of confidence, and they were defeated by the large margin of 193 votes to 112. The Cabinet resigned; and on the following day the King interviewed Signori Nitti, Orlando, and Tittoni, and other statesmen. The King experienced much difficulty, however, in finding anyone willing to form a Cabinet; and it was said that Signor Bonomi, who had been asked to do so, had failed to obtain the necessary support. Signor Giolitti was reported to have recommended to the sovereign that Signor Nitti should be asked to return; however this may have been, in the end Signor Nitti did form a new Ministry, this time with

the support of the Clericals, several well-known members of that party taking office in the new Government. The Clerical leader himself, Signor Meda, was not a member of the Government, but one of his chief followers, Signor de Nava, became Minister of Finance. Signor Scialoja remained at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Whilst on the face of matters the new Cabinet appeared to have wider support than the old Ministry had possessed, yet it was generally felt that its life could not be of long duration.

And these anticipations proved to be correct. Signor Nitti's term of office lasted for only a few more weeks; and on June 9 he was compelled once more to resign. And this time his resignation was final. The developments which then took place were surprising and even dramatic. Two days later it was announced that the King had called upon Signor Giolitti (the great Conservative leader who had been so famous in the past but had been the leader of the Neutralists during the war) to form a Government, and that Signor Giolitti had consented to do so. Signor Giolitti's internal policy had always been a moderate brand of Conservatism, and hence he was well fitted in this respect to lead the heterogeneous constitutional party which now existed in the Chamber. But it was, of course, in view of foreign affairs that Signor Giolitti's return to office occasioned most surprise and interest, both in Italy and abroad. He had been opposed to Italy's entry into the war. He had made no secret of the fact that he regarded Italian intervention as an act of disloyalty towards the Powers to which Italy was allied, and also as contrary to the country's own interest. It was in consequence of this attitude on the part of Signor Giolitti in 1915 and afterwards, that his enemies had described him as pro-German, and had even gone so far as to liken his position in Italy to that occupied by M. Caillaux in France. The comparison was, however, always quite unfair to Signor Giolitti. In the first place, to be a Neutralist in Italy was one thing: to be a Neutralist in France was quite another thing. Also Signor Giolitti's previous record had undoubtedly entitled him to be regarded as a statesman of the first rank, and he was entirely free from the ugly suspicions which hung over the head of M. Caillaux from the early days of the war onwards.

Signor Giolitti succeeded in forming a Government, the composition of which was announced on June 15. Perhaps the most important feature in the Cabinet was that it included Signor Meda, the leader of the Clericals, as President of the Treasury. The support of the Catholic party was thus definitely secured, and this necessarily gave the new Government a position of greater stability than any Cabinet had enjoyed since the General Election in the previous year. Signor Giolitti had in fact obtained the support of every important party except the Official Socialists, over whom he possessed a large majority in the Chamber of Deputies. Signor Bonomi became Minister



of War, Signor Fera became Minister of Justice, Signor Tedesco was Minister of Finance, and Count Sforza took the portfolio of Foreign Affairs.

The chief speculation in regard to Signor Giolitti's assumption of office naturally concerned the position which Italy would now occupy in regard to the Allied Powers. In the event, however, it was found that notwithstanding the attitude which he had taken up regarding the war, Signor Giolitti was able to maintain satisfactory relations with France and Great Britain quite as well as, and perhaps somewhat better than, his predecessors had done. He was perhaps materially assisted in his task by the stronger position which he occupied in his own country.

Signor Giolitti made his first statement to the Chamber of Deputies on June 24, and was well received by the House. He said that notwithstanding the complex character of the new Cabinet, the members had been able to agree upon a programme, even down to the details. In reference to foreign policy the new Prime Minister said: "The principal object of our foreign policy is to ensure complete and definite peace for Italy and the whole of Europe—an essential condition for a solid commencement of the work of reconstruction. We must maintain the most intimate and cordial relations with the peoples who were our allies and associates during the war, and who do not forget the enormous sacrifices made by Italy for the common cause. In order to achieve this complete peace we must, without delay, establish friendly relations with all the other peoples, and, without restrictions, commence normal relations even with the Russian Government." Signor Giolitti also announced that a Bill embodying amendments to the Constitution would be brought in, in order to ensure much more complete parliamentary control over foreign policy. It was proposed that declarations of war and treaties and agreements with foreign Powers should require the sanction of Parliament. In reference to domestic policy, the Premier declared that measures would be taken to reduce imports and to increase exports, in order to improve the position of the Italian exchange. It was also proposed to confiscate war profits; and an increase in death duties and in the taxes on unearned income generally was foreshadowed. The system of co-partnership in the industries of the country was also to be encouraged. The same statement of policy was made in the Senate and was there also well received.

It was not long before the stability of the Government was severely tested by domestic troubles. In the middle of September the industrial workers of many parts of Italy, but especially those of Turin and the north, decided to take extreme action in order to remedy the grievances from which they felt that they were suffering. The disturbances were most serious in the iron and steel factories. The workers in the steel factories considered that the profits made by the owners of the factories

were out of all proportion to the wages paid to the workers. The Trades Unions now aimed at what was practically syndicalist control of the industry, claiming that the employees should supervise the buying of the raw materials, the selling of the finished product, the adjustment of the scale of wages, and the general conditions of work in the factories. The owners of the factories were not disposed to grant these demands; and the workers therefore proceeded to extreme measures and seized the steel factories in a large number of localities. In some cases the managers and clerks were even prevented from leaving the factories, and were compelled to carry out their duties under the supervision of the syndicalist workmen. A surprising feature of the situation which arose was that the Government took no steps whatever to interfere; and it did not therefore come wholly as a surprise when it was announced on September 17 that the Government proposed to impose a large measure of syndical control upon the manufacturers. Thus to a great extent the Government took the side of the workers, which was quite in accord with the very democratic policy which Signor Giolitti had now adopted.

In October there were peasant risings in Sicily, but these led to less important results.

While Signor Giolitti was dealing with these important domestic questions, he also set in motion direct negotiations with Jugo-Slavia on the Adriatic problem. The negotiations took place at Santa Margherita Ligure, and the principal representatives on the two sides were Count Sforza and M. Trumbitch respectively. It will be remembered that M. Trumbitch had long been in control of Jugo-Slav foreign policy, and it was probably not an accident that the new Italian Foreign Minister was a personal friend of the Slav statesman. In striking contrast to the previous history of this problem, the negotiations now proceeded with great rapidity, and on November 10 it was announced that a settlement had been reached. The agreement gave the whole of Istria to Italy, and Italy also obtained the islands of Cherso, Lussin, and Unie. Fiume was to be independent, but was brought into territorial contiguity with Italy. Zara was to have an autonomous government, but was to be under Italian suzerainty. The island of Lagosta, farther to the south, was also given to Italy. On the other hand, the Jugo-Slavs obtained Northern Dalmatia which they had always desired, but which they had not been given by the Treaty of London. The details of the new agreement were embodied in a new Treaty, known as the Treaty of Rapallo, which was signed forthwith and was ratified by the Italian Parliament before the end of November. It was a triumph for Signor Giolitti and Count Sforza that every party in the Chamber voted in favour of the Treaty, with the solitary exception of the Official Socialists, who abstained not because they disapproved of the Treaty but because they disapproved of the Government. (For further particulars of the Adriatic settlement, see Jugo-Slavia.)

The direct agreement which had now fortunately been reached between Rome and Belgrade brought to a grotesque end the extraordinary regime which the poet d'Annunzio had maintained in Fiume for more than a year. At the beginning of September d'Annunzio proclaimed the independence of Fiume, under the name of the "Regency of the Quarnero;" and when the terms of the Treaty of Rapallo were announced the Dictator of Fiume refused to recognise the agreement, and at the beginning of December even went so far as to declare war upon Italy. At the end of December General Caviglia was ordered to advance into Fiume and to dispose of this disturber of the peace. The Italian troops moved on December 24, and after d'Annunzio's legionaries had resisted for a few hours, General Caviglia took possession of the city, having come to an agreement with Signor Giganti, the Mayor, over the head of d'Annunzio, who refused to see reason till the end.

In September a serious earthquake occurred in Tuscany, Fivizzano and other small towns and villages being wrecked. Several hundred persons were killed.

The financial position of the country caused much anxiety during the year, and the Italian exchange fell even more than the French exchange, the value of the lira being, with considerable fluctuations, only about 100 to the pound sterling. The Ordinary Expenditure of the State for the year 1919-20 was over 5,000 million lire.

### CHAPTER III.

#### GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

##### GERMANY.

IN surveying the condition of Germany at the beginning of 1920, it is necessary first to consider the territorial changes which had been brought about by the Treaty of Versailles and also certain internal territorial rearrangements which had taken place as the result of the Revolution. By the Treaty of Versailles provinces had been severed from Germany in almost all directions. The two most important cessions of territory were, of course, the loss of Alsace-Lorraine to France and of a large stretch of territory in West Prussia, Posen, and Silesia to Poland. Of these two cessions of territory, the latter was much the more important from the practical, if not from the sentimental, point of view. The territory ceded to Poland amounted to nearly 20,000 square miles, and, coupled with the establishment of Danzig as an independent state, which was also imposed upon Germany, this loss had the effect of cutting off East Prussia from the main territory of Germany. The other territorial provisions of the Treaty of Versailles were also by no

means of negligible importance. Danzig and Memel were to be ceded to the Allies, their fate to be subsequently decided. A portion of Silesia was to be ceded to Czecho-Slovakia. And apart from the actual cessions of territory, the treaty arranged that plebiscites should be held in certain areas to decide the destinies of the districts concerned. Thus certain districts of East Prussia and West Prussia were to poll to decide whether they should belong to Germany or to Poland. A third portion of Silesia, which was in dispute between Germany and Poland, was to exercise the right of self-determination. The small districts of Eupen and Malmedy were to decide whether they would belong to Belgium or to Germany. And, again, the middle and southern districts of the province of Schleswig, which of course had been annexed to Prussia in 1866, were to decide their own destinies. And finally, the coal-producing valley of the Saar, which had been provisionally separated from Germany, was to be the subject of a referendum after the lapse of fifteen years.

Before proceeding to consider the results of the plebiscites and the internal rearrangements to which reference has already been made, we may briefly consider the definitive cessions of territory imposed upon the German Republic by the Treaty of Versailles from the wide standpoint of German and European history. The Allied and Associated Governments had assumed the task of revising territorial changes and arrangements which had been made as far back as the latter half of the eighteenth century. For instance, West Prussia at the time of this Treaty of Versailles had been part of Germany for a century and a half. The principle of revising territorial changes which had been brought about during and after the latter half of the eighteenth century was not without historic justification, although the principle had been very unequally applied in different cases. It was in the latter half of the eighteenth century that the process set in which was to transform the meaning of the word Germany. The German kingdom of Prussia began to annex foreign territories, mainly Slavonic territories, which were eventually incorporated not only in Prussia but in Germany. The expansion of Prussia was unlike the subordination of Slavonic and Italian territories to the Austrian Crown, because the foreign dominions of Austria were never legally incorporated in Germany. And whilst in this manner the territory which was German in law came to extend far beyond the territory which was German in history and in fact, in another manner and another direction "Germany" came to be restricted to something considerably less than its historic and legitimate dimensions. Just as the suzerainty of the Prussian Crown in Germany brought within the confines of the Empire certain considerable alien territories, so did the establishment of that same suzerainty exclude from the State which adopted the German name, the great city of Vienna and the adjoining districts of German-Austria which had of course been in the

past the very heart of the German Empire. Thus it came about that the Hohenzollern Empire was unnaturally and illegitimately expanded in certain directions, and was unnaturally restricted in another direction. And in the widest sense it was this anomalous development of territorial politics in Central Europe—a development which began, as has been stated, in the latter half of the eighteenth century and culminated in 1870—which was the first problem with which the statesmen at Versailles had to deal.

It will now be seen that it is possible to summarise in a single sentence the manner in which the Peace Conference dealt with this most important problem. The Conference cancelled completely the unnatural expansion of Germany which had been proceeding during the past 150 years; the Conference did not cancel the schism in Germany—the exclusion of Austria—which had been incidental to that unnatural expansion.

It must be remembered that the work of the Conference, so far as it related to these territorial problems, was based not upon a single principle, but upon several different principles which were by no means always congruous with one another. The Conference sought in the first place to undo historic outrages. It endeavoured, secondly, to do justice to the wishes of the existing populations of disputed districts. And, thirdly, the statesmen responsible, more particularly the French, were influenced by a not unnatural desire to reduce the possibilities of a revival of German power. It was the first principle which was applied to the case of West Prussia, and also primarily to that of Alsace-Lorraine. The second principle was applied most scrupulously to the case of Schleswig, where, it may be remarked in passing, the first principle does not appear to have been considered, since South Schleswig (in which there was not even a plebiscite) had never been part of Germany until 1866. And, finally, it was clearly the third principle which was dominant in the refusal to accede to the almost unanimous desire of the Austrian people to be reunited to the major portion of Germany, from which they had been definitely severed in 1866. And the third principle was also evident in certain minor provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, as also in the Treaty of St. Germain.

When, therefore, Germans came to survey the course of their history between the first partition of Poland, in 1772, and the Treaty of Versailles, they could not fail to feel singularly dissatisfied with the results which had been achieved. After the Thirty Years War German unity had been reduced to a shadow, and it had been definitely destroyed by Napoleon. But in 1815 German unity had been given a certain real and legitimate political existence by the establishment of the Germanic Confederation. This natural development had been destroyed by Prussia fifty years later, in pursuit of her policy of aggression. For a few decades the greater part of Germany had been able

to enjoy such satisfaction as could be extracted from the Hohenzollern aggrandisement. The Germans now found, however, that they had been thwarted not only in that wrongful career of foreign conquest, which may be regarded for modern purposes as having begun with the first partition of Poland, but also in that legitimate ambition to re-establish German unity, which had been already half accomplished by the formation of the Germanic Confederation. The Germans had, in fact, got the worst of both worlds.

If, however, the Germans were in a position to complain that the first two principles to which we have referred, the principle of righting historic wrongs and the principle of self-determination, were not applied by the Conference with complete theoretical impartiality, the conquered people had only to survey their own history during the past century and a half, and they were compelled to admit that in the days of their own prosperity they had paid no regard whatsoever to the two principles concerned.

We have now to consider the internal territorial re-arrangements which were made after the establishment of the German Republic. It will be remembered that during the period of the Hohenzollern Empire there had been twenty-six States within the German Federation. During the war the number had been reduced by one by the fusion of the principalities of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt and Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen. After the Revolution there was a rapid reduction in the number of the smaller States. Alsace-Lorraine was, of course, lost to France, and the two principalities of Reuss—the so-called Elder and Younger lines—united into a single State. The Duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha split into two halves; Coburg voluntarily united itself with Bavaria, and Gotha later in the year 1919 entered into negotiations with a number of the other small States of central Germany to bring about a general union of the little republics concerned. Six States took part in these negotiations, which were brought to a successful conclusion at the end of December, 1919. The States which thus agreed to unite were: (1) Schwarzburg, (2) Reuss, (3) Gotha, (4) Saxe-Weimar, (5) Saxe-Meiningen, and (6) Saxe-Altenburg. The total population of the united States was just over 1,500,000, and their joint area was just over 4,500 square miles. The States took the name of Thuringia (*Einheitsstaat Thuringen*). The town of Weimar was made the capital of the new State.

It will be seen that owing to these various fusions and changes the twenty-six States of the German Federation were reduced to eighteen.

We have now to consider the general political situation in the country at the beginning of 1920. It will be remembered that from the time of the Revolution until the end of 1919 the Liberal and Radical Parties in combination with the so-called Majority Socialist Party had held power continuously, and had

been strikingly confirmed in their position by the General Election held in January, 1919 (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1919, p. 199). The chief point of interest in the General Election had been the close correspondence of the results with those that used to be obtained in the elections for the old Reichstag in the time of the Empire. On February 11, 1919, the new Parliament elected Herr F. Ebert as President of the German Republic. Herr P. Scheidemann acted as Prime Minister during the first half of 1919, but at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Peace in June he was succeeded by Herr Bauer, one of the best-known leaders of the Majority Socialist Party, who had not been a member of Herr Scheidemann's Government. The Government which had thus been established in Germany was probably the best which could have been formed in the existing circumstances; but the Ministry and the parties which supported them were placed in an unstable and very difficult position. The Government had to face the extreme hostility of the Conservative Party on the one side, who had been opposed from the beginning to the new Republican institutions, and of the extreme revolutionaries on the other side, who, for entirely different reasons, had been opposed to the submission to the Entente, and desired an alliance with the Bolshevik forces of Russia. During 1919 the Government had been placed in greater difficulties by the parties of the Left than by the parties of the Right, and the extreme Socialists had made several unsuccessful attempts at armed insurrection. But as we shall see shortly the reactionary groups were also capable of making serious trouble for the Government.

During January and February there were no events of first-class importance, but in March there were kaleidoscopic changes in Berlin, which illustrated dramatically the difficulty of the position of the moderate German Government, placed as it was, between the extremists of the Right and of the Left. During the early weeks of the year certain personages belonging to the Conservative Party were agitating actively against the Government, and were endeavouring to find some pretext—preferably a democratic pretext—for taking action against them. One of the most prominent persons in this movement was a certain Dr. Wolfgang Kapp, who had once held office as President of East Prussia, and had long been known as a founder of the Fatherland Party and an associate of the notorious Admiral von Tirpitz. During January and February Kapp entered into correspondence with the Prime Minister, Herr Bauer, and brought complaints against the Government. The chief of these complaints were that Herr Ebert had remained in power too long, since according to the Constitution the President ought to be elected by the whole nation, and not merely (as Ebert had been) by the National Assembly; that the Ministry itself had likewise retained power too long, since it and the Parliament which supported it were elected and established only for the purpose of

concluding peace; and also that the Government's administration had been inefficient and had failed to restore the economic position in the country, which had remained deplorable since the conclusion of the armistice. There was but little substance in any of these charges, except, perhaps, the first; and there is every reason to suspect that they were only put forward as a cover for different, and possibly sinister, designs. Herren Ebert, and Bauer naturally paid no attention to Dr. Kapp's demands; and in the middle of March the reactionaries seem to have thought that the time had arrived for them to come out into the open and declare opposition to the existing Republican Government.

On March 12 Herr Bauer appears to have obtained information regarding the plot, and possibly it was this which induced the conspirators to act earlier than they had intended and certainly prematurely. Kapp had obtained an important accomplice in the person of General Baron v. Luttwitz, who was the Commander of the 1st Division of the Reichswehr. Another commander of the Reichswehr, General Marker, also appears to have been very doubtful in his loyalty to the Government. During the past twelve months both these soldiers had served well under the able and enlightened War Minister, Herr Noske, in the work of suppressing the insurrections of the "Spartacists," as the German Bolsheviks were called. But that, of course, was a duty in which reactionaries and moderates could well co-operate without friction.

Finding that his plot was discovered, Dr. Kapp carried out a sudden *coup d'état* in Berlin, which met with momentary success. Supported by regiments of Marines and by the irregular "Baltic" troops (the German troops who had occasioned trouble in Courland in the previous year by fighting independently of any Government), who were now stationed at Doberitz, and by the Reichswehr troops whom General v. Luttwitz had led astray, Kapp advanced upon Berlin in the early hours of March 13. Realising that the generals in command of the Reichswehr had betrayed their trust, Herren Ebert and Bauer fled from Berlin to Dresden, and were perhaps fortunate in being able to escape before the Baltic troops arrived. Immediately after he reached Berlin, at 10 A.M., Dr. Kapp issued a proclamation declaring that the Ebert-Bauer Administration had ceased to exist and that he was himself acting as Imperial Chancellor, and that General v. Luttwitz had been appointed Minister of Defence. The proclamation also stated that Dr. Kapp only regarded his Administration as provisional, and that he would "restore constitutional conditions" by holding new elections. The new Government disclaimed any intention of restoring the monarchy, but all Kapp's chief supporters were monarchists, and he had the old Imperial colours—black, white, and red—hoisted in the capital. It was also perhaps significant that immediately after the *coup d'état* much coming and going was reported from the ex-Kaiser's Dutch home at Amerongen.



Herr Ebert and his associates were not slow to decide upon the measures to be taken against the reactionaries. They issued an appeal to the working classes to engage in a drastic general strike. The appeal, which was signed by Herren Ebert, Bauer, and Noske, read as follows:—

“The military revolt has come. Ehrhardt’s naval brigade is advancing on Berlin to overthrow the Government. These servants of the State, who fear the dissolution of the Army, desire to put reactionaries in the seat of the Government. We refuse to bend before military compulsion. We did not make the revolution in order to have again to recognise militarism. We will not co-operate with the criminals of the Baltic States. We should be ashamed of ourselves, did we act otherwise.

“A thousand times, No! Cease work! Stifle the opportunity of this military dictatorship! Fight with all the means at your command to retain the republic. Put all differences of opinion aside.

“Only one means exists against the return of Wilhelm II. That is the cessation of all means of communication. No hand may be moved. No proletarian may assist the dictator. Strike along the whole line.”

The response to this appeal by the working classes was enthusiastic and all but universal. Except in East Prussia and to some extent in Pomerania and Silesia, the Kapp “Government” obtained scarcely any support in the country; and the Saxon, Bavarian, Wurtemberg, and Baden Governments all rallied to the support of President Ebert—though notwithstanding the loyalty of the Saxons, the President and the Prime Minister thought it advisable to remove from Dresden to Stuttgart. Furthermore, notwithstanding that Kapp and v. Luttwitz disclaimed any intention of restoring the Hohenzollern regime, they met with the bitter hostility of the working classes in Berlin, who succeeded in bringing to a standstill the whole life of the capital.

It was, indeed, apparent after forty-eight hours that the extraordinary success of the general strike would make the new Kapp regime impossible. During the first two days there were rumours that in order to avoid civil war Ebert and Bauer were willing to compromise with the conspirators; but it soon became obvious that any such course would be unnecessary.

The feature which hampered Kapp fatally was the complete success of the strike in Berlin itself; and since his writ did not even run in the capital, the usurping Chancellor felt compelled to resign on March 17. He endeavoured to cover up his failure, by alleging that his mission had been fulfilled, in that the Government had now proclaimed that they would hold a General Election within a few weeks, but his protestations notwithstanding, it was obvious to all the onlookers that his real designs had been to displace the old Government altogether, and very probably to upset the entire republican regime. A

meeting of the National Assembly was held at Stuttgart on March 18, and the Prime Minister made a long speech dealing with Kapp's escapade, but before then, the crisis had already passed—and had in fact given place to a crisis of a totally different kind. On March 18 some of the members of the Government returned to Berlin, and on that day also Kapp's troops—who were known as the "Baltic" troops, although the name properly applied only to a section of them—left the capital. Their departure was unfortunately marked by a most disagreeable incident. As they marched through the streets towards the Brandenburg Gate, the populace which had always been entirely hostile to them, collected in great numbers and followed the soldiers, jeering vociferously. The legionaries were in an ill-humour at the failure of their coup, and being further aggravated by the behaviour of the crowds, when the last detachment reached the Brandenburg Gate they wheeled about, and fired several volleys into the mass of civilians who had followed them. A panic ensued, and a considerable number of persons were killed and wounded. Kapp himself fled to Sweden.

When the Government returned to the capital, they found that the strike which they had utilised to overcome Kapp had now got beyond control; and indeed in the east end of Berlin, Soviets were being declared, and one Daunig had declared himself President of a new German Communist Republic. The Government called off the strike, but a large number of the strikers refused to return to work, and on March 19 Spartacist risings occurred in many different places, especially in western Prussia, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Leipzig. At the latter place the rising was extremely serious, and in suppressing this local insurrection the Government even had to use aeroplanes over the streets of the city itself in order to intimidate the Communists. The Communist leaders decided to direct the strike, the power of which had been proved against Kapp, against the Government itself. In Berlin, with the active assistance of the Prime Minister of Prussia, Herr Hirsch, the Federal Government were soon able to gain control of affairs; and in Saxony, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg the troops were also able to overcome speedily the insurrection. But in the west, in Westphalia and the Rhineland, the situation became extremely serious. The position was in this part of Germany complicated by the fact of the existence of the neutral zone lying between the territory occupied by the Entente, and the main part of Germany, where the Government were of course free to move their forces as they pleased. Apart from a small force for police purposes, the German Government were not allowed to send troops into the neutral zone. The military police in the zone were quite incapable of dealing with the Spartacist insurrection; and the insurgents speedily took possession of Essen, after a treacherous attack on the rear of

the small Government force. The Revolutionists also seized Wesel. And the union of "Red" Germany with Bolshevik Russia was proclaimed, many of the leaders of the revolt being, indeed, Russians or Russian Jews. The Government took alarm at the development of the Spartacist peril, and on March 23 it was even rumoured that a purely Socialist Government—containing several members of the Independent Socialist Party—was to be formed. This rumour proved to be untrue, but two of the ablest members of the Cabinet, Herr Noske and Herr Erzberger, who were specially obnoxious to the Communists, were asked by Herr Bauer to resign. The resignation of these two Ministers was in some sense a concession to the extremists, but the latter refused to consider compromise; and feeling overwhelmed with the difficulty of the situation, Herr Bauer himself resigned on March 26. Fortunately Herr Ebert had no difficulty in finding a statesman willing to undertake the burden of the Chancellorship. The President asked Herr Hermann Müller, who had previously held the office of Minister for Foreign Affairs, to form an Administration. Within forty-eight hours it was announced that Herr Müller had succeeded in forming a Cabinet, which included (as did the previous Administration) members of all the three moderate parties, the Clericals, the Democrats, and the Majority Socialists. The new Cabinet was composed as follows:—

Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs	-	-	Herr Müller.
Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs	-	-	Herr v. Haniel.
Minister of the Interior and Vice-Chancellor	-	-	Herr Koch.
Minister of Posts	-	-	Herr Giesberts.
Minister of Finance	-	-	Herr Wirth.
Minister of Transport	-	-	Herr Bell.
Minister of Justice	-	-	Herr Blunck.
Minister of Labour	-	-	Herr Schlicke.
Minister of Economics	-	-	Herr Schmidt.
Minister of Defence	-	-	Herr Gessler.
Minister of Food	-	-	Herr Hermes.
Minister without Portfolio	-	-	Herr David.
President of the Treasury	-	-	Herr Bauer.

Herr Müller's tenure of the Foreign Office was only temporary, and before the middle of April he relinquished that position to Dr. Arnold Koster. At the same time there was a reconstruction of the Government of Prussia, Herr Braun becoming Premier. The new Ministry was constituted on much the same lines as that of Germany, and including members of all the three moderate parties.

As soon as he assumed office Herr Müller had to deal with the pressing problem of the insurrection in the Rühr Valley, and the neutral zone generally. The German Government applied to the Allies for permission to send troops into the disturbed districts in excess of the numbers allowed by the Treaty of Versailles. It appears that in view of the situation which had arisen the British and Italian Governments made various sug-

gestions for a temporary modification of these particular provisions of the Treaty of Versailles (Articles 42 to 44). It was proposed, for instance, that German forces might be allowed to occupy the Rühr Valley under whatever guarantees Marshal Foch might think necessary; or that the German troops should be accompanied by Allied officers; or that the matter should be left in the hands of the German Government with a warning that if the neutral zone were not re-evacuated as soon as practicable, a further district of Germany would be occupied by the Entente. The French Government, however, raised difficulties; and declared that if the Germans were allowed to send forces into the Rühr district, they (the French) should be allowed to occupy Frankfort, Homburg, and other neighbouring German towns, with the sanction of the Allies, during the period that the German troops were in the neutral zone. Owing to these differences of opinion between the Allied Governments no quick decision was reached; and in the meantime, the insurrection in the Rühr Valley was becoming daily more serious. Moreover, the German Government themselves hindered a settlement by indicating that they could not accept the French suggestion of a parallel occupation of Frankfort by French troops. It was obvious that matters would soon reach a crisis, notwithstanding the conciliatory efforts of the British Government. And it came as no great surprise when, on April 3, German Regular troops, of the Reichswehr, entered the neutral zone in force, although no permission for them to do so had been granted by the Entente. The troops were under the command of General von Watter, and they experienced no serious difficulty in dealing with the Spartacists, although the latter possessed some artillery. The Revolutionary Headquarters at Mülheim were taken on April 4.

These incidents led to somewhat sensational developments between the French, British, and German Governments. Immediately after the German troops crossed the line, the French Government itself gave orders to its own troops to advance, and Frankfort was occupied on April 6 and Homburg on the following day. The French Government proclaimed the necessity of this move on the ground that Articles 42 to 44 of the Treaty of Versailles had been broken by the Germans. The French advance occasioned extreme bitterness of feeling in Germany, more particularly as some of the occupying troops were black; and the attitude of the crowds in Frankfort became so hostile, that on one occasion the French troops brought a machine-gun into action, and a number of civilians were killed and wounded. The British Government also disapproved of the French action, partly because they regarded the advance as an extreme measure which should only have been adopted in the last resort, and still more so because the French move had been made independently, and without the sanction of the other Allied Governments. The British held that the enforcement

of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles was an affair for the Allies collectively, and not for any single Allied Government.

The Franco-British difference of opinion was, however, of short duration (see France); and it was soon made clear that whilst the British Government were disposed to think that there had been a genuine necessity to send the German troops into the Rühr Valley, they were equally as determined as the French to see that the terms of the Treaty were observed. And the extreme rapidity with which the German troops overcame the Revolutionaries tended to bring the whole crisis to an end.

On April 12 Herr Müller made a statement on the situation in the National Assembly at Berlin. He complained of French militarism, and in particular that Senegalese negroes should have been quartered in Frankfort University. He laid the blame for the developments largely upon Kapp and his associates; and said that it was owing to the undermining of the loyalty of the Reichswehr by the reactionaries, that the working classes had now lost confidence in the Republican army. The latest casualty list which had been received from the disturbed area proved the severity of the actions which had taken place; 160 officers and men had been killed and nearly 400 had been wounded. The advance of the German troops into the Rühr had been necessary in order to protect the lives and property of peaceable citizens living in that district. It was true, said the speaker, that according to Articles 42 and 43 of the Treaty of Peace, the German Government were not allowed to assemble armed forces in the neutral zone, because to do so would constitute a hostile act against the signatory Powers; but, he asked, was this prescription laid down in order to prevent the re-establishment of public order? By an agreement of August, 1919, the Entente had sanctioned the maintenance in the neutral zone of a military police force, and therefore the Entente, including France, had recognised that measures necessary for the preservation of order in the neutral zone did not constitute a violation of the Treaty.

A meeting of the Supreme Council, consisting of the British, French, and Italian Prime Ministers, was opened at San Remo on April 19; and the Council had to deal, among other questions, with the German invasion of the Rühr Valley, and with the problem of German disarmament generally. Mr. Lloyd George, with the support of Signor Nitti, proposed that the German Government should be invited to attend the Conference; but this was strongly opposed by M. Millerand, and the proposal therefore lapsed. The result of the discussions at San Remo on the German question was that a note dealing with the question of disarmament was sent to the German Government at the end of April. The note declared that so long as the German Government was not taking serious steps to carry out the disarmament clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, it was

impossible for the Allied Governments even to consider the German request that the permanent force of 100,000 men, allowed by the Treaty, should be increased. Germany was not fulfilling her engagements either in the destruction of the materials of war, or in the reduction of the number of troops, or in the provision of coal, or with regard to reparation. The Allied Governments intended to insist upon the carrying out of the terms of the Treaty, though in cases where the German Government were faced with unavoidable difficulties, the Allied Governments would not necessarily insist upon a literal interpretation of the terms. And it was not their intention to annex any portion of German territory.

So far as the occupation of the Rühr Valley was concerned the above note came almost after the event; because, as already stated, the rapidity with which the Reichswehr overcame the insurgents made it possible for the German Government to withdraw the troops within a few weeks. At the end of April the Foreign Minister, Herr Koster, declared that the French ought now to evacuate Frankfort, Darmstadt, and Homburg, because the German troops had been reduced to 17,500 which was permitted by the agreement of August, 1919. On the Allied side, however, it was stated that the force must be reduced forthwith to twenty battalions, six squadrons, and two batteries; and that even this force would have to be replaced entirely by a body of 10,000 police by July 10. The German Government made the necessary reductions, and on May 17 the French evacuated Frankfort and the other occupied towns.

The reactionary and Spartacist insurrections having been thus quelled, the German Government proceeded, in accordance with their declarations, to make the necessary preparations for holding the General Election. The elections were fixed for Sunday, June 6. All the parties undertook active campaigns, but the general public showed less interest in these elections for the new Reichstag than they had shown in the elections for the temporary National Assembly in January, 1919. The total number of electors was about 32,000,000, approximately 15,000,000 men and 17,000,000 women: but in the event, only about 80 per cent. of the voters exercised their rights. It will be remembered that in the elections of 1919, the results had been strikingly in accord with the last General Election for the Reichstag before the war; and had therefore constituted a remarkable popular confirmation of the attitude of the Reichstag Bloc during the war. The present elections yielded different results. The three moderate parties had been in an overwhelming majority both in the last Imperial Reichstag and also in the new Republican National Assembly. They were again returned with a majority over the Right and Left political wings combined; but the majority was now very small. It will be remembered that the German political parties were now grouped, from Right to Left, as follows: The National Party

(the old Conservatives); the German People's Party (the old National Liberals); the Democrats (the old Radicals); the Clericals (the old Centre, which now included Protestant as well as Catholic Clericals); the Majority Socialists; the Minority Socialists or Independent Socialists; and lastly the Communists or Spartacists, whose opinions were comparable with those of the Bolsheviks of Russia.

In January, 1919, the Communists, no doubt realising their numerical insignificance, had refused to take any part in the polling. On this occasion, however, they decided to enter the contest, and it may be said at once that not the least remarkable (and not the least satisfactory) feature of the elections was the utter collapse of the Spartacists. The satisfaction which the rout of the Spartacists caused to all moderate men was, however, tempered by the success of the Independent Socialists, who had for months been growing increasingly more extreme in their views, and were now, indeed, one of the most extreme Socialist parties in all Europe, outside Russia. The total number of deputies in the new Reichstag was slightly greater than in the National Assembly, being about 470, the exact number being doubtful until the destinies of the plebiscite areas in West Prussia, East Prussia, and Silesia had been decided. The Spartacists won only two seats. The Independent Socialists, however, increased their membership of the House from twenty-two to eighty. The success of the Independent Socialists was gained, as might have been expected, chiefly at the expense of the Majority Socialists, who had been by far the largest party in the National Assembly. Indeed, the reduction in numbers of the Majority Socialists was almost exactly the same as the increase in numbers of the Minority Socialists. The total of the Majority Socialists fell from 165 to 110. The Clerical electorate, whose strength lay in the west and south, was as always a remarkably constant feature. The Clericals returned with eighty-eight deputies, as against ninety in the Assembly.

Passing to a consideration of the Liberal and Conservative Parties, we find that on the Right wing of politics there had also been a remarkable change. The Democrats fared worse in the elections than any other party. And the two parties of the Right were returned in far greater strength than they had possessed in the National Assembly. The number of Democrats fell from seventy-five to forty-five, which was the more remarkable when the increased size of the House was borne in mind. The German National Party, representing the old Conservatives, and still avowed monarchists, increased their strength from forty-two to sixty-five. But the most remarkable gains were those of the German People's Party. This party—the old National Liberals—represented chiefly the great industrial interests and had been very influential though not very numerous, under the Empire. In January, 1919, they had been

almost annihilated at the polls, and had won only twenty-two seats. Now, however, they returned with over sixty deputies.

It will be seen that the elections apparently revealed two diametrically opposite tendencies: a drift from the moderates to the extreme Left, and a drift from the moderates to the extreme Right. And these two tendencies had affected adversely the Majority Socialists and Democrats respectively. It is possible, however, that the two tendencies were really to be attributed in some sense to a single cause. In all democratic countries all Ministries fail to come up to the expectations of many of their supporters. And some of their supporters will search about for another party for whom to cast their votes. The popular support of a democratic Ministry necessarily tends to wear away; and it is probable that it was this general discontent among the Ministerial electors which was the real cause of what appeared to be opposite tendencies. The exception is to be found, of course, in the supporters of the Clerical Party, whose political fidelity was proverbial. It is noteworthy that it was not the most extreme parties of all, the German Nationals and the Communists, who profited mainly by the Ministerial discontent. It was the German People's Party and the Independent Socialists who profited. And it is hardly necessary to point out that a Democrat who was discontented with the Government would naturally vote for the German People's Party, and that a Majority Socialist who was discontented with the Government would naturally vote for an Independent Socialist.

The Majority Socialists were still the largest party in the country, as in the House, and secured about 5,500,000 votes—nearly 1,000,000 more than the respective totals of the Independent Socialists and the Clericals, whose strength was about equal. The Democrats secured a little over 2,000,000 votes; whilst the two parties of the Right together secured over 7,000,000 votes, about equally divided between them.

The two parties of the Right had increased their total vote by no less than 3,500,000, and the democratic vote had sunk by about the same number. The total poll of the Majority Socialists had sunk by no less than 5,500,000, whilst the poll of the Minority Socialists had risen by more than 2,500,000. When allowance is made for the decrease in the total poll, there was virtually no difference in the Clerical poll, as compared with January, 1919. It will be seen that as between the non-Socialists and the Socialists as a whole, the position of the non-Socialists had markedly improved, and they had, in fact, slightly increased their aggregate poll, notwithstanding the diminution of the total number of electors who exercised their rights.

Owing to the changes in the relative strength of parties, it was several weeks before a Cabinet could be formed; and after several politicians had attempted in vain to form a new Cabinet, Herr Fehrenbach, one of the most respected leaders of the



Clerical Party, succeeded in doing so. What might have been an extremely unstable Parliamentary position was avoided by the good sense shown by the German People's Party, who were led by Herr Stresemann. The German People's Party decided to abandon their position of opposition and their association with the Conservatives, and agreed to unite with the Clericals and Democrats to form a Government. The Majority Socialists would not actually join a Ministry which included the German People's Party, but they agreed to lend the new Government their general support in the Reichstag. Thus it came about that twenty months after the Revolution an entirely non-Socialist Government came into power in Germany, though it was true that the new Government depended partly upon the support of the Majority Socialists, whose moderation, however, made them more comparable to the Radical-Socialists of France and to Radicals in other countries, than to the Socialist parties of most other countries in Europe. The new German Prime Minister, Herr Constantin Fehrenbach, was born in 1852, and entered the Bavarian Parliament as a Catholic and a representative of Freiburg when he was about thirty years of age. He was elected to the Reichstag in 1903 and he became President of that House in 1918. And in 1919 he became President of the National Assembly.

Herr Fehrenbach was able to form a strong Cabinet from the personal point of view. Herr Heinze became Vice-Premier and Minister for Justice, Dr. Simons became Foreign Minister, Herr Wirth became Minister of Finance, Herr Koch was Minister of the Interior, and Herr Giesberts was Minister of Posts. Herr Noske was not a member of the new Cabinet.

The new Prime Minister made his first declaration to the Reichstag on June 28, and declared that so long as the formerly hostile States refused to modify the Treaty of Versailles, the German Government could have no other policy than to endeavour to the best of their ability to carry out the terms of that Treaty.

At the meeting of the Supreme Council at San Remo in April it was decided to invite the German Government to a Conference at Spa, in Belgium, in order to settle the questions relating to disarmament and reparations which arose under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. The Spa Conference was held during the first half of July, and Herr Fehrenbach himself attended the Conference at which it will be remembered Mr. Lloyd George and M. Millerand were also present. Before going into the Conference with the Germans the Allies agreed amongst themselves as to the proportions of the total German reparation which should be allotted to each of the Allied countries. Thus France was to receive 52 per cent., the British Empire 22 per cent., Italy 10 per cent., Belgium 8 per cent., and Serbia 5 per cent., the small remaining proportion to be divided amongst other claimants. Apart from her 8 per

cent. Belgium was to have the privilege of transferring her entire war debt to Germany's shoulders, and she was also to have a prior claim upon the first 100,000,000*l.* paid by Germany. These proportions were settled, but the total amount to be paid by Germany was not decided.

The Conference was to have been opened on July 5, and a preliminary sitting was in fact held on that day, but owing to the non-arrival of Herr Gessler, the German Minister of Defence, it was not possible to proceed with the serious consideration of the first subject on the agenda, which was the question of German disarmament. The Conference was held under the presidency of the Belgian Prime Minister, M. Delacroix, and the Belgian Foreign Minister, M. Hymans, also attended. The British representatives, in addition to Mr. Lloyd George himself, were Lord Curzon and Sir L. Worthington-Evans. The chief Italian representative was Count Sforza, the distinguished and successful Foreign Minister. The German Premier was accompanied by Dr. Simons and Herr Wirth.

On the following day Herr Gessler arrived, and he proceeded at once to make a formal request that the 100,000 men, which was the limit of the German Army allowed by the Treaty, should continue to be exceeded, on the ground that it was impossible for the Government to keep order with such a small force. Mr. Lloyd George then explained the reasons for the Allies' anxiety. He said that the Treaty allowed Germany 100,000 men, 100,000 rifles, and 2,000 machine-guns. Germany, however, still possessed a Regular Army of 200,000 men, and also possessed 50,000 machine-guns, and 12,000 guns. Moreover, she had only surrendered 1,500,000 rifles, although it was obvious that there must be millions of rifles in the country. During the discussions on the following days it transpired from statements made by the chief of the General Staff himself, General von Seeckt, that in addition to the Reichswehr there were various other organised forces in Germany such as the Einwohnerwehr and the Sicherheitspolizei. The Einwohnerwehr alone appear to have numbered over 500,000 men. General von Seeckt proposed that the Regular Army should be reduced gradually to 100,000 men by October, 1921. A discussion upon this matter took place between the Allies, and it was decided that Germany should be given until January 1, 1921, to reduce the strength of the Reichswehr to the Treaty figure of 100,000 men. The exact conditions laid down were that Germany should reduce the Reichswehr to 150,000 men by October 1, withdraw the arms of the Einwohnerwehr and the Sicherheitspolizei, and issue a proclamation demanding the surrender of all arms in the hands of the civilian population, with effective penalties in the event of default. On July 9 the German delegates signed the agreement embodying these stipulations in regard to disarmament.

The later sittings of the Conference were concerned with

the question of the trial of the German "war-criminals," the delivery of coal as a form of reparation, and various other financial matters. It was the question of coal which required the closest attention, largely owing to the extreme need of France for supplies of coal, and the agreement relating to this matter was signed on July 16. It was decided that for six months after August 1 the German Government should deliver up 2,000,000 tons of coal per month.

The question of the war-criminals referred to above had been under discussion since the beginning of the year. It will be remembered that the Treaty of Versailles had required that certain persons with an especially evil record in the war should be handed over to the Allies. And lists of the chief persons coming under the heading of "war-criminals" were published by the Allied Governments at the end of January. The lists included a number of very well-known persons, such as the Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, Field-Marshal von Mackensen, General von Kluck, Admiral von Tirpitz, and Admiral von Capelle. It will be remembered, however, that the Ex-Emperor William had fled to Holland, and since the Dutch Government definitely declined to hand him over to the Allies (see The Netherlands), it was generally held, especially in Great Britain, that it was difficult to press forward very vigorously with the punishment of those who, however important their positions, had only been the Emperor's servants. It was therefore subsequently decided that the German Government itself should be instructed to proceed with the punishment of the war-criminals concerned. But it transpired at Spa that the German Government had been extremely dilatory in taking the necessary proceedings.

The last five months of the year were much less eventful in Germany. The country was still suffering from a shortage of food, though not in the acute degree which was so painfully characteristic of Austria and also of some of the other countries farther east. The German Government appear to have made serious efforts to comply with their Treaty obligations regarding disarmament and reparation. For instance, in the three weeks following the Spa Conference over 4,000 heavy guns and field guns were destroyed; and measures were taken to obtain the very large number of arms which existed all over the country in the hands of the civilian population. Great numbers of livestock were also handed over to the Allies. Thus France received from Germany (up to November 30) over 30,000 horses, over 65,000 cattle, and over 100,000 sheep. And Belgium received, up to the same date, 6,000 horses, 67,000 cattle, and 35,000 sheep.

The financial position of the country remained extremely serious. The total national debt (funded debt and floating debt) amounted to 200,000,000,000 marks, that is, 10,000,000,000*l.* sterling at the old pre-war rate of exchange. The anticipated

Revenue for the year 1920-21 was 27,950,000,000 marks, and the anticipated Ordinary Expenditure was 23,800,000,000 marks. There was, however, also an anticipated Extraordinary Expenditure of no less than 11,600,000,000 marks. And a heavy deficit on the railways was expected. The exchange value of the mark had fallen disastrously since the armistice, and though it rose towards the end of the year, the mark was still reckoned at over 200 to the pound sterling in December.

Various statistics of population were published during the year. Among other significant features, it was stated that the number of children under five years of age, in the whole of the territories of the former Hohenzollern Empire, had sunk from 8,000,000 in 1911 to 5,000,000 in 1919.

The most favourable feature in the German situation was undoubtedly the steadfast resistance of the people as a whole to the spread of Bolshevism. And in overcoming the first wave of extremism, the country owed more to Herr Gustav Noske than to any other man. After resigning from the Cabinet, Herr Noske became President of the province of Hanover.

#### AUSTRIA.

As explained in the last number of the ANNUAL REGISTER, the breaking away of all the outlying provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire from the small German core of Austria—the country in the immediate vicinity of Vienna—left the great Imperial capital in a situation which was desperate and almost insupportable. Before the war Vienna was the centre of the second largest empire in Europe. It was now left stifling as the centre of a few counties whose resources, agricultural and otherwise, were only sufficient at the best to support a moderate-sized provincial town. And the predicament in which the Viennese found themselves was aggravated in a high degree by the hostile attitude towards Austria which the succession states (as the new countries were called) took up. Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, and even Hungary maintained a virtual blockade against unhappy Austria, and there was extremely little commercial intercourse between these territories and Austria, although before the war they were the districts from which the capital mainly drew its supplies of food. Moreover, the industries and finances of Austria herself were suffering from a hopeless break-down. The desperate economic situation of the country overshadowed every other interest in Austria during the year.

After the abdication of the Emperor Charles, a political organisation was brought into existence, and the leaders of the Republic were doing their best to make this organisation function, notwithstanding the adverse conditions. A Parliament had been instituted, and the Chairman of this Parliament Dr. Seitz, acted as President of the Republic. A General

Election had been held in February, 1919, which had resulted in the return of a majority of non-Socialists over Socialists; but a coalition Ministry had been formed, under the premiership of Dr. Karl Renner, who was himself a Social Democrat.

At the end of January a census of the population of the Republic of Austria, as defined by the Treaty of St. Germain, was taken. The area of the new Austria, including the small territory ceded by Hungary, was just over 32,000 square miles. The population of the Republic was approximately 6,412,000 of whom 1,842,000 were in Vienna itself. In regard to the provinces, about 3,300,000 lived in the province of Lower Austria.

During the year there were no such striking political changes as occurred in Germany. But in June the difficulty which had long been experienced in holding the coalition Government together led at last to a Cabinet crisis, and Dr. Renner resigned. The country was without a Government for nearly a month; but on July 3 a new Coalition Cabinet was formed in which the leadership now fell to the Christian Socialists instead of to the Social Democrats. Dr. Mayer, a Christian Socialist, became Prime Minister, but Dr. Renner remained in Office as Foreign Minister. It was arranged that a General Election should be held as soon as possible.

The General Election was not held, however, until October 17. Four parties took part in the contest: the German Nationalists or Conservatives; the Christian Socialists or Clericals (who were closely comparable to the Christian People's Party in Germany); the Social Democrats; and the Communists, who were comparable to the Spartacists of Germany. The Communists suffered a complete rout, and it was reported that they polled less than 1½ per cent. of the voters in Vienna. Among the other parties the Clericals improved their position and obtained eighty-two seats in the House. Both the Conservatives and the Socialists lost, the Conservatives obtaining twenty seats and the Socialists sixty-six. Seven Independent Deputies were elected. Thus 109 non-Socialists were elected as against sixty-six Socialists; and the result of the election was to confirm the Clericals in power. Dr. Mayer remained Premier and took the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. There were no Socialists in the Cabinet. In December Dr. Michael Hainsch was elected President of the Republic in succession to Dr. Seitz.

On October 10 polling took place in Zone A of the Klagenfurt plebiscite area, in Carinthia, and resulted in an overwhelming majority for Austria. The plebiscite led to a remarkable occupation by Serbian troops (see Jugo-Slavia).

The ratification of the Treaty of St. Germain took place in Paris on July 16. The delegate sent by Austria for the final signature was Herr Eichhoff.

As already stated the financial situation of the country was desperate. This was expressed in the rate of exchange of the Austrian crown. At the end of the year the value of the crown had sunk to over 2,000 to the pound sterling.

## CHAPTER IV.

RUSSIA—POLAND—LITHUANIA—UKRAINIA—FINLAND—ESTHONIA  
— LETTLAND — DANZIG — CZECHO-SLOVAKIA — HUNGARY —  
RUMANIA—JUGO-SLAVIA—TURKEY—GREECE—THE MINOR  
STATES OF SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

## RUSSIA.

THE opening of the year 1920 found M. Lenin's Bolshevik Government still in power, and in a stronger position than it had ever been since the extremists seized control of affairs at the end of 1917. As pointed out in previous numbers of the ANNUAL REGISTER, M. Lenin's Bolshevik State, as established by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in the spring of 1918, had corresponded rather to the old historic State of Muscovy than to the Russian Empire of the 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries. The Bolshevik State had at first been confined to central Russia, and not only had the foreign border states, such as Finland and Poland, fallen away, but the great province of Ukrainia (or Little Russia) had refused to recognise Lenin's Government, and an anti-Bolshevik Government had also been established in Siberia. Moreover, anti-Bolshevik forces actually invaded the territory of the new Muscovite Republic. Of these latter forces the most important was an army under General Denikin, which was operating in South Russia and was based upon the Black Sea ports.

During the year 1919 the Bolshevik State had been assailed from all points of the compass, and General Denikin's Army in particular had at first attained considerable success; but as the year progressed the Bolshevik Army had defeated all their enemies in turn, and at the close of the year they had advanced hundreds of miles into Siberia, and, having inflicted a defeat upon Denikin in December, they were also advancing towards the Black Sea.

The head of the Siberian State was a certain Admiral Koltchak, who had from the first been one of the most vigorous opponents of Bolshevism, and during the first half of 1919 he had led an advance into European Russia. In July, however, he had suffered a severe defeat, and after a disastrous retreat eastwards, his capital of Omsk had been lost, and he was compelled to remove his headquarters to Irkutsk. At the end of December the Bolshevik Armies were 700 miles east of Omsk; and on January 8 a battle was fought at Krasnoyarsk (800 miles east of Omsk) and the remnants of Koltchak's Army were routed, and surrendered to the advancing Bolsheviks. According to the Bolshevik reports, about 70,000 men were captured after this battle.

After the defeat of Koltchak in July, the Bolshevik Minister of War, M. Trotsky, was able to concentrate his main forces

against Denikin. In the autumn of 1919 Denikin reached as far north as Orel, and as far to the north-west as Kieff, which the Ukrainians had lost to the Muscovites. In December, however, Denikin suffered a series of disastrous defeats, and at the end of the year he was in full retreat towards his bases on the Black Sea. On January 3 the Bolsheviks made a daring advance against Denikin's right wing. They crossed the Volga on the ice and stormed the great town of Tsaritsyn, which had been a place of great importance to Denikin in that it had been the seat of a large French gun factory. On January 5 the Bolsheviks reached the coast of the Sea of Azoff at Mariupol, and on the following day cavalry, under the command of the now famous Bolshevik leader, General Budenny, entered Taganrog. Novo-Tcherksk, the capital of the Don Cossacks, was taken on January 7, and Rostoff fell on January 10. After these successes the advance was somewhat less rapid and the Bolsheviks did not reach Odessa until February 8.

Whilst the Bolsheviks were achieving these successes in the south, the last stages of the Koltchak tragedy were being played in Siberia. At the end of December, after the Siberian Government had been compelled to flee from Omsk to Irkutsk, an insurrection against Koltchak's Government broke out at the latter town. The leaders of the rebellion called themselves Social Revolutionaries, but they seem to have had little in common with the Social Revolutionary Party which had existed in European Russia in 1917 and 1918, and which had been genuinely anti-Bolshevik in its tendencies. These new Social Revolutionaries at Irkutsk appear to have been hardly distinguishable from the Bolsheviks themselves. After the final defeat of Koltchak's forces at Krasnoyarsk, the unfortunate Admiral was left at the mercy of the traitors, rebels, and Bolshevik enemies by whom he was surrounded. There was at Irkutsk a large force of Czecho-Slovak troops, which was reported to number 40,000 men. Czech forces had been in Siberia for several years, having been constituted in the first instance from liberated prisoners of war taken by the Russians from the old Austro-Hungarian Army. Some of these Czecho-Slovak troops had shown remarkable valour in fighting against the Bolsheviks. But in the face of the advance from Krasnoyarsk, they showed an extraordinary lack of their former courage.

After the destruction of Koltchak's force at Krasnoyarsk, the Czech contingent was the only organised anti-Bolshevik Army west of Lake Baikal. The so-called Social Revolutionaries demanded that the Czechs should hand over Admiral Koltchak to them. Faced by the advance of the Bolsheviks in overwhelming numbers, and surrounded by the armed mob of Social Revolutionaries, who were obviously in league with the Bolsheviks, the Bohemians became panic-stricken. The Czech leaders decided to surrender Admiral Koltchak, well knowing that he would be tried for his life. Their action in doing so

naturally caused considerable criticism in Europe; but the Czechs alleged in excuse that they were themselves in an indefensible position, and that they would have been annihilated if they had refused to comply with the Social Revolutionary demand. Moreover, the Czechs alleged that the French Commissioner at Irkutsk, General Janin, authorised them to deliver up Koltchak to the Social Revolutionaries. It should be said that there was a small Japanese contingent at Irkutsk, and that the Japanese commanders endeavoured to intervene to save Koltchak and to prevent the Czech betrayal.

Admiral Koltchak was, however, handed over to the Revolutionaries, and when the Bolsheviks themselves arrived at Irkutsk at the end of January, the Social Revolutionaries at once gave the Siberian leader into the hands of his arch-enemies. The Bolsheviks proceeded to carry out the usual semblance of a trial, and Admiral Koltchak and his Prime Minister, M. Pepelaieff, were condemned to death. They were shot at Irkutsk on February 7 (see Obituary).

The Social Revolutionaries, having seized possession of Irkutsk, did not remain west of Lake Baikal, but proceeded to take possession of Eastern Siberia, and they arrived at Vladivostock under the red flag on January 31. The leader of the Constitutionalist forces east of Lake Baikal, a certain General Semenoff, appears to have been unable to offer any serious resistance to them.

The Bolsheviks entered Archangel, which had been evacuated by the British in the previous year, on February 20.

The formidable increase in power of the Soviet Government which was made so manifest by the defeats of Koltchak and Denikin, naturally attracted the attention of the civilised Governments of the world. It will be remembered that a meeting of the Supreme Council was held in London at the end of February (see English History), and after the meeting a memorandum was issued regarding the policy of the Allies in Russia. In this memorandum it was stated *inter alia*, that—

“If the communities which border on the frontiers of Soviet Russia and whose independence or *de facto* autonomy they have recognised were to approach them and to ask for advice as to what attitude they should take with regard to Soviet Russia, the Allied Governments would reply that they cannot accept the responsibility of advising them to continue a war which may be injurious to their own interest.

“Still less would they advise them to adopt a policy of aggression towards Russia. If, however, Soviet Russia attacks them inside their legitimate frontiers, the Allies will give them every possible support.

“The Allies cannot enter into diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government, in view of their past experiences, until they have arrived at the conviction that Bolshevik horrors have come to an end and that the Government of Moscow is ready



to conform its methods and diplomatic conduct to those of all civilised Governments.

"The British and Swiss Governments were both compelled to expel representatives of the Soviet Government from their respective countries because they had abused their privileges."

The policy of ostracising Russia was carried on during the year with varying completeness by the civilised Governments. The most rigid attitude was taken up by the French and American Governments, whilst the British Government was inclined to vacillate, and the Italian Government, after Signor Giolitti came into power, were in favour of concluding full peace with the Soviet Government. Much the most important development during the latter half of the year was the very serious war which broke out between Russia and Poland, which will be found described in full elsewhere (see Poland), and it was the grave danger which thus ensued for one of the most important states created by the Paris Conference, which was the most important factor in keeping the British and Italian Governments more or less in line with French policy, which was one of consistent and determined hostility to Bolshevism and all its works. The victories over Koltchak and Denikin had enlarged the sphere of Bolshevism from the limits of Muscovy to something approaching the extent of Imperial Russia. Indeed if we tried to summarise in a sentence the most important developments in eastern Europe during the year, we should have to say that Muscovy had once more become Russia.

At the end of March the Bolsheviks took Denikin's last base at Novo-Rossisk; and General Denikin himself was forced to retire to England. Later in the year two other attempts were made by anti-Bolshevik Russians to rescue parts of Russia from Bolshevism by force of arms. The first attempt was made in the summer by General Wrangel, who started operations in the Crimea during the most active part of the campaign between the Russians and the Poles. He had some support from France. General Wrangel at first had some success and broke out from the Crimea. But in November the Bolsheviks concentrated their forces against him and he was severely defeated, and Sevastopol itself was taken. The other attempt was by a certain General Balahovitch, who attempted in the autumn to establish an independent state of White Russia, comprising the large Russian provinces lying immediately to the east of Poland; but after the conclusion of the armistice between Russia and Poland, General Balahovitch was also completely defeated by the Soviet troops. Neither General Wrangel nor General Balahovitch achieved anything approaching the success which had fallen temporarily to Admiral Koltchak and to General Denikin.

Notwithstanding the ostracism of Russia by the Allied Governments, there was not a complete lack of official inter-

course between Great Britain and Russia. Thus early in the year negotiations took place in Copenhagen between Mr. O'Grady and a certain M. Litvinoff, representing Great Britain and Russia respectively, regarding the reciprocal repatriation of Russian and British prisoners of war. These negotiations were happily brought to a successful issue, and an agreement was signed on February 11. During the summer also, a Bolshevik emissary, M. Krassin, paid two visits to London to confer with the British Government regarding the possibility of opening trade relations between the two countries, but in the circumstances existing in Russia, nothing very definite could result from such negotiations. Russia was utterly impoverished, and had few commodities which she could send in exchange for British goods, her paper money was valueless outside her own territory, individual trading had been suppressed by the Soviet authorities on principle, and, moreover, the Bolsheviks could not be trusted to abide by their own undertakings.

It would be difficult to find any parallel to the strange position occupied by Bolshevik Russia. A great nation of white men had fallen outside the brotherhood of civilisation. The Allied Governments were not formally at war with Russia, yet all ordinary international intercourse with the Soviet territory had ceased. A person designing to go to Russia was undertaking a great and most hazardous adventure. And such a journey had taken on the character of dangerous exploration in a savage country. This complete lapse from all civilised codes of thought and action was manifest in the type of warfare that was waged by the Bolsheviks. In a sense, all wars between civilised nations are civil wars. The belligerents have common standards of action, from which they do not depart, or if they do so depart, on a very small scale compared to the whole extent of the fighting (as with the German atrocities in Belgium), there is an immense outcry, and the accused party feels immediately called upon to make indignant and elaborate explanations and denials. But with African savages this was otherwise; and it was otherwise with Russian Bolsheviks. They acknowledged none of the customary standards of conduct; and the wholesale slaughter of prisoners, of civilians, of women and even children for which, according to accounts received from many different sources, they were responsible made their name a byword throughout the world, and became so well known that civilisation ceased to be surprised or even shocked at atrocities committed by Bolsheviks. Cruelty and murder, on the largest scale, were to be taken as a matter of course in Russia.

In regard to the internal condition of the country very little reliable information was available. The Soviet Government appear to have established some kind of order in the towns; life was fairly safe in the streets of Moscow and Petrograd. The success of the original Bolshevik movement in 1917 had

been achieved by undermining all respect for any kind of law and order, and for many months there was no effective government whatsoever. Every robber and murderer called himself a Communist, and used his lethal weapons as he pleased. But as time passed the Bolshevik leaders did succeed in suppressing all violence except their own, at least in the large towns. Over the more remote rural districts, however, the authority of the Soviet Government was apparently but little more than nominal. The country was not effectively policed. And the difficulties of the Government in this matter were increased by the rapid decay of the railway material inherited from Tsarist Russia, and the inability of the existing regime to replace such material. Thus communications, always bad, were now worse than ever. According to the accounts of the few travellers who emerged from Russia, the shortage of food seems to have been somewhat less severe than in 1918 and 1919, but our knowledge of this, as of other matters, was necessarily imperfect.

#### POLAND.

The year 1920 was highly eventful for Poland. When the Entente Powers re-established the Polish State at the end of the European War, they had in view, firstly, the application of the principles of historic justice, and secondly, the desire to create a strong State which should act as a protection of civilised Europe against Bolshevik Russia and should also serve to separate Russia from Germany and thus to prevent the dangerously active Communist Party in Germany receiving support from Soviet Russia. And during 1920 Poland did, in fact, serve as the centre of the resistance to the spread of Bolshevism. And, as will be seen shortly, the value of the Polish Armies proved in a striking manner the wisdom that the Allied (and particularly the French) statesmen had shown when they decided to resuscitate Poland, not as a truncated Duchy of Warsaw, but in the fulness of her provinces.

It will be remembered that the Treaty of Versailles had undone not only the work of the third and second partitions of Poland, but also very largely the work of the first great partition of Poland in 1772. Almost the whole of the Prussian province of West Prussia had been returned to Poland, so that Poland now reached to the sea to the west of the city of Danzig. And the important and prosperous province of Posen, which had been annexed by Brandenburg later than West Prussia, and had always remained more Polish than the latter province, had also been returned to Poland. In view of the events which occurred during the year, it is important to remember that these two populous and civilised provinces had been re-acquired by Poland, because the re-annexations had the effect of shifting the Polish centre of gravity westwards—of shifting it, in fact, almost to the west of Warsaw.

At the beginning of the year General Pilsudski, who had become President of the Polish Republic after the armistice in November, 1918, still held that office. M. Paderewski had been Premier for almost the whole of 1919, but in December he had been compelled to resign, owing to the fact that he had been the apologist to the Polish people of the Entente scheme to grant autonomy to Eastern Galicia, with the possibility of an eventual complete separation of that Ruthenian province from Poland. This scheme to separate Eastern Galicia was extremely unpopular both among the Polish people in general and in the Parliament at Warsaw. M. Paderewski was succeeded as Premier by M. Skulski. M. S. Patek was Foreign Minister.

During 1919 the Poles had been waging warfare almost unceasingly against the Bolsheviks, but during that year the main efforts of the Muscovites had been directed against Koltchak and Denikin, rather than against General Pilsudski's forces. There is little doubt that the great majority of the Polish people wished to re-establish the frontier against Russia as it had existed before 1772, which would, of course, have carried the Polish borders far to the east of Minsk, and to the east of Vitebsk and Mohilev, and this demand was formally adopted by the National Democratic Party in the Diet. In the matter of this particular demand, the sympathies of observers in Western Europe were divided. It was pointed out with truth that the provinces annexed by Russia in 1772 were peopled by Russians, and had been seized by Poland in the days of Russia's weakness. On the principle of nationality, therefore, these Eastern provinces belonged by right to Russia rather than to Poland. But on the other hand, it was pointed out that in the circumstances now existing, it was certainly to the advantage of these West Russian provinces to come under the alien but civilised jurisdiction of Poland, rather than to be the prey of the kindred, but now horribly degenerate, state of Muscovy.

The military operations which were proceeding in January were favourable to the Polish Armies. On January 4, a Polish Army, acting in conjunction with the Letts, captured the town of Dvinsk, which was not only an important success in itself, but had the effect of uniting the Polish and Lettish Armies which had hitherto been separated by a strip of Lithuanian territory—and Lithuania, which went in fear of Poland, was by no means whole-hearted in the anti-Bolshevik cause. At the same time the Poles advanced towards the south-east with the object of rescuing Kieff, which had fallen into the hands of the Bolsheviks after the defeat of Denikin. The advance in this direction was at first very rapid, and the town of Jitomir was captured on January 5.

During February tentative peace negotiations were opened with Russia, but at this time the majority of the leading Poles were not especially desirous of concluding peace. As already stated the National Democratic Party in the Diet desired to see the frontier of 1772 restored, but General Pilsudski himself thought that this demand would be excessive; and he advocated that a chain of buffer States should be constituted between Russia and Poland. The negotiations were prolonged through February and March, but without any definite result.

After the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles on January 15, Poland was authorised by the Supreme Council to take over the part of the Province of West Prussia, as far as the sea-coast north-west of Danzig, which had been definitely ceded by Germany under the terms of the Treaty. The great German fortress city of Thorn was entered by a body of Polish cavalry on January 18, and the Polish troops of occupation then marched slowly forwards towards the coast, which they were due to reach on February 5. The coast-line thus acquired by Poland was over 40 miles in length. The German Governor of Thorn, in leaving the city, reminded his compatriots there that Thorn had been built by the Germans, though they were now obliged to leave it. He bade them, however, to be of good cheer, and to look forward to the dawn of a brighter day.

The peace negotiations with Russia having produced no results, the Polish Government prepared in April to march eastward and take possession of the provinces which they had not obtained by negotiation and which were suffering from the Bolshevik terror. For ten days in the latter half of April the Polish western frontiers were closed to ordinary postal, telegraphic, and railway traffic; and great preparations for an offensive were made. On April 27 the blow was delivered, the chief offensive being undertaken south of the Pripet marshes. This offensive in the south was undertaken in combination with the Army of the weakly Ukrainian Republic, which was still under the command of General Petlura. Jitomir (which had been lost since January) was taken in the first rush, and a portion of Russia's diminishing supply of rolling stock was captured; it was stated that 160 locomotives and over 2,000 trucks were taken. The Polish Army was largely composed of cavalry and the advance was very rapid; by May 3 the cavalry had reached the town of Fastoff, situated less than 40 miles from Kieff. And it was also announced in Warsaw on May 3 that 25,000 prisoners, 105 guns, many machine-guns, 2 armoured trains, and much other war material had been taken. As the Poles approached Kieff the Russians resisted more strongly, and the advance was less rapid. The Poles were flushed with their preliminary victories, however, and they entered the Ukrainian capital in triumph on May 8. The duty of keeping order in Kieff was given over at once to Petlura's troops.

It was stated in Polish circles in London that a definite

agreement had been concluded between Poland and Ukraina in regard to the division of territory in the event of the success of the new offensive. It was stated that the Polish Government had informed the Russian Government that they would demand the right of self-determination for all the peoples west of the frontier of 1772. A great stretch of country south of the Pripet, towards the Rumanian frontier, was to be given to Ukraina. The latter country, however, resigned (or was said to resign), in favour of Poland, its claims to Eastern Galicia, and also its claims to the western district of Volhynia known as Polesia, which included the important towns of Luck and Kovel—names which will be well remembered by those who followed the course of the Russo-German campaign in 1915 and 1916.

The success of the Polish offensive and in particular the capture of Kieff, produced a highly important reaction in Russia. During January, February, and March the war had not been pressed very vigorously by either side, though it should be remembered that there had been nothing in the nature of a definite armistice between the two countries, and that the April offensive of the Poles had been in no sense a deliberate commencement of a new war. When, however, the Russians realised the seriousness of the Polish attack they made a great effort to concentrate troops in the west; and this they were able to do effectively because they had now freed themselves from the entanglements with Koltchak and Denikin. The Bolsheviks at first concentrated their reserves on the northern part of the front, and launched a counter-offensive between the Dnieper and the Dvina. This first counter-attack took place on May 18, and during the latter half of May there was serious fighting with varying success in this region. It must be remembered that the character of the Polish demands had tended to stimulate the opposition of many Russians who were not Bolsheviks, since great districts to the west of the 1772 line, in regard to which Poland was now claiming the right to dictate, were peopled (and as a matter of fact had always been peopled) by a large majority of Russians, notwithstanding that the territories in question had once belonged to Poland. Even Russians who were not Bolsheviks could hardly be expected to desire that these Russian provinces should be placed under a foreign Power.

During June the fighting was continued actively with varying success, and in the meantime there was a change of Government in Warsaw. M. Skulski resigned; and a non-party Government was formed by M. Grabski who had been Minister of Finance in the former Cabinet. Prince Sapieha became Minister for Foreign Affairs. Several of the Ministers in M. Skulski's Cabinet retained their positions, including General Leshniewski (Minister of War), M. Lopuszanski, and M. Bartel.

By the end of June the situation was becoming somewhat

serious, as the weight of the Russian numbers was making itself felt in the north, notwithstanding that General Wrangel (see Russia) was now making a diversion in the south of Russia. Kieff was again lost by the Poles, and on July 10 it was announced that the Russians were approaching the railway junction of Sarny. M. Grabski went to the Conference at Spa in order to endeavour to obtain the assistance of the Allied Governments. Early in July it was announced that the whole Polish Army, which was stretched along a front of about 500 miles, from the Dvina in the north to the Rumanian frontier in the south, had been ordered to retire. And in the south the retirement appears to have taken place under difficult circumstances, for the Poles were there being harried by the famous Russian cavalry leader, General Budenny, who captured Rovno by a very sudden advance. It appears to have been the first intention of the Polish military authorities to retire to the old German positions in Russia, which, it will be remembered, ran (north of the Pripet) past Molodetchno, Baranovitchi, and Pinsk; but on reaching the old German line they were unable to defend it and were driven farther west. Minsk was taken by the Russians on July 11, and Sarny fell on the following day. The Poles retook Rovno, but lost it a second time twenty-four hours later.

The result of M. Grabski's visit to Spa was that the Allied Governments decided to interfere on behalf of Poland; and the British Government took the initiative in the matter. The British Government sent a note to the Russian Government requesting that an armistice should be concluded with Poland, and at the same time proposing that the Polish Army should retire behind the provisional eastern frontier of Poland which had been laid down by the Peace Conference in 1919. It was not until this development took place that this provisional eastern frontier of Poland was made known. The frontier proposed by the Allies was far to the west of the line of 1772, and accorded fairly well with the ethnographic boundary. It began at Grodno in the north, on the southern border of Lithuania, ran to Bialystok, then to the Bug at Brest-Litovsk, then along the course of the Bug to the old Austrian frontier west of Sokol, then south past Przemyśl (being about 20 miles to the east of that fortress), to the Carpathian Mountains. The British note also suggested that the Russian Army should halt 50 kilometres to the east of the Polish line. At the same time the British Government informed the Poles that they would have to accept the decisions of the Supreme Council on the Danzig question and on the problem of Teschen.

During the four weeks which succeeded this first British offer to Russia, negotiations were prolonged in an extraordinary manner by the uncertainty—probably the calculated uncertainty—of the Soviet Government. And in the meantime the Bolshevik armies continued to press forward with considerable

rapidity. And the advance of the Russians was hastened by the permission which they obtained from the Lithuanian Government to pass through the north-eastern district of Lithuania, and through the town of Vilna itself, which had been occupied by the Poles, the Lithuanian Government being in Kovno. Mr. Lloyd George sent an offer to the Russian Government suggesting that a general Peace Conference should be held in London, at which the Bolshevik Government, the Polish Government, and the Governments of the small border States should be represented. The British Prime Minister did not suggest, however, that General Wrangel or any other anti-Bolshevik Russian leader should be represented; and in this respect the new British offer was more favourable to the Soviet than suggestions which had been made previously, and came very near to a *de facto* recognition of M. Lenin's Government as the Government of All Russia.

On July 20 it was announced, however, that Mr. Lloyd George's proposals had been rejected by the Bolsheviks. The Russians stated that they objected to any further conferences with the Baltic States since they had already made peace with those countries. In regard to Poland herself, the Russian Government stated that the frontier proposed by the British was actually unfair to Poland, and that in direct negotiation with that country, Russia would grant her a more favourable frontier. The Bolsheviks also declined to accept any kind of conditions in regard to General Wrangel or any other "White" Russian leader, and demanded that these leaders and their followers should surrender unconditionally.

This note from Russia was the more remarkable because the British conditions had already been accepted by the Polish Government, notwithstanding that the proposals involved the retirement of the Polish Army over a distance of more than 100 miles in the east, and the abandonment of Vilna to Lithuania in the north. The refusal of the Russians to accept such relatively favourable terms was probably due to an intention on their part to advance very much farther west than either Poland or the Allies would voluntarily permit. The Russians were probably only playing for time. The reply of the British Government was to ask for further particulars as to the intentions of the Russians. This move was necessary since, on the face of the matter, the Russian proposal was discourteous to the Allies rather than unfavourable to Poland.

On July 14 Vilna was evacuated by the Poles, and order was preserved in the town for a short time by Lithuanian troops. But a few days later the Russians arrived, and the Lithuanians surrendered their capital, in accordance with their arrangement with Russia, without resistance. Having captured Vilna the Russian troops struck south and did not penetrate any farther into Lithuania. Their advance was very rapid, and on July 21 they entered the town of Grodno, 100 miles



south-west of Vilna—Grodno being just outside the north-east corner of Poland as defined by the Supreme Council. This advance brought the Russians to within 60 miles of the German frontier. On the Polish right wing, too, the Russians gained successes, and on July 22 they forced a passage of the river Styr, and entered Galicia. In view of the character of the Russian offer, the British Government advised the Poles to accept the Russian suggestion of direct negotiations for an armistice. But there was considerable anxiety in Western Europe as to whether the Bolshevik offer was sincerely meant, or whether the Russians were merely protracting the negotiations until they had advanced farther into Poland, and even taken Warsaw—a possibility which could no longer be ignored. There was great political agitation in Warsaw and suggestions were made for the formation of a new Ministry. On July 23 Russian cavalry reached the neighbourhood of the German frontier at Augustovo, but they were subsequently compelled to retire.

On July 22 an Allied Mission of advice left Paris for Warsaw. The most important member of the Mission was General Weygand (one of Marshal Foch's best-known staff officers) who went in the capacity of military adviser.

On July 24 the Russian Government issued a wireless message that they had instructed their supreme military command to enter into negotiations for an armistice; but at the same time the Russians continued their great military activity, and speaking in Moscow on July 24 M. Trotsky made a most bellicose speech. He said that Poland would shortly cease to be a defensive buffer for Western Europe against Russia, and would become instead a bridge by means of which the social revolution could spread from Russia to Western Europe. "That is why the Entente is feverishly increasing its assistance to Poland. That is why we on our side must treble our efforts in order to face the Entente, before they can send any army corps, with the absolute destruction of the White Seigneurs, a destruction which will be irreparable and hopeless."

In the meantime a special "War Cabinet" was formed in Warsaw, with M. Witosh at its head. There were only four other members of the Cabinet, these being M. Daszynski (Deputy Premier), M. Grabski, M. Skulski, and Prince Sapieha, who remained Minister for Foreign Affairs. M. Witosh declared that the policy of the New Cabinet was to defend the full independence of the Polish Republic and conclude a just and lasting peace. The Cabinet received the support of all parties in the Diet.

On July 25 the Allied Mission, including General Weygand and Lord D'Abernon (British Minister in Berlin), arrived in Warsaw. The arrival of the Mission gave new encouragement to the Poles; but at the same time an unfortunate incident occurred at Danzig. A Dutch vessel, the *Triton*, arrived at

the port with a cargo of 150,000 rifles sent by the Allied Governments for the Polish Army, but difficulty and delay occurred through the action of the Danzig dockers, who refused to unload the vessel. The result was to delay the receipt of arms sorely needed by the Polish Army, and was the more culpable on the part of the Danzigers in that the Treaty of Versailles secured the use of the Port of Danzig to the Poles.

The situation was becoming more critical hourly, and on July 27 the Russians took Pinsk, and crossed the boundary of Poland as now defined by the Supreme Council. And at the end of July some indication was given of the sort of terms which the Russians would have liked to impose upon Poland, by the publication of a series of definite demands in a Bolshevik paper in Kieff. These demands were as follows:—

1. Poland to give up Vilna, Minsk, Grodno, and Kholm.
2. Poland must hand over all war material, and furnish as an indemnity a quantity of live stock, salt, manufactured articles, machinery, and 70 per cent. of her railway rolling stock.
3. At the end of twelve months Poland will be allowed to decide on her form of government, but until that time a Soviet regime will be instituted.
4. The military occupation of Poland to last five years.
5. All salt and coal mines in Poland to be handed over to the Russian Soviets as guarantees of good behaviour.

During the last few days of July the Russian advance was very rapid. They took Ossowiec, Suwalki, and Lomza, and once more entered Augustowo. The Russian troops marched west within 3 miles of the German frontier, and reports from German sources said that the sound of the Russian and Polish guns could be heard in the villages of East Prussia. The French officers in Warsaw were authorised by their own Government to take an active part in organising the defence of the Polish capital. General Pilsudski himself went to the south-east front to take charge of the defence of Lemberg. And every possible effort was made to enlist in the Army every Pole capable of bearing arms, for it was obvious that the capital was now in imminent peril. On July 30 the Polish officers who were authorised to conclude an armistice were at last allowed to cross the Russian lines; and the site of the negotiations was fixed at Baranovitchi.

On August 3, however, when the Russians had advanced still farther, it was announced that the armistice negotiations had been postponed by the Russians on the ground that Polish delegates had been only authorised to negotiate conditions of an armistice, and not conditions for a *de*. The unfortunate Polish delegates returned to Warsaw on instructions from their Government. On August 10 the Russian Army entered Brest-Litovsk; and the Russians established a Soviet regime in the part of Poland they had conquered. The head of the new Soviet Government was

occupied Poland was a certain M. J. Marklevski. The Polish Soviet called upon the working classes in all Poland to rise against General Pilsudski. The Russian Government sent out a message stating that they were willing to begin negotiations for a definite peace at Minsk.

After it became clear that the Russians had crossed the boundary of Poland as laid down by the Supreme Council, it was definitely announced by the British Government that the Allies would give active support to Poland in the defence of her independence. At the beginning of August it was fully realised both in London and in Paris that the position was extremely grave. At this time a certain M. Kameneff and other emissaries of the Russian Government were in London, but Mr. Lloyd George was unable to induce them to agree to any definite plan for the conclusion of an armistice, though the Russian Government were careful to refrain from breaking off negotiations altogether. At the beginning of August, too, Mr. Lloyd George and M. Millerand held a conference at Hythe on the Polish situation. Field-Marshal Foch accompanied the French Prime Minister to Hythe. M. Millerand and Field-Marshal Foch left England on August 9. It was decided to help Poland with munitions, but not to send Allied troops to Warsaw.

On August 6 the Polish Government issued an appeal to the world, which was worded as follows:—

“The armistice proposed by Poland to Soviet Russia has been rejected. The Soviet Government acted throughout deceitfully, freely altering messages, refusing to allow the Polish delegates to communicate with their Government, and delaying negotiations so as to make them fruitless. Poland did all in her power to settle the questions in dispute with the Soviets in accordance with the principles of justice and civilisation. Poland’s wish, as well as the wish of the world, as expressed by the leaders of the democratic Governments of Western Europe and by the public opinion of those democracies, has been frustrated. The Soviets pretended to be willing to meet these wishes. But, first, they delayed the date of the commencement of negotiations for a week, only to tell the Polish delegates finally that they wished to discuss not only an armistice, but also peace, and that their powers were therefore not full enough. The Soviets want to gain time; they want to take Warsaw and dictate their terms of peace to a defeated Poland. The Polish nation will never accept a humiliating peace, but will defend herself to the last.

people of Poland, peasants and workmen, are now *masse* to the flag, and have decided to surrender only at the cost of their own blood, and to permit water the city only over their bodies. The remember the massacre of the suburb of committed by Catherine the Great’s remember how the French people de-

fended Paris before the victorious Prussian Army in the days of 1871. The nations of the world cannot be heedless to the bloodshed which threatens to overwhelm not only Poland but also threatens the rights of men and nations to free and independent existence.

"Poland is being accused of Imperialism, but, from the moment the world recognised her independence, Poland was continually forced to fight for her life. The armistice was not yet signed at Spa, 1918, when Lemberg, a truly Polish city, had to fight for her existence against an enemy led by an Austrian archduke. At the same time the Soviet Armies took Lithuania and threatened to march on Warsaw, through the Polish corridor to the German frontier, and then through Germany on to the Rhine. Trotsky announced that the Cossacks of the Red Army would water their horses in the Rhine. All these attacks have been repulsed. Lemberg was saved actually by children. The Bolshevik invaders of Lithuania were thrown back. The Polish commander, Joseph Pilsudski, issued a proclamation announcing that the people of that country could determine their own future. He then captured Dunaburg and Latgalia, and ceded these conquests to Lettland, which had already proclaimed her independence. He announced agrarian reforms for Lithuania and reopened the University of Vilna.

"It has been said that by doing so he has been merely obeying the wishes of the great landlords. In reality enclosure of common lands by great landowners has been expressly forbidden and the prohibition enforced, common lands being preserved for the peasantry. Such is the so-called Polish Imperialism. In the hard struggle to found national independence fought in the last twenty months under the most adverse economic conditions, the Polish nation received her first Diet elected on the basis of universal suffrage, initiated a scheme of far-reaching social reforms, and finally nominated a Government at whose head stands a peasant representative of the biggest peasant party in Poland, with next to him a leader of Polish workmen.

"In this critical hour of her decisive struggle Poland turns to the nations of the world to tell them that Poland fights for her life under the standard of freedom and progress, and that her fall would be due not only to overbearing might, but also to the indifference of a world which calls itself democratic and freedom-loving, a world of principles of liberty for individuals and nations. Can the conscience of the world look on at the crimes to be committed on the Vistula by the former generals of Nicholas II. acting under the orders of former generals of William II.? At this most tragic hour, and in view of our endless misery, in view of the crime to be committed on the Vistula, we are making your conscience, the conscience of the nations of the world, responsible. Your indifference can,

as in 1772, 1795, 1831, and 1863, allow these troops of the East to destroy the beginnings of a freedom which, founded on the ruins of the Cæsarism of Nicholas and William, may now disappear beneath Bolshevik Imperialism. May your conscience stir you into action.

"If Polish freedom dies, to-morrow yours will be threatened. Think how the fall of Poland may become the commencement of a new world-war. A Bolshevik victory on the Vistula threatens all Western Europe; a new world-war hangs over the world like a storm-cloud. Wake up, nations of the world. Humanity, justice, and truth call you. You hesitate? Are you afraid of war? It will come to you as it came to us. When it is on your threshold, it will be too late to save yourselves. Not only our, but also your, future is at stake to-day on the Vistula."

During the next week, every day, almost every hour, brought important news; and in London and Paris the situation was likened to that other situation six years earlier when, in the early days of September, the German Armies were advancing upon Paris. Realising the importance of the Polish communications with the coast, the Russians struck west along the German frontier through the town of Przasnysz at the main railway running from Warsaw to Danzig. Przasnysz was occupied by the Russians on August 8; and on the same day, on the Polish right wing, the town of Vladimir-Volhynsk was also lost. A few days later the Russians cut the main Danzig railway at Ciechanow and Mlawa. Farther south the Russians were not so near Warsaw, but they captured Ostrolenka on August 9. On the extreme right wing of the Polish Army, the Russians were still 50 miles from Lemberg.

On August 10 Mr. Lloyd George made known the terms of peace which the Russians proposed to offer Poland. These terms included *inter alia*: (1) The reduction of the Polish Army to an annual contingent of 50,000 men, with a permanent force of only 10,000 men; (2) the demobilisation of the existing Polish Army within one month; (3) all surplus arms in excess of the requirements of the Army as above reduced to be handed over to Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraina; (4) all war industries to be demobilised; (5) no troops or war materials to be sent to Poland from abroad; and other items. On the other hand, the Russian Government agreed to withdraw Russian and Soviet Ukrainian troops from the Polish front as the Polish Army was demobilised. And the Russians agreed that the permanent frontier of Poland in the east should be somewhat more favourable to Poland than the line fixed by the Supreme Council. The Russians proposed that if an armistice were concluded, the Russian Army should halt on the line which it had then reached, and that the Polish Army should retire 50 versts farther west, the intervening zone to be neutral territory.

It was announced that peace negotiations should begin at

Minsk on August 11, but owing to further procrastination on the part of the Russians the meeting did not take place on that day.

Whilst these events were taking place, the Polish Government were making great efforts to defend their capital, and they were well supported by the people in general, and many thousands of volunteers rushed to the colours. General Weygand was asked by the Government to take supreme control of the Polish Armies, under the formal headship of President Pilsudski. General Weygand said that he was unable thus to become Chief of the General Staff, but that he was very willing to act as General Military Adviser.

On August 12 the Russians took Pultusk, 30 miles from Warsaw, and during the following few days they advanced almost to the eastern suburbs of the capital. On the north they struck at the great fortress town of Novo-Georgievsk. It should be explained that although the Poles had lost the direct railway to Danzig, they still controlled the more westerly line running through Thorn. The Russians, however, pressed forwards, and on August 14 they occupied Soldau, a town in that part of West Prussia which had now been ceded to Poland. And the Soviet troops advanced so far west that they were able to shell trains on the Warsaw-Thorn-Danzig railway. Thorn itself, however, was crowded with volunteers from among the Polish population of the annexed parts of West Prussia. On August 13 the Russians occupied Sierock, less than 20 miles from Warsaw. On August 13 also the Franco-British Mission—or rather the civilian members thereof—moved from Warsaw to Posen.

It may be appropriate to point out here that serious as the situation was, it was not so serious as it would have been if that shifting of Poland's centre of gravity westward, to which reference has already been made, had not taken place. In many respects the province of Posen was the most civilised and most important province of Poland, and even if Warsaw had fallen, the Poles might still have been able to make a successful resistance, based upon their small but very solid western province. Warsaw was not actually the Poles' last line of defence.

On August 14 the Russians reached the small village of Okuniew, situated only 12 miles east of Warsaw. This was the nearest approach of the enemy to the Polish capital; and the Polish communiqué of August 14 announced that a counter-offensive had been set in motion north-west of Warsaw, in the district of Plonsk. On August 16 the Poles announced that this northern counter-offensive was proceeding successfully, and that 120 munition wagons had already been captured.

The situation which had arisen bore a real and not merely an imaginary likeness to the situation before Paris in September, 1914. It appears that after their defeats far to the east of Warsaw the Poles had deliberately retreated very rapidly, and

had at the same time formed new and fairly large armies in the immediate vicinity of Warsaw. The Russians on their side supposed that they had won the final victory, and advanced a great deal too fast. When, therefore, the Poles were in a position to deliver their counter-offensive, the Russians were in a disorganised condition and were not prepared to meet the unexpected attack. The blow was struck at the two wings of the Russian Army. In the north, picked troops based upon Novo-Georgievsk, and under the command of General Sikorski, struck due north towards the German frontier. And on the extreme right wing of the Polish Army, General Pilsudski himself led an attack against the Russian troops who had been advancing upon Lemberg—including General Budenny's cavalry divisions.

The disorganised and unsuspecting Russian troops were taken by surprise much in the same manner as v. Kluck's Army was caught in the flank in September, 1914; and the results were even more disastrous for the invading force. In the north, the Polish offensive won quick and remarkable successes. The main body of the Russian troops on the Polish left were driven back on the Warsaw-Mława-Danzig railway, and on the evening of the 18th Ciechanow was retaken by the Poles. It will be remembered that a large body of Russian cavalry had advanced far to the west, to the more westerly railway to Danzig; owing to the vigour of the Polish attack this advanced body of Russians was caught in a trap. They had been making a successful advance into the so-called Polish corridor leading to the sea-coast west of Danzig, and had been quite unconscious of the strength of the new Polish force at Novo-Georgievsk. When the news spread to the Russians that the Poles had launched this new offensive, the cavalry troops in the north beat a hasty retreat along the German frontier, and the pressure on Thorn was therefore immediately relieved. But the retreat was not sufficiently rapid to escape the spear head of the Polish attack from the south, and large numbers of the Bolshevik cavalry found their retreat completely cut off. Thirty thousand Russian troops crossed the German frontier in this district and were duly disarmed.

The success that the Poles obtained, not only on their left but also on their right, east of Lemberg, enabled them to advance also in their centre. And on August 23 the Polish General Staff were able to announce that they had captured 200 guns and 35,000 prisoners. And so precipitate was the retreat in the centre, that on August 21 the Polish Army once more entered Brest-Litovsk. The ground over which the battles were being fought was, of course, that over which that other and greater Russian Army had retired five years earlier, and in many respects history was again repeating itself. Now, as in 1915, the Russian Army was utterly broken; now, as in 1915, the retreat was extremely rapid; and now, as in 1915,

there was every prospect that by retreating into their vast country the Russians would be able to reform their armies. The advance was continued rapidly in all directions, but in the north there was a new development, because the Lithuanian Government, seeing that the Russians were compelled to retire, decided to take action on their own account; and accordingly Lithuanian troops occupied Vilna on August 24 in order to prevent it once more falling into the hands of the Poles.

In the meantime the Peace Conference at Minsk was opened on August 17; and a surprising revelation then took place. In the Russian terms which had been transmitted to Mr. Lloyd George there had been a reference to a civic militia, for whom, as well as for the small Regular Army, the Poles were to be entitled to retain arms. But in the terms as given to the Poles at Minsk, the clauses relating to this civic militia (which had appeared from the version given to Mr. Lloyd George to be an ordinary military police force) were greatly enlarged. It appeared that this so-called civic militia which Russia proposed to force Poland to establish, was in reality to be a force of armed Trades Unionists, 200,000 strong, organised after the regular Soviet pattern. And the Russians therefore contemplated that this Trade-Unionist Soviet force should be far more powerful than the truncated Polish Army remaining under the control of the Polish Government. The clauses relating to this Soviet force were evidently part of the scheme to foist Bolshevism upon Poland. The fact that a false version of the terms had been given to Mr. Lloyd George caused great resentment in English political circles. At the time that the real character of the Russian terms was made known, Mr. Lloyd George was in conference with Signor Giolitti at Lucerne, and in view of this development the British and Italian Prime Ministers issued a statement that they considered that the Russian terms constituted an attempt "to impose on Poland conditions incompatible with national independence." And the statement continued that "the Government of Poland is based on the choice of the whole adult male population of the country without distinction of class, and this so-called civil army, to be drawn from one class only, which is referred to in the fourth condition of the Soviet terms, is only an indirect method of organising a force to overthrow by violence this democratic constitution and substituting for it the despotism of a privileged few who may have absorbed the doctrines of Bolshevism." And the proclamation further stated that the withholding of these important particulars from the British Government was a gross breach of faith; and the Prime Ministers pertinently remarked that "negotiations of any kind with a Government which so lightly treats its word become difficult, if not impossible."

Fortunately the successes of the Polish Armies made it quite impossible for the Russians to think of enforcing their



terms upon the Warsaw Government. The Russian Army lost nearly 100,000 men in prisoners alone during the second half of August. And towards the end of the month, also, the arrival of Allied warships at Danzig cleared up the situation in regard to the forwarding of arms to the Poles. Indeed, in the circumstances which had now arisen it is somewhat surprising that the Poles consented to continue the negotiations. The Warsaw Government were desirous of peace, however, and the character of their demands may be judged from the following statement made by the Polish delegates at Minsk on August 19:—

“The Delegation of the Polish Republic has arrived at Minsk for the purpose of fixing the conditions of the armistice and of a peace, which will put an end to the war between Poland and the Soviet Republic. The war was imposed on Poland when the Government of the Soviets, after having taken at the end of 1918 the lands of White Lithuania and Ruthenia, and after having imposed the Soviet regime on them, directed its troops on to the ethnographic territory of Poland, with the clear object of marching on Warsaw and imposing a Soviet regime on Poland against the will of her people. The Polish Republic, menaced in its liberty and its recently won independence, was compelled to resist the Bolshevik invasion.

“Our troops occupied territories formerly attached to Poland, not with an imperialistic object but in view of the right of self-determination of peoples. The population of these countries in manifold petitions asked to be reunited to Poland. On his entry into Vilna, Marshal Pilsudski announced that the people of Lithuania would decide their own fate. Poland helped Lettland to deliver Dunaburg (Dvinsk), and immediately restored it to the Lettish Republic, in conformity with its wishes. The Polish Diet prepared peace conditions, which proclaim the oblivion of the past for Russia and Poland, and Russia's renunciation of the Tsar's sanguinary inheritance, and has proposed basing the question of White Ruthenia and Lithuania and Ukraina on the will of the populations.

“When that hope failed, the Polish troops arrived in Ukraina and White Russia, in the name of the principles above mentioned, recognised Ukraina's right to independence, and guaranteed her self-determination. The facts above mentioned clearly prove that the relations between Poland and the other nations have always been based on the principle of the recognition of the rights of all peoples to liberty and self-determination, and also of the dependence of the choice of a regime on the will of the majority of the people.

“The Diet and the Republic of Poland, composed in a great measure of peasants and workmen, which has shown its democratic character by voting the Agrarian Reform Law and the Eight Hours' Working Day Law, has given proof of the direction it intends to give to Poland's policy. At the commencement

of 1919 the Diet published a declaration saying that Poland was making war solely to ensure her liberty and her frontiers.

"As to the purely Russian territories, Poland was not able to apply Imperialism to them, for the foot of a Polish soldier never touched Russian soil. The Government of the Soviet Republic acted in the opposite sense; taking advantage of the weakening of Poland, it invaded purely Polish territories and menaced Warsaw. It published manifestoes and proclamations announcing the introduction of the Soviet regime into Poland, notwithstanding the protestations of the Polish population. The Soviet Government did all that, although the fate of the war was not yet decided.

"The Government of Poland sincerely desires peace with the Soviet Republic in the interests of the two nations and of humanity, exhausted by a prolonged war. This peace will be possible and durable, if it is just and if it is the result of an agreement between the two nations, in which mutual consideration will be given to the following points: The political and economic interests, the sovereignty and complete independence of the Republic of Poland within the frontiers indispensable for her economic and political development, the guarantee that Russia will not interfere in the internal questions of Poland; such are the principal conditions of our peace terms.

"In the future Poland has no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of other nations and States, and it fully recognises the principle that every people has a right to govern itself, according to its desires. In the hope that these principles will be admitted, and that a durable, just, and democratic peace will result therefrom for both nations, the Polish delegation approaches the negotiations for the armistice conditions and the principles of the peace."

After the Polish victories in August, there was no very serious rally on the part of the Bolsheviks, and indeed at the beginning of September the Russians suffered a crowning disaster in the crushing defeat of General Budenny's cavalry force. It appears that after the general defeat of the Russians, Budenny received orders to turn his forces north from Lemberg and to cover the Russian retreat; but the cavalry leader decided not to obey the orders of the Russian supreme command. Instead of obeying orders, he made a dash for Lemberg on his own responsibility and succeeded in getting within 12 miles of the Galician capital. Here, however, he became entangled with a much stronger Polish force which took him not only in the front but also in the flanks, and the Poles claimed that the Russian cavalry divisions had been almost completely destroyed. Budenny himself was wounded.

The Polish advance continued throughout September, and the railway junction of Kovel was taken on September 13. The advance in the south was very rapid, and Luck was taken on September 16. On the north also the advance continued,

and Grodno was taken on September 27. Two days later the Polish cavalry were reported to be in the neighbourhood of Lida, 60 miles beyond Grodno. The advance of the Poles led to a serious complication with the Lithuanian Government. It will be remembered that before the Bolshevik advance in July the Poles had been in occupation of Vilna and the surrounding district. When the Bolsheviks were compelled to retire, the Lithuanians took the opportunity to occupy the old historic capital of their country. Vilna had, however, always been claimed by the Poles, and the Polish leaders and the people of Warsaw therefore viewed with considerable chagrin the fact that their advancing armies had been forestalled in Vilna by a third party. Hence all through September there was friction of a most serious character between Poland and Lithuania; and on more than one occasion the troops of the two countries came into conflict with one another. The situation developed in an extraordinary manner at the beginning of October. In alliance with the Poles and forming part of the Polish Army there was a large White Russian (White Ruthenian) contingent, led by a certain General Zeligowski. Now in the province of Vilna, the White Russians<sup>1</sup> were the largest single nationality, and this was in fact one of the grounds upon which the Poles urged their claim to the country. The White Russians on their own part claimed that they had a better right to Vilna than the Poles had. And consequently on October 9, General Zeligowski suddenly marched upon Vilna, and since his force was much better armed than the Lithuanian troops, he entered the capital the same day without difficulty. General Zeligowski's *coup* was carried out without the formal approval of the Warsaw Government, but probably not without their connivance. This action on the part of the White Russians led to further and more serious conflicts between the Poles and the Lithuanians, but fortunately the League of Nations intervened and an armistice was concluded between the two countries (see Lithuania).

Whilst this new quarrel was arising with Lithuania, the Poles were continuing successfully their negotiations with the Russian Government. At the end of August the Polish Government recalled their delegates from Minsk, but they did not break off the negotiations. Having obtained the consent of the Lettish Government, the Poles suggested that the site of the negotiations should be shifted to Riga, and on September 14 the Polish delegation again left Warsaw, this time for Lettland. The first meeting of the Peace Conference took

<sup>1</sup>The reader may be reminded that in contemporary parlance the term "White Russian" meant two entirely different things. It was applied in the first place to the people and dialect of the Minsk-Vilna district. This was, of course, the historic meaning of the term. But in the previous three years the term "Red" had become the nickname of the Bolshevik Party, and hence those Russians who were Anti-Socialist, or at all events Anti-Bolshevik, had come to be known as "White" Russians.

place at Riga on September 21, the head of the Polish delegation being M. Dombiski and the head of the Russian delegation being M. Yoffe. Whilst the negotiations were taking place, the Polish Army continued to advance, and at the end of September Pinsk and Baranovitchi were captured, the Poles thus reaching the old German line of defence in Russia. Negotiations not only for an armistice but also for a definite Peace Treaty were undertaken at Riga. And in view of the Russian defeats, it came as no surprise when it was announced, on October 11, that the Russians had accepted all the more important Polish demands.

The armistice and the preliminary Peace Treaty were signed at Riga on October 12. The terms were extremely favourable to Poland. The new frontier to which Russia had been forced to agree lay far to the east of the frontier as laid down by the Supreme Council. In the north Poland obtained direct access to Lettland on the Dvina above Dvinsk, Lithuania thus being completely cut off from Russia. It will be remembered that whereas Poland was on bad terms with Lithuania, she was on good terms with Lettland. Minsk remained just outside Polish territory, but the Poles obtained Baranovitchi, Pinsk, Kovel, Rovno, and the whole extent of the important Baranovitchi-Rovno railway. In the south-east the border of Galicia once more became an international frontier, as in the days of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires.

Poland, as now redefined, was a country half as large again as the Poland of the Curzon Line, even supposing that all the territory claimed by Lithuania ultimately became attached to that country. The area of new Poland was about 150,000 square miles, and its population was just under 30,000,000, of whom about two-thirds were Poles. The country contained nearly 6,000,000 Russians (of various dialects—Little Russian, White Russian, etc.) and over 3,000,000 Jews.

The frontier was as good as most that had been suggested. Some would criticise the new eastern line on the ground that it had been pushed farther east than was strictly justifiable ethnographically. Others would regret that only 6,000,000 Russians had been saved by Polish civilisation from the horrible degradation of Bolshevism.

The Treaty committed Russia to a recognition of White Russia and Ukraina as separate entities. But this recognition was only nominal, since it left the Muscovites free to interfere and establish Soviet institutions in those great provinces. Indeed, they had already established a Soviet Government in Ukraina, and a representative of that Government took part in the negotiations at Riga. Poland had saved herself, but had felt incapable of pressing the claims of her erstwhile friends and allies, General Petlura and General Balahovitch. Indeed, the latter had to hasten out of Polish territory before the armistice came into force on October 19, since otherwise he and

his men would have been disarmed. The Treaty of Riga was ratified by both the Polish and Russian Governments before the end of October.

During July the plebiscites in the Allenstein and Marienwerder districts, which were to take place under the authority of the Treaty of Versailles in order to settle whether those districts should belong to Poland or to Germany, were duly held. In both districts over 90 per cent. of the votes cast were in favour of Germany.

In the autumn of 1919 the British Government sent a mission to Poland, under the leadership of Sir Stuart Samuel, to investigate the charges of cruelty and oppression brought by Polish Jews against the Polish people and Government. The mission issued a long report in July. It was found that, during the first few months of Polish independence, the Polish populace had given vent to their hatred of the Jews, and that about 350 Jews had been killed in various parts of the country. The police appear to have been not free from blame in this matter. But the report stated that as the power of the Warsaw Government became consolidated, the murders ceased and the oppression decreased.

The polling in the plebiscite area of Upper Silesia—claimed by Germany and Poland—had not taken place at the end of the year.

The rise of Poland almost to the position of a potential Great Power must be regarded as the most important event in the history of Europe during the year.

#### LITHUANIA.

Lithuania was essentially a more important country than either Estland or Lettland. Within the prospective boundaries of Lithuania there existed a population of about 5,000,000, or about double the population of either Estland or Lettland. The population of Lithuania also differed from that of the two minor States in that it was mainly Roman Catholic. The Lithuanians hoped that their country when definitely established would include at least the old Russian Imperial Governments of Vilna, Kovno, and Suwalki. The Lithuanians, however, had been less successful in establishing their State on a firm basis than had their northern neighbours. They were unfortunate in being on unfriendly terms not only with Russia but also with Poland.

During 1919 they had been nearly overwhelmed by the Russians, and they had only been saved from destruction by a strange assortment of armies—Polish, Lettish, German, and minor contingents of other nationalities. The Polish aid was, of course, the most important, but the Lithuanians found the Poles dangerous allies; and during the course of their operations against the Russians, the Poles occupied the city and province

of Vilna, to which they laid claim. The Lithuanian Government were therefore established at Kovno, instead of at Vilna, the historic capital of the country. The head of the Government was Mr. A. Smetona.

It is perhaps appropriate to mention here that whilst the Lithuanians were in a majority in Kovno and Suvalki, the largest single nationality in the province of Vilna was the so-called White Russians; and in the city of Vilna itself, the Poles claimed to be the largest nationality. The White Russians were not really a distinct nationality from the Russians proper. The White Russian tongue was only a dialect of Russian; and indeed White Russia bore much the same relationship to Russia that, for instance, Catalonia did to Spain.

At the beginning of May elections were held for the Diet in the part of the country under the control of the Kovno Government. It was stated that 112 deputies were elected, among whom the Clericals had a majority over all other parties combined. The Socialists obtained only thirteen seats; and the Polish Separatists only three seats.

The defeats suffered by the Polish Army in July, during the war with Russia, led to serious complications between Lithuania and Poland. Being alarmed at the defeat of their armies, the Poles endeavoured to obtain assistance from Lithuania; and the Warsaw Government offered to return Vilna to Lithuania, on condition that a close union was established between Lithuania as a whole and Poland. The offer was not an especially attractive one to Lithuania, and a similar offer had in fact been previously rejected by the Lithuanian Government. The Lithuanian authorities had always demanded the complete independence of their country. This offer was therefore rejected by the Kovno Government; and in the meantime the Lithuanians concluded a treaty of peace with Russia, which was duly signed on July 12. It appears that the common enmity towards Poland which the Russians and Lithuanians possessed was sufficient to overcome the natural antipathy of the Lithuanians to Bolshevism. And during the next few weeks the Lithuanians undoubtedly behaved in a friendly manner towards the Russians during the advance of the latter upon Warsaw. The Poles were retreating rapidly at this time, and they evacuated Vilna. The Russians did not halt at the boundary of Vilna, although they had recognised that province as a part of Lithuania in the Peace Treaty; on the contrary they continued to advance, and occupied Vilna city on July 14. The Russians claimed that they were entitled to enter this part of Lithuania since it had been occupied by the Poles; and it is true that they did not attempt to advance towards Kovno.

During the next four weeks there was a complete reversal of fortune in the Russo-Polish campaign; and the Russians were compelled to flee from Vilna, as on the other parts of their battle line. The Lithuanians then seized their opportunity,

and they marched east on the heels of the retiring Russians, and took possession of Vilna, on August 24. The Lithuanians also advanced in another direction, where they had less excuse, namely, in the south-west. The frontier of Poland drawn up by the Supreme Council at the end of 1919, the so-called Curzon Line, had cut the province of Suvalki in two, the northern half going to Lithuania, and the southern half to Poland. Suvalki town itself was left to Poland. It may perhaps be explained that the province of Suvalki formed part both of Napoleon's Grand Duchy of Warsaw and of Congress Poland, though, as already stated, the majority of the inhabitants were Lithuanians. The German Government, during the period that they were dominant in the east, separated Suvalki from Poland and gave it to Lithuania, a course of action for which there was a good deal to be said. But, as already stated, the Western Allies had decided to divide the province. During September there were conflicts between Polish and Lithuanian troops both in Suvalki and in Vilna, but fortunately not on a very large scale. The two Governments opened negotiations at Kalvaria; but the negotiations were soon broken off. The Polish Army in the pursuit of the Russians took Grodno on September 27, and passed through the edge of the province of Vilna, but did not advance upon Vilna city.

In so far as the province of Suvalki was concerned, the special grievance of the Lithuanians was that the town of Seinys was left on the south side of the Curzon Line, although that town was the ecclesiastical capital of Lithuania. Both sides in these territorial disputes appealed to the League of Nations.

It is possible that a satisfactory agreement would have been reached at once; but as already mentioned elsewhere (see Poland) there was a sudden intervention on the part of the White Russian division of the Polish Army, led by General Zeligowski. This White Russian division seized Vilna on October 9.

The public in Western Europe were quick to liken General Zeligowski's *coup* to that of the poet d'Annunzio at Fiume. There was undoubtedly a general similarity between the two cases, and sympathy for the Lithuanians was therefore general. General Zeligowski acted independently of the Polish Government, just as d'Annunzio had been independent of the Italian Government; though there was better reason to suspect the connivance of the authorities at Warsaw than there had been to accuse the Italian Government of collusion. The parallel ought not, however, to be pressed too far. Zeligowski was acting not as a Polish citizen but as a White Russian nationalist. And he was, ostensibly, at least, claiming the right of self-determination for Vilna. And whilst the Lithuanians no doubt had an extremely good historical claim to Vilna, their claim on the grounds of present-day ethnography were not strong—far less strong than the Jugo-Slav claim to Fiume had been. The

volunteers of Zeligowski's White Russian division had been inflamed by stories of Bolshevik massacres, which were alleged to have taken place in Vilna, with the connivance of the Kovno Government. The story was spread about in Poland in general and in the White Russian contingent in particular that 2,000 Poles had been slaughtered in Vilna by the Bolsheviks. It subsequently transpired, however, that this story was almost entirely false, and that the total number of persons executed by the Russians was under forty, and that not all of these had been Poles. General Zeligowski undoubtedly had the whole-hearted support of the Polish people, but owing to pressure from the French and British Governments, the Warsaw Ministry were not able to support him officially.

After the seizure of Vilna, fighting took place between Zeligowski's men and the Lithuanian troops; but fortunately the Council of the League of Nations, which was in session at Brussels at the end of October, was again able to intervene. The Council suggested that a plebiscite should take place in Vilna to decide the destiny of that province; and the Council were also successful in prevailing upon the combatants to conclude an armistice with one another. Both the Lithuanian and the Polish Governments accepted the League Council's proposal for a plebiscite; and accordingly a small international force—the first troops to act under the League of Nations—was despatched to Vilna to keep order during the polling. The plebiscite had not yet taken place at the end of the year.

The Port of Memel and the surrounding district, which had been severed from Germany, was left with an uncertain status during the year. The port was occupied by French troops. It was not yet given to Lithuania, though that country was without a port of any considerable size. It was reported that many of the burghers of Memel wished their city to be established as a free State, rather than to be incorporated in Lithuania.

The Lithuanian Government was accorded *de facto* recognition by Great Britain, but not *de lege* recognition. Lithuania applied for admission to the League of Nations, but the application was unsuccessful.

#### UKRAINIA.

The Ukrainian independence movement, led by General Petlura, encountered repeated disasters during the year. The movement enjoyed considerable sympathy in the world at large, because it aimed not only at establishing the independence of the large Ruthenian province of Russia, but was also anti-Bolshevik. In different circumstances the Separatist movement in Ukraina (like that in White Russia) might have been regarded as a retrograde step, for the Ukrainians were only provincially distinct from the Great Russians; but since the failure of



Petlura meant the subjection of all Ruthenia to Bolshevism, the Ruthenian Hetman had, as already stated, many friends abroad.

When the Poles launched their great offensive against Russia at the end of April, they concluded an alliance and complete agreement with General Petlura. And when the Polish troops reached Kieff they turned over the control of the capital to the Ruthenian troops. General Petlura shared, of course, in the subsequent reverses of the Poles; and although the Poles recovered so much eastern territory in September, they were unable to save their allies as well as themselves. And when the Ruthenians were deprived of Polish support after the armistice between Poland and Russia on October 19, they were quite unable to stand against the Bolshevik Army, and at the end of November General Petlura with the remnant of his brave followers crossed the frontier of Poland, now a neutral State, and had to submit to being disarmed. The Ukrainian movement, therefore, appeared to have failed completely at the end of the year; but General Petlura announced that he would reopen war with Russia.

General Petlura was given neither *de jure* nor even *de facto* recognition by Great Britain. Ukraina applied for admission to the League of Nations, but the application was refused.

#### FINLAND.

At the opening of the year Mr. Erich's anti-Socialist Government was still in power; and Finland had recovered to a great extent from the effects of the Bolshevik insurrection. The attention of the country was now largely concentrated upon external instead of upon internal affairs. And in particular much excitement was caused in Helsingfors by the demand of the population of the Aaland Islands for reunion with Sweden. It will be remembered that the people of the Aalands were of Swedish extraction. The Finnish Government endeavoured to meet the wishes of the Aalanders by a compromise. The Government introduced into the Parliament a Bill conferring local autonomy upon the islands. The Bill was passed by a large majority at the beginning of May; but it was announced in Stockholm a few days later that the offer had been rejected by the representative body which the Aalanders had established on their own responsibility. The Aalanders then sent a deputation to Stockholm to express the desire of the islands to be reunited with Sweden. And the Aaland leaders issued a public demand to be allowed to exercise the right of self-determination. When the deputation returned from Sweden, the leaders were arrested by the Finnish Government; and in June a battalion of Finnish troops was landed in the islands. The Swedish Government then intervened and demanded explanations from Finland. The diplomatic situation became strained, and there was even

talk of war between Finland and Sweden. The Finns declared that the Aalands were geographically part of Finland, and that it was strategically impossible for Finland to surrender them. The Swedish Government on their side declared that the Finns in refusing to allow the Aalanders the right of self-determination, were denying the very principle to which they owed their own independent existence, and were using the self-same arguments which the old Russian Imperial Government had used in regard to Finland. In regard to the Finnish argument that the surrender of the islands would be strategically dangerous to Finland, the Swedes pointed out that from the beginning of the controversy Sweden had expressed her willingness to undertake not to fortify the islands in the event of their reunion with Sweden. The situation became acute, but at the instance of Great Britain the case was taken up by the League of Nations, and was considered in July, at a meeting of the Council of the League which was held in London. At the meeting of the Council the Swedish and Finnish representatives stated their respective cases. Mr. Branting was the Swedish representative and Mr. Enckell was the Finnish representative. The Finnish case was that the matter was entirely a question of Finnish domestic policy and was therefore, under the terms of Article 15 of the Covenant of the League, outside the jurisdiction of the League. The raising of this point by Finland caused considerable difficulty and great delay. The League Council decided that this point as to whether the question of the Aalands did or did not fall exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of Finland was one that ought to be decided by international jurists. The question was therefore turned over for the consideration of a commission of international jurists; the preliminary question was decided in favour of Sweden, but the matter was still unsettled at the end of the year.

In the autumn Finland concluded a Peace Treaty with Russia by the terms of which Finland obtained an accession of territory in the north-east. The agreement gave Finland the port of Petchenga, which was stated to be free from ice throughout the year.

The Finnish Government was accorded *de jure* recognition by the Powers; and Finland was admitted to the League of Nations in the autumn.

#### ESTLAND.

During the first twelve months after the retirement of the German troops from the east, Estland was compelled to fight for its existence against the assaults of Bolshevik Russia; but on December 31, 1919, an armistice was concluded with Russia, and during 1920 the little Republic was able to begin the work of reorganisation. The Army which had amounted to nearly 100,000 men, was largely demobilised. The head of the Government was Mr. A. Rei. Dorpat University was reopened

as a purely Est institution in December, 1919. A provisional Diet had been established in 1919, but at the end of November, 1920, a General Election was held for the new State Parliament. There were a large number of political groups contesting the elections, but the Anti-Socialist parties obtained a large collective majority over the Socialists. The Est Government was accorded *de facto* recognition by Great Britain, but not *de lege* recognition. Estland also applied to be admitted to the League of Nations, but the application was rejected.

#### LETTLAND.

The Letts continued the war with Russia longer than the Ests, and peace was not concluded with the Soviet until the summer of 1920. Mr. K. Ulmanis was head of the Lett Government. Elections for the first formal Parliament of the Republic were held in April. Of the 150 deputies elected 93 were non-Socialists and 57 were Socialists. Lettland was accorded *de facto* recognition by the British Government, but not *de lege* recognition. Lettland also applied to be admitted to the League of Nations, but as in the cases of the other Baltic States, the application was rejected.

#### DANZIG.

As stated elsewhere, Sir Reginald Tower was appointed First Administrator of the free city of Danzig by the League of Nations (see Chapter I.). In May the General Election for the Constituent Assembly of the free city was held. The German non-Socialist parties obtained 94 seats; the Social Democrats obtained 19 seats; and the Polish Party 17 seats. On November 15 the formal proclamation of Danzig as a free city took place. And at the beginning of December the elected Constituent Assembly proclaimed itself the Parliament of Danzig, with power to pass laws until 1923. The delay in establishing the new State was due to the difficulty of concluding an agreement with Poland in regard to the Polish rights of transit through the port.

#### CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

Of the States which had arisen on the wreck of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Czecho-Slovakia was in many respects the least unfortunate. The economic situation of the country was somewhat less serious than in most of the neighbouring States, though the shortage of food was still serious. And the political situation was fairly stable, partly owing to the fact that the Bohemians were not entirely without political experience at the time of the Revolution in October, 1918, and partly because the old Bohemian State Administration had proved to be susceptible of conversion and expansion into a suitable administrative machine for the new independent and enlarged State.

After the independence of the country had been declared at the end of October, 1918, a National Constituent Assembly had been nominated by the Bohemian leaders, fair representation being given to the different Czech parties, the object of this step being to obviate the necessity of holding elections in the disturbed state of the country. Professor T. G. Masaryk became first President of the Republic. During 1919 no great change in the situation took place, and at the beginning of 1920 M. V. Tusar was Prime Minister, and Dr. E. Benes was Minister for Foreign Affairs. No Parliamentary Elections had been held.

At the opening of the year the Constituent Assembly was still considering the terms of the constitutional law which had to be passed. The law bringing the Czech Constitution formally into existence was passed at the end of February. The law provided that there should be two Houses of Parliament, a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies, the former to be elected for eight years and the latter for six years. It was provided that the President of the Republic should be elected every seven years by the two Houses of Parliament, sitting in joint session—after the pattern of a Presidential Election in France. The Constitution provided that the President could declare war with the consent of Parliament and that he should be the Supreme Commander of the armed forces. In certain other respects the President was given considerable powers. The constitution guaranteed freedom of the Press and freedom of speech; and there were also safeguards for racial minorities, in accordance with the specifications of the Paris Peace Conference.

The Constitution provided that the territory of the Republic should be an indivisible unity, but certain autonomous rights were given to the small Ruthenian district in the Carpathians. It was provided that the Senate should consist of 150 members and that the Chamber of Deputies should consist of 300 members. It was also provided that the Parliamentary Elections should take place under a system of proportional representation.

The constitutional law having been passed, the Constituent Assembly dissolved itself, and the General Election for the first regular Parliament of the Republic was fixed for the middle of April, although the frontier of Czecho-Slovakia in the north-east (Teschen) still remained undefined. The elections for the Chamber of Deputies were fixed for April 18 and those for the Senate for April 25. The political situation was complex, mainly because the Paris Peace Conference had decided to give Czecho-Slovakia a strategic frontier in the north-west, instead of an ethnographic frontier. The line of the Giant Mountains was the natural geographical border between Saxony and Czecho-Slovakia, and it had the advantage from the Bohemian point of view that it was a defensible border, but it also had the disadvantage that a solid mass of Germans lived on the south side of the mountains, in the territory which had come to be known as "German Bohemia." And this German

Bohemia was a veritable "Ulster" of the most determined type. The result of the inclusion in Czecho-Slovakia of this important racial minority was that the new Czecho-Slovak Parliament would suffer in a minor degree from the same handicap that had afflicted the old Austrian Reichsrath. In the Reichsrath, it will be remembered, the deputies were divided primarily on national lines and then again sub-divided on political lines. Thus there had been German Conservatives, German Liberals, and German Socialists; Polish Conservatives, Polish Liberals, and Polish Socialists; Bohemian Conservatives, Bohemian Liberals, and Bohemian Socialists; Jugo-Slav Conservatives, Jugo-Slav Liberals, and Jugo-Slav Socialists; and so forth. And the result of these national divisions had necessarily been that the genuine working out of political and economic problems had been impossible, since a healthy development of political issues had been thwarted at every turn by the national animosities.

The same system of political grouping had now been perpetuated in Czecho-Slovakia, though of course in a much less aggravated degree, since the number of nationalities was smaller.

The elections for the Chamber of Deputies took place as arranged on April 18. On the whole, the elections were a success for the Socialists. Both M. Tusar and Dr. Benes were Socialists, though they did not belong to the same Socialist Party. The party led by Dr. Benes, the Czech National Socialist Party, was comparable to the Italian Reformist Socialist Party. The Social Democratic Party, to which the Prime Minister himself belonged, was an orthodox Socialist Party, although it had a small left wing possessed of Bolshevik sympathies. The Czech National Socialists obtained 77 seats, the Social Democrats 32, and the German Socialists also 32. The non-Socialists obtained altogether 137 seats; but they were, of course, not a united party, since they consisted of Czechs, Germans, and seven Hungarians. The Czech non-Socialists, divided into National Democrats, Agrarians, and Clericals, won 90 seats, and the German National Party won 40 seats. The total number of deputies elected fell short of the full 300, owing to the fact that no polling could take place in the electoral district of Teschen, where the plebiscite for which provision had been made in the Treaty of Versailles had still not been held. In the elections for the Senate, the results turned out to be very similar, though in the case of the Upper House the non-Socialists were in a small majority. M. Tusar's Government remained in power.

The Constituent Assembly having been elected, the attention of the country was concentrated on the Teschen question. Under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, a plebiscite was to be held in the district of Austrian Silesia surrounding the town of Teschen, in order to decide whether that district should be united with Poland or with Czecho-Slovakia. The plebiscite

in this district of Silesia should not be confused with the plebiscite which was to take place, also under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, in so-called "Upper Silesia." Upper Silesia lay to the north of Teschen and was in Prussian Silesia, not in Austrian Silesia. And in the case of Upper Silesia, too, the plebiscite was to decide not between Poland and Czecho-Slovakia but between Poland and Germany. The two disputed districts resembled one another, however, in that they had caused an astonishing amount of controversy and ill-feeling between the various parties concerned.

Both Upper Silesia and Teschen Silesia were important from the economic point of view, because both districts, and especially the former, were rich in coal mines.

The Czechs laid claim to the Teschen district in the first instance on historical grounds, since the province had been part of the Kingdom of Bohemia, which they claimed to be indivisible. On the other hand, there was undoubtedly a large Polish majority in the north-eastern part of the disputed district. The town of Teschen itself, situated in the middle of the territory, was very much in doubt from the national point of view, since the townsfolk were very largely Austrian.

After the disruption of the Austro-Hungarian Empire the Czechs and Poles agreed to a provisional partition of Teschen; but in April, 1919, actual hostilities broke out between Poland and Czecho-Slovakia. The Poles had begun to organise their half of the province as part of Poland, and in particular had arranged that the Silesian population should participate in the elections for the Polish National Assembly. The Czechs denounced this action as a violation of the purely provisional character of the partition, and straightway marched strong forces into the Polish zone. The intervention of the Allied Governments brought the hostilities to a speedy termination, and a new partition line was drawn up by the Powers. But these events caused intense resentment in Poland, particularly as the Polish troops had had very much the worst of the encounters during the short period of hostilities. There was a personal incident which was especially keenly felt. One of the chief Polish officers in Silesia was Colonel Haller, brother of the famous and extremely popular Polish general of that name. And when the Poles were resisting the Czech advance, Colonel Haller himself was killed.

During the next twelve months there was constant rioting all over the province between the rival factions, the riots not being prevented by the arrival of the Allied Plebiscite Commission. But during the Spa Conference in July, 1920, the controversy took a turn for the better, owing to the reasonable attitude taken up both by Dr. Benes, the Czecho-Slovak Foreign Minister, and by M. Grabski, the Polish Premier; and a direct agreement was reached between the two countries under the supervision of the Supreme Council. It was decided

to partition the Teschen province forthwith instead of holding a plebiscite. The agreement which was thus reached gave a large moiety of territory to Poland, but Czecho-Slovakia had the better of the bargain in the matter of the coal-fields.

During August, when the Russian armies were advancing upon Warsaw, Czecho-Slovakia followed the lead of Germany in declaring strict neutrality in the Russo-Polish War. Since Czecho-Slovakia was a member of the League of Nations (which Germany, of course, was not) the propriety of this course was somewhat doubtful.

In the middle of August, Czecho-Slovakia concluded a defensive alliance with the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The alliance provided that if one party were the victim of an unprovoked attack on the part of Hungary, the other party should come to its assistance. It was provided that the alliance should be renewable every two years, and that the terms of the agreement should be made known to the League of Nations in accordance with the League Covenant.

In September M. Cerny succeeded M. Tusar as Prime Minister.

During December somewhat serious Communist disturbances broke out in various parts of Czecho-Slovakia, especially in Brunn and Brux.

The financial position of Czecho-Slovakia was less serious than that of most neighbouring countries, and much better than that of Poland and Austria. The exchange value of the Bohemian "crown" was better than that of the German mark, though it fluctuated considerably.

#### HUNGARY.

When King Charles abdicated from the throne of Hungary in the autumn of 1918, the revolution which took place was unlike any other of the numerous revolutions which occurred in the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Indeed, the Hungarian revolution scarcely deserves to be called a revolution; because the regime which was then established was of a thoroughly Conservative character, and the dominant groups were even monarchic in their sympathies. For a short period during 1919, a clique of extreme Socialists, in league with the Bolsheviks of Russia, had seized power in Budapest; but they had soon been expelled, and the Hungarians had then restored the monarchy in the person of the Archduke Joseph, but the latter had been compelled to resign by the Entente Powers. During 1919 also a Rumanian Army had occupied Budapest, but the troops had been withdrawn before the end of the year.

At the beginning of 1920 a Conservative Government was firmly established in Budapest, with M. Huzar as Prime Minister. The territory over which this Government ruled

was, of course, small compared to the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom as it had existed before the war. Transylvania had been lost to Rumania, the Slovak districts had gone to Czecho-Slovakia, and Croatia-Slavonia and other districts in the south had been annexed by the S.H.S. Kingdom. Owing to the constant political changes in Budapest, the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Hungary had been delayed, but at the beginning of the year the Hungarian Peace Delegation was summoned to Paris. The Delegation, which was headed by Count Apponyi, arrived in Paris on January 7, and on January 15 the terms of the proposed treaty were handed to the Hungarians.

The general scheme of the treaty was modelled on that of the Treaty of St. Germain. The treaty compelled Hungary to recognise the independence of the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom and of Czecho-Slovakia. The Hungarians were compelled to pay, in addition to the Hungarian debt, a part of the Austrian debt, representing the Hungarian share of the general Austro-Hungarian indebtedness. Hungary was to pay the expenses of the Allied Armies of Occupation, except for the unauthorised (Rumanian) military operations subsequent to November 3, 1918.

The treaty also indicated the proposed frontiers of Hungary. On the west Hungary was to cede a strip of territory to Austria, this strip being populated by Germans. The frontier with Austria was to run southwards from Antonienhof to the neighbourhood of Tuka. The new frontier with Czecho-Slovakia was to run east from Antonienhof, partly along the Danube, and then across to the east of Surany on the Theiss. The frontier with Rumania was to run approximately north and south from the Czecho-Slovak frontier to the neighbourhood of Nagylak. And the frontier with the S.H.S. Kingdom was to run westwards, partly along the Drave and the Mur to the Austrian frontier.

The treaty also stipulated that the Hungarian Army should be reduced to 35,000 men, having no heavy artillery. Since the Treaty of Peace gave Rumania a large Magyar and German population, it was stipulated that that country should accept "racial minority" clauses similar to those inserted in the treaties of 1919.

The terms of the treaty, which were certainly drastic, were received with an outcry in Hungary; and it was at first declared that it was impossible for the country to sign any such agreement. The discussions between the Hungarian delegates and the Allies were continued for months; and it was not until the summer that the Treaty of Peace was finally signed.

At the end of January a General Election was held for the National Constituent Assembly; and in the result the various non-Socialist Parties were returned with a large majority. And indeed it soon became apparent that the dominant feeling in



Hungary was entirely Conservative. A proclamation was issued stating that Hungary remained a kingdom. The National Assembly met in the middle of February; and on March 1 the Assembly elected the Chief of the State. It was in accordance with the proclaimed continuance of the monarchic regime that the Chief of the State was given the title "Regent" and not "President." There was little or no competition for the Regency; and the well-known statesman, Admiral Horthy, was elected by a large majority of the legislators.

M. Huszar remained in power until the Regent had been elected, but the Prime Minister then resigned. Admiral Horthy then asked M. Simonyi-Semadam to form a Government, and in the middle of March it was announced that this statesman had been successful in forming a Cabinet. M. Simonyi-Semadam had been able to obtain the joint support of the powerful Clerical and Agrarian parties, and he had the loyal help of M. Huszar, although the latter was not a member of the Government. The Cabinet was constituted as follows:—

Premier and Minister of the Interior	-	-	M. Simonyi-Semadam.
Minister for Foreign Affairs	-	-	Count P. Teleki.
Minister of Finance	-	-	Baron F. Koranyi
Minister for War	-	-	General Soos.
Minister of Agriculture	-	-	M. J. Rubinek.
Minister of Public Worship	-	-	M. S. Haller.
Minister of Justice	-	-	M. A. Kulim.
Minister of Food	-	-	M. S. Nagynyi.
Representative of Small Farmers	-	-	M. Sokoropatka.
Minister of Public Welfare	-	-	M. A. Benard.
Minister for National Minorities	-	-	M. J. Bleyer.

It was not clear what was precisely implied by the obstinate maintenance of the monarchic regime. The majority in the country and in the National Assembly were clearly royalists, but there were several royalist parties. Admiral Horthy himself, as also the famous statesman Count Andrassy, were the leaders of the strict Legitimists, who hoped to see King Charles himself restored to the throne. M. Friedrich, who had been Prime Minister during the brief monarchic restoration in the previous year, was the leader of a group which hoped to see the Archduke Joseph ascend the throne. And there was also a third group of royalists who wanted a king who was not a member of the Habsburg family. From the foreign point of view the chief fact to remember was that the actual situation in Hungary was what the position in Germany would have been if the two parties of the Right, the German National Party and the German People's Party, had obtained a majority at the General Election in the summer.

The first Hungarian reply to the peace conditions of the Supreme Council made proposals which were widely at variance with the conditions that had been laid down. And indeed the reply seemed to indicate an entire lack of comprehension on the part of its authors of the situation which had arisen. For

instance, the reply demanded that there should be a plebiscite in the territories taken from Hungary, and suggested that the frontier of Transylvania should be the ridge of the Bihar mountains. The Hungarians introduced a note almost of comedy into their reply by demanding that Hungary should be given Fiume! After prolonged discussion, the Hungarians at last decided in May to accept the treaty. The treaty was signed in the *Galerie du Grand Trianon* at Versailles on June 4, and was therefore named the Treaty of Trianon. The ceremony was brief. M. Millerand was in the chair, and the United States and Great Britain were represented by their respective Ambassadors in Paris, Mr. Hugh Wallace and Lord Derby. Representatives of Italy, Japan, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, Poland, Rumania, Jugo-Slavia, Greece, China, Belgium, Portugal, Cuba, Nicaragua, Panama, and Siam were present. The Hungarian plenipotentiaries were M. A. Denard and M. A. Drasche-Lazar.

In July the Prime Minister resigned, and was succeeded in that office by Count Teleki.

During the previous year allegations had been made by the extreme Socialists that after the fall of the Soviet Government in Budapest in August, 1919, there had been a general massacre of Bolsheviks by the anti-Socialists, with the connivance of the new Government, and constituting what they styled a "White Terror," comparable to the Red Terror existing in Russia. It was even alleged in certain quarters that British officers in Hungary had taken part in this supposed "White Terror." The British Foreign Office therefore instituted an inquiry into the matter, and the report of the official investigators was issued in May, 1920. The report found that after the re-establishment of Constitutional Government thirty Bolsheviks who had committed murder during the Bolshevik regime had been executed in accordance with the law of the land. It was also ascertained that before the Constitutional Government could make its authority effective, the public had in certain cases taken summary vengeance upon known Bolsheviks—nearly all Jews—for the excesses which they had committed when they were in power. And it was stated that about 370 Bolsheviks had been killed in this manner. It was found, however, that the Constitutional Government so far from taking any part in this vengeance, had put a stop to it as soon as they were able to assert their authority. And the investigation of course disproved the ridiculous charge against British officers.

It was reported in December that Count Teleki's Government were contemplating accepting the abdication of the Habsburgs as final, and constituting Hungary as an independent kingdom under an entirely new dynasty.

## RUMANIA.

At the beginning of the year Dr. A. Vaida-Voevod was Prime Minister but the political situation was unstable, as in the General Election which took place at the end of the previous year powerful Transylvanian and Bessarabian parties had been returned to Parliament, which had upset the old balance of parties. At the beginning of the year the Prime Minister went to Paris to confer with the Supreme Council, and whilst he was away his opponents within and without Parliament took the opportunity to attack his leadership. The Prime Minister was negotiating with the Supreme Council on various questions, but particularly on the question of the formal union of Bessarabia with Rumania. His negotiations were successful, and early in March it was announced that the Supreme Council had recognised the union of Bessarabia with the Rumanian Kingdom.

Whilst Dr. Vaida-Voevod was abroad, M. S. Pop acted as Prime Minister; and early in March, possibly owing to the attacks which had been made upon the Ministry, M. Pop and the entire Cabinet took the somewhat extraordinary course of resigning office, notwithstanding the absence of the Prime Minister. General Averescu became Prime Minister, but at the beginning of April it was announced that the King had dissolved Parliament, General Averescu's position having been made impossible by the Transylvanians, who favoured Dr. Vaida-Voevod. It was decided that the election should not be held until the end of May.

In the election campaign two opposing blocs were formed. General Averescu's main support was in the old kingdom of Rumania, where the party which he himself led was strong and was now named the People's Party. The Premier was also able to reckon on the support of the National Liberals, who had been dominant in Parliament before the war, and upon that of the Conservative Democrats, led by the famous statesman M. Take Ionescu. On the other hand, none of these old-established parties was very strong in the newly annexed territories, where in fact the various new parties, led by the Transylvanians, were forming a coalition hostile to the Government. The People's Party, however, carried the war into the enemy's camp, and undertook a very active campaign in Transylvania. In the result, the People's Party won a great electoral triumph not only in the old kingdom but also in Transylvania; and indeed the People's Party alone, without regard to the allied parties (none of which did well), obtained a substantial majority in the Chamber of Deputies. Out of the total of 365 Deputies elected, the People's Party won 212 seats. General Averescu's position therefore became extraordinarily strong, and the collapse of the Transylvanians was almost sensational. The once powerful National Liberal Party only won 9 seats. The

Socialists only won 19 seats. The so-called Saxons of Transylvania returned 8 Deputies.

General Averescu then reconstructed his Cabinet, M. Take Jonescu being Minister for Foreign Affairs, and M. N. Titulesco being Minister of Finance.

Parliament was opened on June 26 by the King in person. During the session the Legislature ratified the Treaty of Saint Germain and the Treaty of Neuilly.

In the autumn Rumania entered the defensive agreement which had been formed between Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia.

On December 8 an infernal machine exploded in the Senate, killing Bishop Radu, and mortally wounding M. Grecianu (the Minister of Justice), and another Senator. The crime was believed to have been perpetrated by anarchists.

#### THE KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS, AND SLOVENES.

At the beginning of the year the political situation in the new united Jugo-Slav state was very unstable. Although fourteen months had elapsed since the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the consequent union of the Jugo-Slav provinces of that monarchy with independent Serbia, no General Election had yet been held in the triune kingdom, nor had any constitution been drawn up even provisionally. The situation was therefore in striking contrast to that existing in Rumania, where it will be remembered rapid progress with the constitutional rearrangements made necessary by the large accessions of territory had been made. Yet in some respects the problem of reorganisation ought to have been simpler in Jugo-Slavia than in Rumania; for Serbia had not absorbed a considerable foreign population, whereas Rumania had done so. There were, however, several causes bringing about delay in Jugo-Slavia. In the first place the different branches of the Jugo-Slav people, now united with Serbia, another, were much less closely akin than were the Rumanians of the different provinces which had been similarly united by the victorious war. And though there were considerable numbers of foreigners in the regions annexed by Rumania, especially of course in Transylvania, yet in every case the Rumanians were in the majority and were dominant. The Jugo-Slav situation was different, because Croatia and Serbia, for instance, were separated by religious differences, and having had such different histories for centuries they were in some respects almost different nationalities, notwithstanding the fundamental linguistic affinity. A second difficulty in Jugo-Slavia was the very sharp conflict between the two chief political parties in Serbia, the Radicals and the Democrats. And perhaps a third difficulty was to be found in the still unsettled frontier between the S.H.S. State and Italy, all the Jugo-Slavs, without distinction of province or of party, being very bitter about the Italian claim to Fiume and Northern Dalmatia.

Before the end of 1919 the Democratic Party lead by M. Davidovitch, had assumed office; but they were in a minority in Parliament and were therefore unable to face the Legislature. The Democrats carried on the business of the country, however, for some months without reference to Parliament, but it was of course obvious that such a situation could not continue. The Democrats and the Radicals were divided not only by the personal bitterness which was usual among party politicians in south-eastern Europe, but also by real differences of principle. The Democrats were the more progressive party and among other things advocated women's suffrage. They also favoured a unified constitution for Jugo-Slavia, whereas the Radicals wished to establish the kingdom on a federal scheme. In the middle of February, when the time approached for the assembly of Parliament, M. Davidovitch resigned; and he was succeeded as Premier by the Radical leader, M. Protitch.

The most important question facing the Government of the country, whether Radical or Democrat, was that of the Adriatic dispute with Italy. The reader will recollect that the difficulty of reaching a satisfactory territorial settlement in the Adriatic arose partly out of the essential historical and ethnographical difficulties surrounding the problem and partly from the treaty known as the Pact of London, which had been concluded with Italy by Great Britain, France, and Russia at the time when Italy entered the war in the spring of 1915. This Treaty of London, which was signed in London on April 26, 1915, had caused an immense amount of discussion both before and after the armistice with Germany. Some of the provisions of the treaty had become generally known, but the official text of the Agreement was not published until the end of April, 1920. The wording of the treaty was therefore of exceptional interest. The territorial articles which concern us here were more particularly the 4th and 5th of the treaty. These articles read as follows:—

“*Article 4.*—Under the Treaty of Peace, Italy shall obtain the Trentino, Cisalpine Tyrol with its geographical and natural frontier (the Brenner frontier), as well as Trieste, the counties of Gorizia and Gradisca, all Istria as far as the Quarnero, and including Volosca and the Istrian islands of Cherso and Lussin, as well as the small islands of Plavnik, Unie, Canidole, Palazzuoli, San Pietro di Nembi, Asinello, Gruica, and the neighbouring islets.”

“*Note.*—The frontier required to ensure execution of Article 4 hereof shall be traced as follows:—

“From the Piz Umbrail as far as north of the Stelvio, it shall follow the crest of the Rhetian Alps up to the sources of the Adige and the Eisach, then following the Reschen and Brenner mountains and the Oetz and Ziller heights. The frontier shall then bend towards the south, cross Mt. Toblach and join the present frontier of the Carnic Alps. It shall

follow this frontier line as far as Mt. Tarvis and from Mt. Tarvis the watershed of the Julian Alps by the Predil Pass, Mt. Mangart, the Tricorno (Terglu), and the watersheds of the Podberdo, Podlaniscam and Idria passes. From this point the frontier shall follow a south-easterly direction towards the Schneeberg, leaving the entire basin of the Save and its tributaries outside Italian territory. From the Schneeberg the frontier shall come down to the coast in such a way as to include Castua, Mattuglia, and Volosca within Italian territory."

"*Article 5.*—Italy shall also be given the province of Dalmatia within its present administrative boundaries, including to the north Lisarica and Tribania; to the south as far as a line starting from Cape Planka on the coast and following eastwards the crests of the heights forming the watershed, in such a way as to leave within Italian territory all the valleys and streams flowing towards Sebenico—such as the Cicola, Kerka, Butisnica, and their tributaries. She shall also obtain all the islands situate to the north and west of Dalmatia, from Premuda, Selve, Ulbo, Scherda, Maon, Pago, and Patadura to the north, up to Meleda to the south, including Sant' Andrea, Busi, Lissa, Lesina, Tercola, Curzola, Cazza, and Lagosta, as well as the neighbouring rocks and islets and Pelagosa, with the exception of Greater and Lesser Zirona, Bua, Solta and Brazza.

"To be neutralised:—

"(1) The entire coast from Cape Planka on the north to the southern base of the peninsula of Sabbioncello in the south, so as to include the whole of that peninsula; (2) the portion of the coast which begins in the north at a point situated 10 kilometres south of the headland of Ragusa Vecchia extending southward as far as the River Vofussa, in such a way as to include the gulf and ports of Cattaro, Antivari, Dulcigno, St. Jean de Medua, and Durazzo, without prejudice to the rights of Montenegro consequent on the declarations exchanged between the Powers in April and May, 1909. As these rights only apply to the present Montenegrin territory, they cannot be extended to any territory or ports which may be assigned to Montenegro. Consequently neutralisation shall not apply to any part of the coast now belonging to Montenegro. There shall be maintained all restrictions concerning the port of Antivari which were accepted by Montenegro in 1909; (3) finally, all the islands not given to Italy."

"*Note.*—The following Adriatic territory shall be assigned by the four Allied Powers to Croatia, Serbia, and Montenegro:—

"In the Upper Adriatic, the whole coast from the bay of Volosca on the borders of Istria as far as the northern frontier of Dalmatia, including the coast which is at present Hungarian and all the coast of Croatia, with the port of Fiume and the small ports of Novi and Carlopago, as well as the islands of Veglia, Pervichio, Gregorio, Goli, and Arbe. And, in the

Lower Adriatic (in the region interesting Serbia and Montenegro) the whole coast from Cape Planka as far as the River Drin, with the important harbours of Spalato, Ragusa, Cattaro, Antivari, Dulcigno and St. Jean de Medua and the islands of Greater and Lesser Zirona, Bua, Solta, Brazza, Jaclian, and Calamotta. The port of Durazzo to be assigned to the independent Moslem State of Albania."

It was these clauses of the Treaty of London which had given rise to all the prolonged discussion and ill-feeling between Italy and Jugo-Slavia. It will be observed that the Pact of London assigned nearly all Dalmatia to Italy, notwithstanding that that province was populated almost exclusively by Jugo-Slavs. On the other hand, the Pact of London did not give Fiume to Italy. Throughout 1919 prolonged discussions took place. During the most critical parts of the war, after the Italian defeat at Caporetto, and when the Germans were advancing in the spring of 1918, the Italians had shown a disposition to come to an amicable agreement with the Jugo-Slavs; but after the victory of the Allies, on the other hand, the Italians had been inclined, not only to claim the execution of the Treaty of London, but to claim also the port of Fiume. Since the British and French Governments had been signatories of the Treaty of London, they were placed in a difficult position by this controversy; if Italy claimed the Treaty of London, the British and French Governments were not in a position to refuse to agree. The American Government, however, laboured under no such difficulty; and President Wilson had made it clear that he could not agree to any such settlement as that indicated by the Treaty of London, which would be a flagrant violation of the principle of nationalities. After the prolonged discussion in 1919, the American, British, and French Governments sent a memorandum to the Italian Government in December, embodying proposals for a compromise. It was evident that the American Government had taken the lead in formulating these particular proposals. The compromise which the memorandum indicated gave Dalmatia to Jugo-Slavia and established Fiume and the surrounding district as a buffer State. This December proposal gave the greater part of, but not all, Istria to Italy, and the Italian frontiers were not brought up to the immediate neighbourhood of Fiume. These proposals were rejected by the Italian Government. Further discussions then took place in Paris and London, and Signor Nitti, the Italian Prime Minister, visited London. At the beginning of January M. Trumbitch stated the case for his country before the Supreme Council. The American Government were not consulted in these later negotiations; and on January 14 the French and British Governments addressed what sounded almost like an ultimatum to the Jugo-Slavs. The Cabinet at Belgrade were presented with a new compromise, modified for the benefit of Italy, and were informed that if the Jugo-Slav Government did

not accept these new proposals, the French and British Governments would agree to a settlement on the basis of the treaty of London itself, and would authorise Italy to carry that treaty into effect. This modified compromise—though it did not give Dalmatia to Italy—brought the Italian frontiers down to the immediate vicinity of Fiume, giving Italy all Istria, and also gave Italy some measure of control over Fiume itself, though that port was established as a nominally free State.

The Jugo-Slav Government did not accept this compromise, however; they made counter-proposals and also drew attention to the fact that since they had never been informed of the terms of the Treaty of London, the communication from the French and British Governments was somewhat lacking in clarity. It appears that in reply to this last criticism the French and British Governments communicated the terms of the Pact of London privately to the Belgrade Cabinet. The American Government, finding that the British and French Governments were taking these steps without consulting them, also intervened in the discussion, and pointed out that the compromise to which they had agreed in December had now been modified in essential particulars. In a note dated February 10 President Wilson dealt with all the points at issue very thoroughly, and pointed out in detail what he regarded as the injustice of the Italian claims. Dr. Wilson said that the latest proposals were a violation of the principle of nationalities, and of the principles for which America had entered the war. And the last paragraph in his letter was worded as follows: "If it does not appear feasible to secure acceptance of the just and generous concessions offered by the British, French, and American Governments to Italy in the joint memorandum of those Powers of December 9, 1919, which the President has already clearly stated to be the maximum concession that the Government of the United States can offer, the President desires to say that he must take under serious consideration the withdrawal of the treaty with Germany and the agreement between the United States and France of June 28, 1919, which are now before the Senate, and permitting the terms of the European settlement to be independently established and enforced by the Associated Governments."

After this strong intervention of President Wilson, the January proposals were abandoned by the French, British, and Italian Governments; and entirely new attempts were subsequently made to reach a solution of the thorny question. There was therefore no attempt to coerce Jugo-Slavia, and the American intervention was naturally greeted with great enthusiasm in that country. The Jugo-Slavs pointed out that they had already made considerable sacrifices, since even the Wilson proposals of 1919—which had excluded the Volosca coast district from Italy—had included 400,000 Jugo-Slavs within the Italian frontiers.

Apart from the Fiume question itself, President Wilson had



taken exception to a proposal also made by the French and British Governments in January that Jugo-Slavia should compensate herself for the loss of territory inhabited by Jugo-Slavs in the north by annexing a strip of northern Albania, at the other end of the Adriatic coast. The American President said that he was quite as much opposed to giving Albanian territory to Jugo-Slavia, as he was to giving Jugo-Slav territory to Italy.

Thus the attempt to reach a settlement in December broke down against the opposition of the Italians; and the almost desperate attempt of the French and British Governments to enforce a settlement in January broke down against the opposition of the United States and of Jugo-Slavia herself.

In March the British Government made yet further attempts to play the part of mediator, but no serious progress was made until after Signor Giolitti had become Italian Prime Minister.

As already stated, M. Protitch, the Radical leader, became Prime Minister once more in the middle of February; and he endeavoured to improve upon the methods of his immediate predecessor, by meeting the national Parliament. He found difficulty in obtaining a quorum in the Legislature, however, as the Democrats were incensed, and absented themselves in a body from Parliament. The new Government were therefore scarcely in a better position than their predecessors, although since they were federalists, they had the support of the Croatian Nationalists. It was said, however, that the Croatian Nationalists, who were led by a certain Dr. Laginja, made very extreme demands upon the new Government, and even went so far as to claim important military and civil posts in Croatia for persons who had been officers and officials under the old Austro-Hungarian administration. In the result, Dr. Laginja was himself appointed Ban (Governor) of Croatia, and in accepting this post he insisted that the appointment should be made by the Cabinet as a whole and not by the Ministry of the Interior, so that the administrative autonomy of Croatia might be made plain. These proceedings on the part of the Government were severely criticised by the Democrats, who, as already explained, were strict unionists. M. Protitch made a declaration to Parliament on March 5, and said that he hoped Albania would be left to the Albanians, who should be free to manage their own affairs under the supervision of the League of Nations.

M. Protitch found difficulty in governing in face of the obstructionist tactics of the Opposition, and negotiations therefore took place with a view to forming a Coalition Government. The Prince Regent himself used his influence to this end, and the Jugo-Slav Minister in Paris, M. Vesnitch, was recalled to Belgrade. The Prince Regent charged M. Vesnitch with the task of forming a Government, as M. Protitch had abandoned the attempt to govern the country in circumstances where the parties were too evenly balanced. It was announced in the

middle of May that M. Vesnitch had succeeded in forming a Coalition Government. M. Vesnitch had the advantage that, although he was a Radical, he was not greatly disliked by the leaders of the Democratic Party. M. Davidovitch himself became Minister of the Interior. M. Protitch became Minister charged with the special function of preparing for the calling of the Constituent Assembly. M. Trumbitch, the famous Dalmatian leader, remained Minister for Foreign Affairs; M. Koroshets was Minister of Communications; M. C. Stoyanovitch was Minister of Finance; and M. Trinkovitch (one of the leaders of the Croatian Nationalists) became Minister of Posts and Telegraphs.

The new Prime Minister announced that he would make preparations for the election of the Constituent Assembly, and that the Treaties of Peace with Germany, Austria, and Bulgaria would be duly ratified.

At the beginning of August the Ministry of Social Policy published statistics of the area and population of the S.H.S. Kingdom, which were stated to relate to the month of June, 1920. It was not stated what particular frontier line had been taken in the North-West, where the frontier line was, of course, still undefined. The population of Serbia proper was given as 4,457,000; and that of the entire S.H.S. State as 14,344,000. It is doubtful how much reliance ought to be placed in these figures, the total for Serbia proper being in particular strangely high. At the end of July yet another Ministerial crisis arose; but it proved impossible for anyone save M. Vesnitch to form a Cabinet. And after the crisis had lasted for nearly a month M. Vesnitch once more became formal head of the Government.

During the crisis of the Russo-Polish War in the summer the Jugo-Slav Government declared their neutrality. It appears that public opinion in Belgrade had now come to regard M. Lenin's Government as truly representing Russia; and since the Serbians still nursed their historic affection for Russia, they were strongly averse from all idea of going to war with that country, even though she might be Bolshevik. The incident was an instructive commentary on the predominance of Serbia in the united Jugo-Slav State; because the Croats, Slavonians, and Slovenes, nearly all of whom were Roman Catholics, certainly had no kind or historic sympathy with Russia, and on the contrary might have been expected to sympathise thoroughly with Poland.

It will be remembered that under the terms of the Treaty of Saint Germain a plebiscite was to take place in the district of Carinthia surrounding the town of Klagenfurt, in order to decide whether that district should belong to Austria or to Jugo-Slavia. The plebiscite area was divided into two zones, A and B. The zone "A" was in the south, and this zone was to vote first. If the plebiscite in zone "A" went in favour of Jugo-Slavia a plebiscite was also to be held in zone "B." But if on the other

hand, zone "A" voted in favour of Austria, there was to be no plebiscite in zone "B," which was to revert automatically to Austria. Zone "B," being in the north, at the German end of the disputed district, it could of course be taken for granted that if zone "A" voted for Austria, then *a fortiori* zone "B" could be expected to do so. The plebiscite in zone "A" took place in October and resulted in a large majority for Austria. The publication of the results was followed by an incident which reminded observers in the West of those which had taken place at Fiume and Vilna. When the result of the plebiscite became known, Jugo-Slav troops were suddenly marched into the zone, notwithstanding that it had now reverted to Austria, and had been controlled during the polling by an Allied Plebiscite Commission. This particular attempt to carry through a *coup d'état* caused little trouble, however. The Jugo-Slav Government promptly received orders from the Supreme Council to withdraw their troops; and the Serbian force therefore evacuated the zone before the end of the month.

After Signor Giolitti became Italian Prime Minister, direct, although at first informal, negotiations were opened between Italy and Jugo-Slavia on the question of a settlement of the territorial problem in the Adriatic coast-lands. Some particulars of these negotiations have already been given (see Italy). In November a formal conference between representatives of the two countries was opened at Santa Margherita de Ligure. The two chief negotiators were the respective Foreign Ministers, Count Sforza and M. Trumbitch. The negotiations proceeded with the most remarkable rapidity. Count Sforza was prepared to abandon altogether the claim to Dalmatia, which had been given to Italy by the Pact of London; and he also refrained from claiming Fiume, only demanding that that port should be established as an independent State. He made a claim to Zara, however, and asked that the Italian frontier should be brought up to the immediate vicinity of Fiume, past Volosca, somewhat after the manner of the January proposal of the French and British Governments. The conference opened on November 8, and both M. Vesnitch and M. Trumbitch took part in the discussions. Signor Bonomi, the Italian Minister for War, accompanied Count Sforza. It was evident that the ground had been very carefully prepared by Signor Giolitti, for the negotiations proceeded with such rapidity that a treaty was signed on November 12. The treaty was known as "The Treaty of Rapallo," the house in which it was signed being situated in the Commune of that name. It will be seen that the Italian Government were now prepared to forego important parts of the claims formerly put forward. The Italian Nationalists had claimed the Treaty of London, *plus* Fiume. Various Italian Ministries had endeavoured to claim either the Treaty of London or Fiume. But Signor Giolitti and Count Sforza were now claiming neither the one nor the other. The Italian Government were abandon-

ing the more extreme and least defensible sections of the Pact of London; and they were not claiming Fiume. They were abandoning all Dalmatia except Zara.

The Treaty of Rapallo was signed by Signor Giolitti (who came to Santa Margherita at the end of the negotiations), Count Sforza, and Signor Bonimi, on the Italian side; and by M. Vesnitch, M. Trumbitch, and M. Stoyanovitch on the Jugo-Slav side. The treaty established Fiume as an independent port. The Italian frontier was brought down to the south-east of Volosca, in contiguity with the territory of the free city. Zara, with its suburbs of Borgo Erizzo, Boccagnazzo, and Cerno, and part of the Commune of Diclo, became part of the Kingdom of Italy. The islands of Cherso and Lussin, as also the islands of Lagosta and Pelagosa were also recognised as part of the Kingdom of Italy. The treaty contained a number of minor provisions relating to such matters as educational facilities for Italians in Jugo-Slavia, and for Jugo-Slavs in Italy.

It will be seen that by the terms of the Treaty of Rapallo, Italy obtained formal possession, not only of the whole of Görz, Gradisca, and Trieste, but also of practically all Istria, and of a large part of Carniola. The Italian frontier ran south-east from Monte Nero, and passed within 20 miles of Laibach, and south-east to the Schneeberg, and then south to Volosca, on the coast.

It appeared from subsequent statements made by Count Sforza that Italy and Jugo-Slavia had also agreed to act together to thwart any attempt to revive the Habsburg Monarchy,

The Treaty of Rapallo was ratified by Jugo-Slavia on November 22. The negotiations having thus been terminated, M. Trumbitch retired from the Foreign Ministry, as he said that he regarded his work as closed. Throughout the many changes of Government that had taken place in Jugo-Slavia during the two years which had elapsed since the conclusion of the armistice with Germany, M. Trumbitch had remained at the Foreign Office.

At the end of November a General Election was held in Jugo-Slavia in order to establish a Constituent Assembly with full authority. There had been no General Election in Serbia since 1912; and the Belgrade Parliament had therefore represented only part of Serbia even as that country existed before the European War—the reader will remember that Serbia had gained accessions of territory by the little war in the Balkans, which had preceded the European War.

The total number of Deputies in the new Constituent Assembly was 420. The two large parties, the Radicals and the Democrats, obtained between them just under half the total number of seats. There were a large number of smaller parties, of which the most important were the Croatian Peasants' Party, the Croatian Nationalists, the Slovene Clericals, the Mohammedans of Bosnia, and the Communists. The last-named party

had their greatest strength in Serbia itself. The Croatian Nationalists fared badly in the elections, and much the largest party in Croatia was the Peasants' Party led by Dr. Raditch. It appeared, however, that Dr. Raditch desired to claim almost as wide a measure of autonomy for Croatia as did Dr. Laginja himself. There were about sixty Communists returned for the whole country, a total which was somewhat alarming.

M. Vesnitch's Government resigned, and at the end of December, M. Pashitch became Prime Minister of a Cabinet including both Radicals and Democrats.

#### TURKEY.

Although Treaties of Peace were concluded with Germany, Austria, and Bulgaria, during 1919, no progress was made during that year towards the conclusion of peace with Turkey. It seems to have been originally hoped by the European Powers that the United States of America would undertake a mandate for Turkey under the newly constituted League of Nations, and hence there was deliberate delay in coming to a settlement on the questions involved in the break-up of the Turkish Empire, until it was known for certain whether the United States would or would not adhere to the League of Nations. Towards the end of 1919 it became clear that there was little or no prospect of the United States entering the League of Nations in the near future, and therefore at the end of the year the British, French, and Italian Governments reluctantly took in hand the settlement of the peace terms with Turkey, without reference to the United States. The discussions between the British, French, and Italian statesmen proceeded rapidly during the early weeks of 1920; and at a meeting of the Supreme Council, held in London in February, the first and perhaps the most important definite decision was taken. It was decided—and the decision was at once made known to the world—that the Turkish Government should be allowed to remain at Constantinople. The decision to leave Constantinople in the hands of the Turks met with strong opposition in some quarters in England, and with definite support in other quarters.

Towards the end of 1919, General Ali Riza Pasha had become Prime Minister; but after several changes of Government had taken place during the winter, Damad Ferid Pasha became Prime Minister at the beginning of April, and it fell to his lot to accept the terms which the Allies imposed upon Turkey.

The Turkish Government itself were inclined to accept any terms which the Allies thought fit to impose; but in Asia Minor there was a strong movement among the Turkish population, in opposition to the cession of the large territories, which the Allies were demanding. The party in Turkey which were bitterly opposed to the submission to the Allies were known as

the Nationalists, and the leader of this Nationalist Party was a certain Mustapha Kemal Pasha. The Nationalist leaders were extremely truculent, and apparently contemplated defying not only the Supreme Council, but their own Government at Constantinople as well. Mustapha Kemal collected around him a force of thousands of armed men. It is possible that the long delay of the Allies in coming to a settlement with Turkey had given rise to a belief in the mind of the Turkish people that there was some doubt whether the severe terms would be imposed at all. Mustapha Kemal's Army may be compared, in some respects, to the independent German Army which existed in Courland in 1919, and which refused to give any allegiance to the Government at Berlin.

It was no doubt largely owing to this increasing truculence of the Turks that in the spring the secular massacres of Armenians broke out afresh, and in February there was reported to have been a massacre of thousands of Armenians at Marash, in Cilicia.

During the spring, rapid progress was made with the drafting of the Turkish Treaty, and the Turkish Government were instructed to send a delegation to Paris to receive the Terms of Peace. The head of the Turkish delegation was Tewfik Pasha. The Treaty of Peace was handed to the Turkish delegates at the French Foreign Office on May 11.

As in the cases of the other treaties the text of this treaty with Turkey was of great length. It is the territorial provisions with which we are more particularly concerned here. Turkey was to cede Thrace to Greece, almost up to the Chatalja Lines, the whole of Lake Derkos being, however, included within the Turkish frontiers. Turkey was also to cede Tenedos and Imbros to Greece. Turkey was also to surrender in favour of Greece a large area in Asia Minor comprising not only Smyrna but also Tireh, Odemish, Akhissar, Aivali, Magnisa, and Bergama. This area in Asia Minor was to have an independent Parliament, but was to be under Greek administration, and was to have the right to attach itself definitively to Greece by plebiscite after the lapse of five years. Turkey was also compelled to recognise the independence of Syria, Armenia, the Hedjaz, and Mesopotamia. Turkey was to recognise the French Protectorates over Tunisia and the French zone in Morocco and the British Protectorate over Egypt and the Sudan, and the British Sovereignty over Cyprus. Turkey was also to cede to Great Britain the rights secured to the Ottoman Government by the Suez Canal Treaty of 1888.

A most important provision of the treaty was that which related to the "Zone of the Straits," namely, the coasts of the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora, and the Bosphorus. A Commission, to be appointed by the League of Nations, was to control this zone and the navigation of the Straits.

The Turkish Army was to be reduced to a force of only

50,000 men, of whom only 2,500 were to be officers. The officers were to serve for not less than twenty-five years and the men for not less than twelve years. Compulsory service was to be abolished in Turkey. The Turkish Navy was also to be abolished, except for a few small vessels for police purposes. The Turkish Air Force was also to be abolished.

There were stringent financial conditions embodied in the treaty. The power of imposing taxes was withdrawn from the Turkish Government and was to be given to a Finance Commission consisting of representatives of Great Britain, France, and Italy.

Turkey was to recognise the establishment of a mandate for Palestine under the League of Nations, the mandate in question to go to Great Britain.

And in the treaty as originally drawn up Turkey was to recognise Italian Sovereignty over the Dodecanese.

In the "Commission of the Straits," to which reference has been made above, representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan were to have the predominant voice, but Rumania and Greece were also to be represented.

The Covenant of the League of Nations and the Labour Convention, as embodied in the Treaty of Versailles, were incorporated in the treaty.

The preamble to the treaty enumerated the High Contracting Parties, who were the four Principal Allied Powers—Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan—and also Belgium, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Greece, the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom, Rumania, Portugal, Armenia, and the Hedjaz, on the one hand, and Turkey on the other hand.

The terms of the treaty were received with dismay in Constantinople, and with defiance by the Turkish Nationalists in Asia Minor. The Turkish delegation were allowed some weeks to consider their reply to the terms. The two points in the treaty to which the Turks seem to have taken particular exception were the cession of Thrace to Greece and the rights bestowed upon Greece in the Smyrna district. The reply of the Turkish delegation was delivered to the Supreme Council at the end of June. With regard to the entry of Turkey into the war, the Turkish delegation said that this was the work of the Committee of Union and Progress and not of the Turkish nation as a whole. The reply stated that the Ottoman Government were prepared to recognise the independence of Armenia and of the Hedjaz, and the Protectorate of France over Tunis and Morocco. The Turks were also prepared to abandon all claim to Lybia, to Egypt, and the islands in the Aegean Sea, including Imbros, Tenedos, Lemnos, Samothrace, Mytilene, Chios, Samos, and Nikaria. The Government were also prepared to recognise the annexation of Cyprus by Great Britain, and the loss of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Palestine. The reply went on, however, to protest against the composition of the proposed Straits

Commission, and pointed out that the State actually situated in the Straits, namely, Turkey, was not to be represented on the Commission. It was also declared that the conditions under which the Commission was to be established infringed the sovereign rights of the Turkish Government. The reply demanded that the authority of the Straits Commission should be restricted, and that a Turkish Delegate should have a seat upon the proposed body. In regard to Thrace, the Turks declared that the cession of the territory was a violation of the principle of nationalities which the Allies professed to support. In regard to the question of the Smyrna district, the Turkish Government stated that they were unable to agree to a proposal which violated the rights and sentiments of the Turkish people. And the Turks demanded that the Greek troops in the Smyrna district should be withdrawn forthwith. The Turkish Government agreed to the reduction of the Turkish Army, and to the proposals which virtually abolished the Turkish Navy. But in regard to the territorial provisions of the Draft Treaty, they made several suggestions for alterations. The delegation proposed that the southern frontier of Armenia should not be extended beyond the former Turco-Russian frontier; and certain other territorial suggestions were made.

The reply of the Allies to the objections of the Turks was not delivered for several weeks, the delay being somewhat surprising, because the Supreme Council consented to scarcely any modification of the terms as presented to the Turks in May. The only modification of any importance to which the Allies agreed was the acceptance of the Turkish proposal that Turkey should be represented on the Straits Commission. The Allied note was very sternly worded. And in regard to the Turkish excuse for the manner in which the Ottoman Empire had entered into the war, the Allies said that they were quite unable to agree that Turkey had any less responsibility than the countries to which she had been allied. And in reference to this matter the Allied note said:—

“The Allied Powers have given careful consideration to the observations of the Turkish Government on the draft Treaty of Peace which it is asked to sign. The Turkish Government would appear to think that its responsibility in the Great War is less than that of its Allies, and that it is, therefore, entitled to lenient treatment. The Allies cannot accept that plea.

“In the opinion of the Allies, Turkey voluntarily joined a conspiracy against the liberty of all nations at a time when its tyrannical purpose had become revealed to all. They consider that Turkey was thereby guilty of peculiar treachery to Powers which for more than half a century had been her steadfast friends. Turkey entered the war without the shadow of excuse or provocation. The Allies entertained no hostile designs against Turkey. Indeed, in August, 1914, the Allied Powers made a declaration to the Porte that if Turkey maintained her



neutrality throughout the war the Allies would guarantee the integrity of the Turkish dominions. This declaration the Turkish Government disregarded, thus proving that ambition and not security was its purpose in entering the war.

"The Turkish delegation does not appear to appreciate the loss and suffering which Turkey's intervention has caused to humanity. The extent of Turkey's liability is not to be gauged merely by the cost of overcoming the Turkish Armies. By gratuitously closing a great international waterway in the face of the Allies and so cutting off the communications between Russia, Rumania, and the Western Allies, Turkey certainly prolonged the war by not less than two years, and caused a loss to the Allies of several millions of lives and thousands of millions of pounds. The reparation which Turkey owes to those who, at terrible cost, have re-established liberty for the world is far greater than she can ever pay."

The Allies then went on to give their considered opinion upon the situation created by the appalling atrocities committed on many occasions and in many different places and on the largest scale by the Turks. The passages in the note dealing with this problem had the character of a final verdict upon a question which had been a running sore in the side of Europe for a century and more. "The Allies are clear that the time has come when it is necessary to put an end once and for all to the empire of the Turks over other nations. The history of the relations between the Porte and the Great Powers in the long period before the war was one long story of repeated and un-availing attempts to put an end to atrocities in Bulgaria, Macedonia, Armenia, and elsewhere, atrocities which startled and shocked the conscience of mankind. During the past twenty years Armenians have been massacred under conditions of unexampled barbarity, and during the war the record of the Turkish Government in massacre, in deportation, and in maltreatment of prisoners of war, immeasurably exceeded even its own previous record. It is estimated that since 1914 it has massacred, on the mendacious pretext of an alleged revolt, 800,000 Armenians, including women and children, and has expelled or deported more than 200,000 Greeks and 200,000 Armenians from their homes. Not only has the Turkish Government failed to protect its subjects of other races from pillage, outrage, and murder, but there is abundant evidence that it has been responsible for directing and organising savagery against people to whom it owed protection.

"For these reasons the Allied Powers are resolved to emancipate all areas inhabited by a non-Turkish majority from Turkish rule. It would neither be just nor would it conduce to lasting peace in the Near and Middle East, that large masses of non-Turkish nationality should be forced to remain under Turkish rule. The Allies can make no modification in the clauses of the treaty which detach Thrace and Smyrna from

Turkish rule, for in both areas the Turks are in a minority. The same considerations apply to the frontiers fixed between Syria and Turkey.

"For the same reason they can make no change in the provisions which provide for the creation of a free Armenia within boundaries which the President of the United States will determine as fair and just."

Having dealt with this matter of the iniquities perpetrated under Turkish rule, the Allies proceeded to explain the provisions of the treaty in regard to Smyrna, a point to which, as already explained, the Turks had taken particular objection. The note said that: "The provisions concerning Smyrna will in no way have the effect of restricting the trade and commerce of Anatolia. On the contrary, the freedom of the port is guaranteed by the treaty, its inhabitants will have the strongest interest in making their town the port of the hinterland, and under an honest Government will serve the interior more effectively than ever. The arrangement is analogous to that introduced at Danzig."

In regard to the Zone of the Straits the Allied Powers agreed to the Turkish suggestion that the Constantinople Government should be represented on the governing body. In conclusion the Allies pointed out that they had been generous to the Turkish Government in leaving them in Constantinople; and the note drew attention to the fact that "in view of the misuse made by the Turks of their power in the past, the Allies have had grave doubts as to the wisdom of this step. If the Turkish Government refuses to sign the Peace, still more, if it finds itself unable to re-establish its authority in Anatolia, or to give effect to the treaty, the Allies, in accordance with the terms of the treaty, may be driven to reconsider this arrangement, by ejecting the Turks from Europe once and for all. The Allied Powers hereby notify the Turkish delegation that Turkey is granted a period of ten days to signify definitely her acceptance of the clauses of the treaty and her intention to sign it. This period expires on July 27, at 12 midnight. If the treaty is not signed in its present form, the Allied Powers would take such action as they may consider necessary in the circumstances."

Whilst the negotiations were proceeding with the Turkish delegation in Paris, it became necessary to take action against the Turkish Nationalist force in Asia Minor. The Nationalists declared that whatever the Government at Constantinople might do, the Turkish people would never agree to the Allies' terms. Fortunately there was an army on the spot which was strong enough to deal with the situation thus created. It will be remembered that the Greeks had already been permitted by the Powers to occupy Smyrna and the surrounding district. The Nationalist movement had spread to such an extent that the Nationalist Army, whose Headquarters were at Angora, had occupied all the country up to the Eastern shore of the Sea of

Marmora. There was a strong body of Nationalist troops in Brusa; and indeed the Turkish Government had very little authority outside Constantinople.

The Greek Prime Minister, M. Venizelos, visited England in June, and he was then given authority to proceed against the Nationalist forces to the north of Smyrna, and in the direction of Brusa. The campaign which ensued was very short and sharp. The Greek Army moved north with great rapidity, and struck at the Nationalists before their concentration was completed. The Nationalists were badly armed, and were to some extent taken by surprise. The Greek Army never had any difficulty in overcoming the resistance which was offered, and entered Brusa in triumph on July 8. The weakness of Mustapha Kemal Pasha's force may be gauged from the fact that in the storming of Brusa the Greeks captured only one field-gun and six machine-guns. The Greeks did not advance upon Angora itself.

The Turkish portion of Thrace which had been given to Greece was occupied by Greek troops at the end of July. The local Turks attempted some resistance but were easily overcome. The town of Adrianople itself was occupied on July 25; and King Alexander made a state entry into the town on the following day.

The Turkish Government signified their willingness to sign the treaty several days before the Allies' ultimatum elapsed; but further delay was then caused by the Greek Government which had from the beginning taken serious exception to the cession of the Dodecanese to Italy. It will be remembered that Italy had been in occupation of the Dodecanese since the Italo-Turkish War of 1912. The islands were, however, inhabited by a population which was almost exclusively Greek. The Greek Government now declared that they would refuse to sign the treaty with Turkey if this provision remained unaltered. This difficulty caused a delay of another fortnight; but eventually, an agreement was come to between Italy and Greece, which provided, firstly, that all the Dodecanese other than Rhodes should be ceded to Greece, and, secondly—and this was a somewhat extraordinary provision—that Italy should agree to the holding of a plebiscite in Rhodes to decide the destiny of this island, if Great Britain agreed to cede Cyprus to Greece. It was arranged that if this event ever took place a plebiscite was to be held in Rhodes within fifteen years of the cession of Cyprus. A special convention was drawn up dealing with this matter of the Dodecanese, the convention to be signed by Greece and Italy at the same time as the treaty with Turkey.

The treaty was eventually signed at Sèvres on August 10, the principal Turkish delegate being Riza Tewfik Bey. The treaty was also signed for Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Rumania, Belgium, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Armenia,

and Portugal. The treaty became known as the Treaty of Sèvres. Jugo-Slavia refused to sign the treaty because she was unwilling to assume the appropriate part of the Turkish debt which fell to her with her portion of ex-Turkish territory. The Kingdom of the Hedjaz was also unrepresented as war had now broken out between the Emir Feisal and France.

In the middle of September the Italians evacuated the lesser Dodecanese Islands in accordance with the Italo-Greek Convention. In reference to this matter, the reader may be reminded that Rhodes, which Italy had insisted upon retaining, was much the largest island in the group. Indeed, all the other islands were of very small size. The treaty having been signed, normal relations were re-established with the Constantinople Government, but unfortunately the authorities at Constantinople were far from being an effective Government of Asiatic Turkey. Mustapha Kemal Pasha was still the leader of a powerful party in Asia Minor, and he even went so far as to call a Turkish "Parliament" in Angora. Moreover, later in the autumn Kemal directed his forces (in agreement with the Russian Government) against Armenia.

In the middle of October Damad Ferid Pasha resigned; and he was succeeded as head of the Government by Tewfik Pasha.

In December the Government entered into negotiations with the Nationalist leaders at Angora, but no settlement of any kind was reached before the end of the year. The situation therefore remained most anomalous, for Turkey really had two Governments at this time—one at Constantinople and the other at Angora.

#### GREECE.

During the year the most extraordinary series of kaleidoscopic changes took place in Greece. There were few countries which had gained more than Greece from the war, in proportion to the size and importance of the country; and the Greeks ought to have regarded themselves as especially fortunate in this matter, because they had in point of fact played a somewhat doubtful part in the war, and no man could say how much sincerity there had been in their long-delayed adherence to the Allied cause. The highly favourable bargains which the Greek Kingdom had been able to make with the Great Powers had been due almost entirely to the statesmanlike qualities and the extraordinary tact which had been displayed throughout the discussions by the Greek Prime Minister, M. Venizelos.

During the first half of the year Greece was chiefly occupied with establishing her position at Smyrna and in taking over the other territories which had been allotted to her by the Supreme Council. It was decided that the portion of Thrace which had been taken from Bulgaria should be given to Greece; and Greece was authorised to occupy this district at the end of May. Turkish Thrace, including the great town of Adrianople, was

also assigned to Greece and was occupied by that country at the end of July. Greece thus extended her dominions to the coast of the Black Sea.

During the summer it was announced that King Alexander had contracted a morganatic marriage with a certain Mlle Manos in the previous November.

Whilst M. Venizelos was in Paris in August an attempt was made to assassinate him, and it was reported that the criminals were adherents of the Royalist cause. The publication in Athens of the news of the attempted assassination led to outbreaks of serious riots against real and supposed partisans of ex-King Constantine.

Fortunately M. Venizelos was not seriously wounded and he was able to attend the meeting of Parliament on September 7. The Prime Minister received an extremely enthusiastic welcome in the Chamber of Deputies, and a speech of welcome was made by the President of the House, who proposed a resolution proclaiming that the Prime Minister was the saviour of Greece, and that a permanent memorial should be erected to him in the Chamber. It is worth recording that this resolution was passed unanimously. M. Venizelos then rose to reply to the President and to thank the Chamber for its welcome, and also to present three treaties to Parliament. The treaties in question were that with Turkey, that with the Great Powers relating to the transfer from them to Greece of the portion of Thrace which had been ceded to the Powers by Bulgaria; and, thirdly, that with Italy regarding the Dodecanese, to which reference has already been made elsewhere (see Turkey). The first two of these treaties at any rate were thoroughly satisfactory to Greece, and were certainly a monument to M. Venizelos's statesmanship. The Prime Minister said that since the Chamber was to be dissolved within a few days there would not be time for the ratification of these treaties, but this need not be regarded as a serious matter, because so far as the territorial sections of the agreements were concerned, the treaties had already been carried into effect. M. Venizelos said that so soon as the Chamber was dissolved, martial law and the censorship would be abolished, and the General Election would be held in the autumn. Replying to the charges of his opponents, M. Venizelos said that he would guarantee that the elections would be held under conditions of absolute liberty.

The last ordinary sitting of the Chamber was on September 23. It is perhaps worth recording here that the Chamber which was now dissolved was that which had been elected in 1915 and had been dissolved by King Constantine in the following year, and had then been recalled by M. Venizelos in 1917. The issue of the General Election was therefore fraught with the greatest possible interest.

In consequence of the peculiar history of the Chamber of Deputies which was being dissolved, the elections would under

any circumstances have been of the very greatest importance to the country, but they were rendered even more critical by the tragic event which intervened between the dissolution of Parliament and the day of the elections. The event in question was the death of King Alexander.

The King's death took place under the most tragic and unusual circumstances. On October 2 the King was walking in the grounds of his domain at Tatoi, when his pet dog was attacked by a monkey. The King endeavoured to separate the animals, and was himself badly bitten by another monkey. It was at first thought that his wounds were not serious; but blood poison ensued, and it was soon realised that the King's condition was critical. The best medical assistance was obtained from Paris, but the efforts of the physicians were unfortunately unavailing and King Alexander died on October 25.

King Alexander was the second son of ex-King Constantine and ex-Queen Sophie, sister of the ex-Emperor William II. He was born at Tatoi in July, 1893; and was proclaimed King of the Greeks in June, 1917. He had gained the sympathy of many people, both in Greece and abroad, by his romantic marriage with Mlle Aspasia Manos.

The election campaign was already proceeding when the King died, but the date of the elections was postponed, and M. Venizelos summoned the Chamber to meet for a special session on October 28. The Chamber duly met on that afternoon, but less than half the Deputies were present. The Prime Minister announced to the Deputies that King Alexander had died, and declared that in his opinion the Constitutional successor to the Throne was the late King's younger brother, Prince Paul. The Prime Minister also announced that the Government had sent a message to Prince Paul offering him its sympathy on the untimely death of his elder brother, and informing him of his succession to the Hellenic Throne. The Government appear to have also intimated to Prince Paul that he should not come to Greece until after the General Election had proved whether the existing Government enjoyed the confidence of the Greek people. M. Venizelos said that it was therefore necessary to elect a Regent to serve during the interval, and he proposed that Admiral Coundouriotis should be elected to that post. The few members of the Opposition who were present declared that they considered that the question of the succession could be satisfactorily settled in only one way—by a vote of the entire Greek people. Admiral Coundouriotis was subsequently elected Regent by a large majority of the Deputies present.

The funeral of King Alexander took place in the Cathedral at Athens. It was, of course, one of the tragedies of the late King's position, that none of his nearest relatives could be present either during his last illness or at the funeral. Ex-King Constantine, Ex-Queen Sophie, the ex-Crown Prince, Prince Paul, and the three princesses, were all exiled in

Switzerland. The Dowager Queen Olga came to Athens, but did not arrive until after the King's death. Madame Manos was, however, constantly with her husband during his last illness. The funeral was attended by the Dowager Queen Olga, Madame Manos, Admiral Coundouriotis, the Crown Prince of Sweden, and Crown Prince Alexander of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

The reply of Prince Paul to the message of the Greek Government caused considerable perturbation in Greece and to some extent even in Europe generally. The reply was as follows:—

"I declare that I do not share the point of view of the Hellenic Government that, according to the Constitution, I am to-day called upon to ascend the Throne. The Throne does not belong to me; it belongs to my august father King Constantine, and, constitutionally, my eldest brother is his successor. Neither of them has ever renounced his rights, but both have been obliged to leave Greece in obedience to the dictates of their patriotic duty."

Prince Paul then went on to say that he could not ascend the Throne in the existing circumstances. "I would only ascend the Throne if the Hellenic people were to decide that it did not want the return of my august father, and were to exclude the Crown Prince George from his right of succession."

This declaration by Prince Paul placed the Government in a difficult position, and it soon became evident that there was a strong movement aiming at the restoration of King Constantine. M. Venizelos was quite prepared to face the issue, and the question of the return of King Constantine immediately became the real issue of the General Election. M. Venizelos declared openly that if he and the Liberal Party were returned to power the result would be a condemnation of the claims of King Constantine. If, on the other hand, the Opposition obtained a majority, he (M. Venizelos) would retire altogether from political life. The Opposition leaders came out openly in support of King Constantine.

In the meantime a proclamation was issued by M. Streit from Lucerne. M. Streit was King Constantine's confidential adviser and had been Foreign Minister during the first part of the war when King Constantine was still on the Greek Throne. M. Venizelos had stated that King Constantine and his advisers had undertaken obligations towards the Central Powers. In his proclamation M. Streit said that having been Foreign Minister he was in a position to give a formal denial to this statement. He said that King Constantine had undertaken before the war no engagement which could prevent the freedom of the foreign policy of the country. And that "at no moment during the war was any obligation assumed by King Constantine to fight by the side of the Central Powers, or imposing upon Greece a neutral attitude."

The General Election was duly held on November 14. It had long been known to those who kept in contact with affairs in the Near East that the Royalist Party in Greece had never ceased to be powerful. But the result of the General Election, which was a sweeping victory for the Opposition, came as a surprise in Great Britain. The Liberals were badly defeated in almost all parts of the country, and in some provinces they were literally crushed. It was stated that in the Peloponnesus, in Thessaly, and in Macedonia, there was not a single Venizelist candidate elected. The Opposition were returned with a majority of 151, having secured a total of 261 seats.

On the following day M. Venizelos tendered to the Regent the resignation of the Liberal Cabinet. A Cabinet was then formed by the aged statesman, M. Demetrius Ralli, who thereupon requested Admiral Coundouriotis to resign the Regency. The Dowager Queen Olga was then appointed Regent, in the expectation that King Constantine would soon return to Greece. M. Ralli arranged, however, that before King Constantine was formally invited to return to the Throne, a plebiscite upon the question should be held. M. Venizelos left Greece and went to France.

The result of the elections placed the Allied Powers in a somewhat difficult position. They had, of course, always favoured M. Venizelos, and they had certainly favoured Greece in the Peace settlements. On the other hand, the Greek people appeared now to have given a decisive verdict in favour of the return of King Constantine. It was reported that the French Government wished to forbid King Constantine to return. But the British and Italian Governments were not in favour of placing the Allies in the position of appearing to oppose the declared wishes of the Greek people on a question which was primarily the concern of Greece. The result of these differences of opinion in the highest quarters was that a somewhat compromising proclamation was issued by the British, French, and Italian Governments. The proclamation stated that the recall of King Constantine could only be regarded as a ratification by the Greek people of the actions of the King which had been hostile to the Allies. And the proclamation stated that the recall of the King would create an unfavourable situation between Greece and the Great Powers, and that in the event of that recall taking place the Great Powers would "reserve to themselves complete liberty in dealing with the situation thus created."

This proclamation made the situation difficult for M. Ralli, but that statesman decided to proceed with the plebiscite. This second poll of the people was held on December 5.

It was stated on behalf of the Liberals that they would refrain from taking any part in the poll. They thus confessed beforehand that they anticipated defeat. It is doubtful whether the Liberals of the rank and file obeyed the orders of their leaders to refrain from the poll. The total number of votes



cast in the plebiscite appears to have been greater than in the General Election a few weeks earlier. It is more probable that the Liberals of the rank and file, like their compatriots of other parties, were in truth carried away by an enthusiasm—temporary or otherwise—to see the return of the royal exile. However this may have been, there was an enormous majority in favour of King Constantine. It was stated that 1,012,742 votes were cast and that of these 999,962 were in favour of King Constantine. After a result such as this only one course of action was possible, and M. Ralli formally invited King Constantine to return.

The Allied Powers took no definite steps to forbid this consummation, but they issued a declaration that King Constantine would not be recognised, and withdrawing the subsidies which Greece had been receiving from the Powers.

King Constantine and Queen Sophie left Switzerland, and arrived in Athens on December 19, their return to their capital being made the occasion for a tremendous demonstration of sympathy. King Constantine was received everywhere with immense enthusiasm.

#### BULGARIA.

At the opening of the year, M. Stambolisky, the leader of the Agrarian Party, was Prime Minister, the Agrarians having been very successful in the General Election of 1919. The Treaty of Peace with Bulgaria had been signed at the end of November, 1919. At the beginning of January the treaty was presented to the Bulgarian Parliament for ratification. Speakers of all parties condemned the terms of the treaty; but the House realised that it could do nothing but submit to the inevitable, and the treaty was ratified by a large majority. At the end of February, Parliament was again dissolved, though the same Government continued in office. The General Election took place on March 28, and in the result the position of the Agrarian Party was still further strengthened. The Agrarians obtained 110 seats out of a total of 229, the total membership of the House having been reduced by 9, owing to the cession of territory, under the terms of the Treaty of Peace. The Democrats obtained 24 seats, and the other non-Socialist parties obtained 36 seats. The old Moderate Socialist Party fared very badly, being reduced to 9 Deputies; but the Communists proved very powerful in the towns and won 50 seats. M. Stambolisky reorganised his Government, and being supported by the other non-Socialists, as well as by the Agrarians, he was able to continue in power.

Later in the year M. Stambolisky visited England.

At the meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva in December, Bulgaria was elected a member of the League.

## ALBANIA.

Progress was made during the year in establishing the international status of Albania. In January the French and British Governments made proposals to Jugo-Slavia which involved a partition of Albanian territory between Jugo-Slavia, Italy, and Greece, but in deference chiefly to the protests of President Wilson, these proposals were afterwards abandoned (see Jugo-Slavia). At the end of January a National Congress of Albanians gathered at Lusnia, and passed resolutions protesting against the French and British proposals. The Congress elected a Regency Council of notables, to act in the place of a prince, and also a Government, under the premiership of Suleiman Bey Delvina. Shortly afterwards the seat of the Administration was moved to Tirana. The new Government was unconnected with the chief, Essad Pasha, who was assassinated in Paris in the summer. After Signor Giolitti became Italian Prime Minister, he came to a speedy agreement with the Tirana Government. The Italians evacuated the Valona district, which they had held for several years, and retained no hold over Albania, except the right to fortify Cape Linguetta and Cape Trepanti. Italy retained the island of Sasseno. Italy also recognised the independence of Albania. It was no doubt largely owing to this reasonable attitude on the part of the Italian Government that Albania was admitted to the League of Nations by the Assembly at Geneva in December. The frontiers of the country with Jugo-Slavia and Greece remained, however, undefined. In December Ilias Bey Vrioni became Premier.

## MONTENEGRO.

It will be remembered that Montenegro was absorbed in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes after the conclusion of the armistice with Germany. This action on the part of Serbia gave rise to some criticism in Western Europe; but neither in 1919 nor in 1920 were any steps taken to ascertain the real desires of the Montenegrins themselves.

## CHAPTER V.

LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE: BELGIUM  
—LUXEMBURG—THE NETHERLANDS—SWITZERLAND—LIECH-  
TENSTEIN—SPAIN—PORTUGAL—DENMARK AND ICELAND—  
SWEDEN—NORWAY.

## BELGIUM.

AT the end of 1919 a General Election was held in Belgium, which had revealed a large increase in the Socialist vote; but there had been a satisfactory co-operation between the parties,

of which the Clerical Party remained somewhat the strongest, and a Coalition Government had been formed, with M. Delacroix as Prime Minister.

In March statistics were published giving the population of Belgium at the end of 1918. The total population was stated to be 7,555,500. The excess of the female sex was stated to be only 73,000.

The National Budget for the year 1920-21 was dealt with during the spring session of Parliament. It was stated that the Expenditure was estimated at 1,597,406,500 francs; and that on the basis of the existing taxation the Revenue was estimated at less than half that sum, namely, at 797,129,400 francs. The Prime Minister said, however, that additional taxes would be imposed, particularly under the heads of Income Tax, Super-Tax, Entertainments Tax, Customs, and Registration Dues. There was also expected to be a very heavy receipt from a special War Profits Tax; and the Prime Minister therefore hoped that at the end of the year the Revenue would probably exceed the Expenditure.

In the spring, as described elsewhere, the small districts of Eupen and Malmedy were definitely united to the Belgian Kingdom under the authority of the League of Nations. Under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles the inhabitants of the districts had the right to express their wish to remain united with Germany, but it was reported that only a very small minority of the inhabitants expressed in the required manner a wish to remain united with the German Republic. The Council of the League of Nations, therefore, decided that it was the wish of the majority of the inhabitants to be annexed to Belgium, and the union accordingly took place.

During the summer, negotiations took place between the French and Belgian Governments for the conclusion of a military alliance. The negotiations were brought to a successful conclusion, and the military alliance was concluded after full consultation between the respective General Staffs. It was at first anticipated that some difficulty would arise in connexion with Article XVIII. of the Covenant of the League of Nations. It will be remembered that Article XVIII. read as follows: "Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat, and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered." The French and Belgian Governments felt that it would destroy the purpose of the alliance if they gave to the League the details of the military agreement. In the beginning of November, however, the two Governments sent to Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League, a formal announcement that the military alliance had been concluded, and a statement that it was of a purely defensive character. But the technical details were not disclosed.

During the summer the Legislature passed a Bill rendering legal and constitutional the scheme of full manhood suffrage in Parliamentary Elections, which had, however, already been put into practice in the General Election of the previous autumn (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1919, p. 239). The vote was thus given to practically all men over twenty-one years of age. A proposal to grant votes to women was defeated.

During the year negotiations with the Netherlands for the revision of the treaties of 1839 were continued. The Belgians abandoned the claims to territorial modifications in their favour which they had at first put forward, but the final details regulating the rights of navigation in the Scheldt were not decided.

As described elsewhere (see Chapter I.) an International Financial Conference was held at Brussels during the autumn under the auspices of the League of Nations. The President of the Conference was M. Ador, Ex-President of the Swiss Confederation.

In the autumn a political crisis arose. During the most critical phase of the Russo-Polish War, the Belgian Government took the somewhat extraordinary action of refusing to allow munitions intended for Poland to pass through the port of Antwerp. This action was taken by the Ministry as a whole, but the Foreign Minister, M. Hymans, expressed his disapproval by resigning office. Subsequently several other Ministers also resigned; and at the end of October M. Delacroix decided that it was impossible for him to carry on the Government and accordingly sent in his resignation to the King. The crisis lasted for three weeks; but on November 19 it was announced that the Clerical politician, M. Carton de Wiart, had succeeded in forming a Coalition Ministry, including Clericals, Liberals, and Socialists. M. Jaspar, a Clerical, was Minister for Foreign Affairs, and M. Vandervelde, the well-known Socialist, was Minister of Justice. Neither M. Delacroix nor M. Hymans was a member of the new Cabinet.

#### LUXEMBURG.

It will be remembered that during 1919 the Grand-Duchess Marie Adelaide had abdicated from the Throne of Luxemburg and had been succeeded by her younger sister, the Grand-Duchess Charlotte, who subsequently married Prince Felix of Bourbon-Parma. During the year there was an improvement in the relations between Belgium and Luxemburg. The claim to annex Luxemburg which some Belgians had put forward after the armistice with Germany was entirely abandoned, and early in the year the Belgian Government sent a message to Luxemburg City recognising the Grand-Duchess Charlotte as sovereign of Luxemburg. The scheme for an economic union between Luxemburg and France, which had been approved by

the Luxemburg electors in 1919, was not put into effect, and negotiations for a trade agreement with Belgium were opened instead. It was announced in September that the ex-Grand-Duchess Marie Adelaide had entered the Carmelite Convent of St. Theresa at Modena. It was announced in October that Princess Hilda and Princess Sophie, younger sisters of the reigning Grand-Duchess, had both become betrothed to German princes, a Wurtemburger and a Saxon respectively.

#### THE NETHERLANDS.

At the opening of the year Jonkheer de Beerenbrouck's Government was still in power, with Jonkheer van Karnebeek still acting as Foreign Minister. The first event of the year was the discussion with the Great Powers relative to the handing over of the ex-Emperor William, who, it will be remembered, had taken refuge in Dutch territory in 1918. In the middle of January a formal demand was made by the Peace Conference that the ex-Emperor should be delivered up by the Netherlands Government. The letter making this demand, which was given to the Dutch Minister in Paris, read as follows:—

"Paris, Jan. 16, 1920. In notifying by the present letter to the Queen's Government the text of Article 227 (a certified copy of which is included) of the Treaty of Peace with Germany, which came in force on January 10, 1920, I have the honour to announce at the same time that the Allies have decided to put into execution without delay the conditions of this article. Consequently the Powers address to the Government of Holland an official demand to hand over to them William of Hohenzollern, ex-Emperor of Germany, in order that he may be sent for trial.

"The persons residing in Germany against whom the Allied and Associated Powers have brought forward charges, must be handed over to them in accordance with Article 228 of the Peace Treaty. The ex-Emperor, if he had remained in Germany, would have been handed over under the same conditions by the German Government.

"The Netherlands Government is in possession of the imprescriptible reasons which imperatively demand that the premeditated violations of international treaties, as well as the systematic ignoring of the most sacred laws of international justice, be followed in the case of all, including the most highly-placed personages, by the special penalties provided for by the Peace Treaty.

"The Allied Powers recall briefly among so many wrongs the cynical violation of the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg, the barbarous and pitiless system of hostages, the mass deportations, the carrying off of young girls from Lille, who were torn from their families, and delivered up in a helpless condition

to the worst atrocities, the systematic devastation of whole territories without military objects, the unrestricted submarine warfare, including the inhuman abandonment of victims on the high seas, the innumerable acts committed against non-combatants by the German authorities in spite of the rule of warfare, etc., etc.

"For all these acts the responsibility, at least the moral responsibility, lies with the Supreme Head who ordered them or abused his powers to infringe, or allow to be infringed, the most sacred rules of the human conscience. The Powers cannot conceive that the Government of the Netherlands will regard with less reprobation than themselves the immense responsibility of the ex-Emperor. Holland would not fulfil her international duty if she refused to associate herself with the other nations, so far as her resources permit, in punishing or if she hindered the chastisement of the crimes committed.

"In addressing their demands to the Government of the Netherlands the Powers believe it their duty to call attention to their special character. The task devolves upon them of assuring the carrying out of Article 227 without permitting themselves to be stopped by discussion, because in the circumstances there is question not of a public Commission of a juridical character, but of a high international political act, rendered necessary by the conscience of the world, in which the forms of law have been laid down solely to assure to the accused a number of guarantees of a kind so far unknown in international law.

"The Powers are convinced that Holland, who has always shown her respect for right and her love of justice, and who was one of the first to claim her place in the League of Nations, will not wish to cover by her moral authority the violation of the essential principles of the solidarity of nations, or attempt to prevent a repetition of a similar catastrophe. The Netherlands people is deeply interested in not giving itself the appearance of protecting the chief author by giving him shelter on its territory, and in facilitating the trial demanded by the voice of thousands of victims.

"(Signed) CLEMENCEAU."

A week later, on January 23, the Dutch reply was received. The Government definitely refused to hand over the ex-Emperor. The reply was as follows:—

"The Government of the Queen has the honour to point out, in the first place, that the obligations which are imposed upon Germany as the result of the Treaty of Peace cannot have weight in determining the duty of the Netherlands, which are not a party to this Treaty.

"The Government of the Queen, actuated also by imprscriptible reasons, can only view the question raised by the demand of the Allies from the point of view of its own duty.

It had absolutely no part in the beginnings of the war, and it maintained, not without difficulty, its neutrality to the end. It is, therefore, placed in relation to the events of the war in a different position from that of the Allied Powers.

"It energetically repudiates any suggestion of covering with its sovereign right and with its moral authority the violations of the essential principles of the solidarity of nations, but it is unable to admit that it is an international duty to associate herself with the act of high international policy of the Allied Powers.

"If in the future it was in the intention of the nations to establish an international jurisdiction, competent in the event of war to judge acts alleged to be crimes and liable to be punished by statutes passed previous to the commission of the acts, it would be for Holland to associate herself with the new regime.

"The Government of the Queen can admit up to the present no other duty than that which is imposed upon it by the laws of the realm, and the national traditions.

"If, therefore, the constituent laws of the Kingdom are based upon the principle of a universally recognised right, if the expression of the secular tradition has made of that country from all times a land of refuge for the vanquished in international conflicts, the Government of the Queen cannot defer to the desire of the Powers by withdrawing from the ex-Emperor the benefits of its laws and its traditions. The rights and the honour of the nation, respect for which is a sacred duty, are opposed to such a course. The people of the Netherlands cannot betray the confidence of those who trusted themselves to their free institutions.

"The Government of the Queen is ready to believe that the Powers recognise the justice of these considerations, which rise above all personal pressure, and which seem to it so decisive that they ought not reasonably to give occasion to any erroneous interpretations."

The Dutch refusal to deliver up the ex-Kaiser was considered very fully by the meeting of the Allied Peace Conference which was held in London in February. After much discussion a further note was sent to the Netherlands Government on February 14. The note suggested that in his present situation the ex-Kaiser remained a danger to Europe, and indicated that by the action it was taking the Dutch Government was placing the Netherlands outside the comity of nations. It was also suggested that the peace of the world would be more secure if the Kaiser were transported to some more distant part of the Dutch dominions. The reply of the Netherlands Government to this second note said that the decision of the Government of the Queen which had already been given could not be varied. But the note went on to say that the Government were alive to their duties in connexion with the presence of the ex-Kaiser in

Holland. And it was stated that every precaution would be taken and that the liberty of the ex-Kaiser would be subjected to the necessary limitations.

In March the Prime Minister made a statement in Parliament in regard to the question of the ex-Kaiser. He said that the ex-Kaiser had given him an undertaking to refrain from all political action and to avoid compromising the Netherlands Government.

In March Holland formally accepted the invitation which she had received to join the League of Nations.

In June the country experienced further trouble from the extreme Labour movement, which had been active during the previous few years. Strikes were declared in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and The Hague, chiefly by way of protest against measures taken by the Government to suppress revolutionary disturbances. The strikes obtained only partial support from the working classes, and failed within a few days.

During the year the Government appointed a Royal Commission to consider amendments in the Constitution, particularly in relation to the Monarchy. The Report of the Royal Commission was issued towards the end of the year. The Report stated that in the opinion of the Commission the Monarchic Regime had been a blessing to the Netherlands, and that it would continue to be so as long as a truly national monarchy was possible. The Commission held, however, that the existing provisions for succession to the throne were too wide, and might result in persons coming to the throne, about whom there was a doubt of their understanding the Dutch people's national feelings. The Commission therefore proposed that the paragraphs in the Constitution whereby persons other than descendants of the present reigning Queen could be called to the throne should be deleted. And it was proposed that in case male descendants of males were lacking, to limit the succession to the second generation of the late King, William III. Since it would then be possible that under these revised laws a legal successor to the throne might be altogether lacking, it was proposed to abolish the Constitutional obligation to select a sovereign, and to leave open the possibility of adopting another form of government for the Netherlands. The Commission also proposed that the power to make treaties with foreign Powers and to declare war which the present Dutch Constitution gave to the sovereign should be revised, and that in future no treaties should be concluded, nor should war be declared, without the previous sanction of both Houses of Parliament. The Commission also proposed that the principle of Woman Suffrage should be embodied in the Constitution.

#### SWITZERLAND.

At the beginning of the year Swiss statesmen, under the leadership of the new President, M. Motta, were considering



very carefully the entry of Switzerland into the League of Nations. The adhesion of Switzerland to the League of Nations was not so simple a matter as the entry of the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries. The perpetual neutrality of Swiss territory was a principle which the Swiss regarded as their historic destiny, and was engrained in all the political traditions of the country. Although, on the face of the matter, unqualified neutrality was inconsistent with membership of the League of Nations, the Swiss Parliament decided at the end of 1919 to join the League only if their military neutrality were recognised by the League on the ground that it was quite an exceptional case, and unlike any other neutrality in the history of Europe. The Swiss statesmen knew that the project of joining the League would never be approved by the plebiscite, which was constitutionally necessary, unless it was possible for Switzerland to join with this important reservation. There was also a much less important difficulty regarding the adhesion of Switzerland as an "original member" of the League, namely, that it was hardly practicable to hold the plebiscite within the time limit laid down by the Treaty of Versailles. At the beginning of January a Swiss delegation, including M. Ador, the ex-President of the Confederation, proceeded to Paris to place the views of the Swiss Government upon these questions before the representatives of the Powers represented on the Council of the League of Nations. The matter was considered in full at a meeting of the Council of the League of Nations held in London on February 13. Mr. Arthur Balfour presided at this meeting. The following resolution, which explains itself, was adopted by the Council:—

"The Council of the League of Nations, while affirming that the conception of neutrality of the members of the League is incompatible with the principle that all members will be obliged to co-operate in enforcing respect for their engagements, recognises that Switzerland is in a unique situation, based on a tradition of several centuries which has been explicitly incorporated in the Law of Nations, and that the members of the League of Nations, signatories of the Treaty of Versailles, have rightly recognised by Article 435 that the guarantees stipulated in favour of Switzerland by the Treaties of 1815, and especially by the Act of November 20, 1815, constitute international obligations for the maintenance of peace.

"The members of the League of Nations are entitled to expect that the Swiss people will not stand aside when the high principles of the League have to be defended. It is in this sense that the Council of the League has taken note of the declaration made by the Swiss Government in its message to the Federal Assembly of August 4, 1919, and in its Memorandum of January 13, 1920, which declarations have been confirmed by the Swiss delegates at the meeting of the Council, and in accordance with which Switzerland recognises and proclaims

the duties of solidarity which membership of the League of Nations imposes upon her, including therein the duty of co-operating in such commercial and financial measures as may be demanded by the League of Nations against a Covenant-breaking State, and is prepared to make every sacrifice to defend her own territory under every circumstance, even during operations undertaken by the League of Nations, but will not be obliged to take part in any military action or to allow the passage of foreign troops or the preparation of military operations within her territory.

"In accepting these declarations the Council recognises that the perpetual neutrality of Switzerland and the guarantee of the inviolability of her territory as incorporated in the Law of Nations, particularly in the Treaties and in the Act of 1815, are justified by the interests of general peace, and as such are compatible with the Covenant.

"In view of the special character of the constitution of the Swiss Confederation, the Council of the League of Nations is of opinion that the notification of the Swiss declaration of accession to the League, based on the declaration of the Federal Assembly, and to be carried out within two months from January 10, 1920 (the date of the coming into force of the Covenant of the League of Nations), can be accepted by the other members of the League as the declaration required by Article 1 for admission as an original member, provided that confirmation of this declaration by the Swiss people and Cantons be effected in the shortest possible time."

It will be observed that although Switzerland was not prepared to abandon her military neutrality, even in respect of the passage of troops of the League of Nations, she was prepared to abandon her economic neutrality. The Swiss Government expressed themselves as entirely satisfied with the resolution passed by the Council in London, and the proposal which had originally found favour among the Swiss, that Switzerland should delay her adhesion to the League until the United States of America had joined, was abandoned. At the beginning of March both Houses of Parliament passed by large majorities the resolution declaring the adhesion of Switzerland to the League, only the Socialist Party opposing the resolution. The Government were therefore able to announce the accession of Switzerland within the two months prescribed for original members by the Treaty of Versailles, although in the case of Switzerland the accession was subject to the approval of a plebiscite. The referendum was held in May, and resulted in a small majority in favour of the project. About 700,000 votes were cast, slightly over 400,000 being in favour of joining the League. A majority of Cantons was also constitutionally necessary and this majority was obtained, though only by a very narrow margin, since ten Cantons voted against the project.

In December, when M. Motta's term of office came to an end, the Legislature elected M. Edmund Schulthess President of the Swiss Confederation. M. Schulthess had been President in 1917.

It will be remembered that during 1919 the small Austrian province of Vorarlberg had declared by plebiscite its desire to be united to Switzerland. The union was, however, forbidden by the Supreme Council of the Allies. During the meeting of the League of Nations Assembly at Geneva in November, M. Motta made an important reference to this question. He said that Switzerland did not desire to add in any way to the difficulties under which Austria was labouring, but when Austria was admitted to the League—which he hoped would be very shortly—he trusted that the Austrian Government and the League of Nations would assure to the people of Vorarlberg the right to decide their own destiny. It appeared, therefore, from this declaration of the President that Switzerland would probably be willing to admit Vorarlberg to the Confederation as a new Canton.

#### LIECHTENSTEIN.

During the year further steps were taken to place the principality of Liechtenstein in the relationship to Switzerland that it had formerly held towards Austria-Hungary. Liechtenstein was united to Switzerland for postal and telegraphic purposes. In December Liechtenstein applied to be admitted as a member of the League of Nations, but the meeting of the Assembly of the League at Geneva decided that the country was too small to be given independent representation; and it was therefore proposed that Switzerland should represent Liechtenstein in the Assembly of the League.

#### SPAIN.

During 1919 Spain suffered from constant changes of Government, but in December of that year Señor Allende Salazar became head of a Coalition Government. The first object of the new Cabinet was to pass the Budget, which was long overdue. During the first three months of the year Señor Salazar succeeded in piloting the Budget through both Houses of Parliament, and since the purpose of the Coalition Ministry was thus fulfilled, the Premier resigned office in April.

King Alfonso then asked Señor Dato, the well-known Conservative leader, to form a Cabinet. Señor Dato's Government was of a moderate Conservative complexion, and included Marquess Lema as Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Señor D. Pascual as Minister of Finance. Señor Dato's programme was of an ambitious character both in foreign and domestic politics. The new Prime Minister stated that he hoped to introduce

a far-reaching scheme of development in the Spanish zone in Morocco; and in domestic affairs he intended to introduce measures to establish a system of working-class insurance against sickness, accidents, and unemployment. The housing problem and the agricultural problem were also to be dealt with. Señor Dato also hoped to render the Navy and the Army more efficient.

During the summer there were Labour troubles at Barcelona, Saragossa, Bilbao, and elsewhere; but the agitation in Catalonia was less serious than in former years.

During July the King and Queen of Spain visited England.

Señor Dato remained in power up to the end of the year. A General Election was held in December, but the exact results were not known at the end of the year.

#### PORTUGAL.

During the year Portugal suffered from chronic unrest, political, social, and economic. It will be remembered that Dr. d'Almeida had been elected President in August, 1919. In January there was a reconstruction of Senhor D. Pereira's Government, and Senhor M. Barreto became Foreign Minister, in place of Senhor Z. Silva. This Cabinet remained in power until the beginning of March, but then resigned owing to difficulties occasioned by general strikes on the railways. On March 6 Senhor M. Silva formed a Cabinet, but immediately resigned and was followed by Senhor A. de Castro, who also remained in power for only about twenty-four hours. After the lapse of a few days Colonel A. M. Baptista formed a Cabinet, with Senhor Z. Silva again Minister for Foreign Affairs. On June 6 Colonel Baptista died suddenly, and Dr. Preto, who had been Minister of Justice, then became Premier. Before the end of June Dr. Preto resigned and was succeeded by Senhor A. M. Silva. Senhor F. A. Correia was the new Minister for Foreign Affairs. The new Government presented their programme to Parliament, which was approved by the Chamber of Deputies, but was defeated in the Senate. The Government then resigned and in July Senhor A. Granja became Premier. Senhor M. Barreto became Minister for Foreign Affairs. Senhor Granja's term of office was less brief than that of his immediate predecessors. He was Premier for four months, and during that time the Government passed certain useful agrarian measures, and instituted reforms in the colonial administrations. In the autumn Senhor Granja proposed to issue an amnesty to the numerous Royalist rebels who had been languishing in prison since the rebellion of the previous year—most of them never having been tried. The Cabinet appears to have retained the confidence of the Legislature, but in November Senhor Granja suddenly retired, being apparently in doubt as to whether the proposed amnesty would be tolerated by the Republican organisations. During the next few weeks

there were constant changes of Government, Senhor A. de Castro, General A. Hipolito, and Senhor L. Pinto being Premier in succession.

#### DENMARK AND ICELAND.

At the beginning of 1920 Mr. Zahle's Radical Government were still in power, though their position was somewhat insecure. It will be remembered that at the General Election of 1918 the Radical and Socialist parties had secured a joint majority in the Lower, though not in the Upper, House. Mr. Zahle's plans were therefore liable to be thwarted by the Landsting, and were so thwarted on more than one occasion in 1919. The chief attention of the country was, however, directed towards the question of Schleswig, rather than towards any problem of internal politics. It will be remembered that in the original draft of the Treaty of Versailles, Schleswig had been divided into three zones—northern, middle, and southern—in all of which plebiscites were to be held to decide whether the several zones should be Danish or German. At the express wish of the Danish Government, however, the third (southern) zone had been subsequently excluded from the scheme altogether, since it was now thoroughly Germanised, and had, indeed, been largely Germanised even before 1864. The two other plebiscites were, however, to be held as soon as the Treaty of Peace had duly come into force. After the final ratification of the treaty in Paris on January 10, no time was lost in making preparations for the polls. Sir Charles Marling was appointed President of the Commission, which was to superintend the polling, the German troops were duly withdrawn from the two areas concerned, the International troops of occupation arrived on January 25, and the plebiscite in the first (northern) zone was fixed for February 10.

The southern border of the first zone ran across the country from a point south of Tondern to the north of Flensburg. The population of the first zone was in the main Danish speaking; and it was foreseen that it would vote by a large majority for reunion with Denmark. The second zone was smaller than the first, but was nevertheless of great importance because it included the port of Flensburg, a town with a population of over 70,000 persons, which, if it were reunited to Denmark, would be the second city of that country. The voting in the first zone took place on February 10, as arranged. The total number of persons entitled to vote was 111,191. The total of the votes cast for Denmark was 75,431, and the total of the votes cast for Germany was 25,329. It will be noted that a very high percentage of the voters went to the poll. The result was naturally greeted with great enthusiasm in Denmark.

There was great excitement both in Denmark and in Flensburg when the date of the polling in the second zone approached.

The plebiscite was fixed for March 14. From a linguistic point of view the second zone was very mixed. A large proportion of the population had come to speak German during the many years which the district had been associated, first with the German State of Holstein, and then with the Hohenzollern Empire. Another large section still spoke Danish. And the people of a third considerable district along the North Sea coast spoke neither Danish nor German but Frisian. The second zone also included the Frisian Islands of Sylt, Föhr, and Amrum.

In the result, the second zone voted German by a large majority. The figures were 51,820 votes for Germany, and 12,793 votes for Denmark. In the town of Flensburg itself about 27,000 votes were cast for Germany and about 9,000 for Denmark. The majority in favour of Germany was larger than the most pessimistic Danes had anticipated. And although the wishes of the majority of the existing inhabitants of the territory were thus made plain, it was impossible for foreigners not to feel some sympathy with Denmark, since not only this second zone, but the whole of Schleswig (as distinct from Holstein) was historically Danish.

The result of the poll in the second zone was one of the contributory causes which led to the remarkable political crisis which occurred at the end of March. So soon as the result of the second plebiscite was known, the Danes in Flensburg, supported by the Conservatives in Denmark, and to a lesser extent by the Danish Liberals, began to attack the Danish Government for what they held to be the mismanagement of the Schleswig question by Mr. Zahle's Ministry. And the Flensburg Danes began to agitate for the internationalization of the second zone. A deputation, headed by a certain Mr. Christiansen, proceeded from Flensburg to Copenhagen and sought interviews with the King and with the leaders of the Liberal Party, and incidentally carried out hostile demonstrations outside the Prime Minister's house. As already explained the Government had a very small majority in the Lower House, and it appears that after the loss of the second zone a few of their supporters were reported to have defected to the Opposition. The Liberal and Conservative Leaders appear to have had access to the Sovereign, and it was reported that the King himself had strongly sympathised with the movement to incorporate Flensburg in Denmark, whether by including the port in the first zone or otherwise. However that may have been, on March 29 the King dismissed Mr. Zahle from office, on the ground that he no longer possessed the confidence of the Rigsdag. This action on the part of the King created an uproar in the country, and the Radicals and Socialists declared loudly that the King's action was unconstitutional. The Radicals abused what they called "the Court Camarilla," and the Socialists blamed the King himself and declared for a Republic. The Socialists also declared that unless Mr. Zahle was immediately recalled a general strike would be

proclaimed. On the other hand, the King had the support of the Conservative and Liberal parties, and he made his position plain by asking Mr. O. Liebe to form a non-political Cabinet, with the object of carrying on the business of the country, while a new Folketing was being elected.

The Socialists declared a strike; and the strike actually commenced in Copenhagen and elsewhere at the beginning of April. In the meantime, however, prominent persons in the Liberal and Radical parties worked for a compromise, and the ardour of the Socialists cooled when they found that the nation as a whole was by no means with them on the question of a strike. The strike lasted for only a few days, and on April 5 a second non-party Cabinet was formed by Mr. Friis. The strike, which had never become general, was cancelled, and it was agreed that the Folketing should be dissolved, but that an electoral Reform Bill should be passed before the General Election was held. The crisis was thus settled, and the result had very largely justified the King's action.

The electoral Reform Bill was rapidly passed by both Houses of Parliament, and the General Election was held on April 26. The election resulted in a great victory for the Liberal and Conservative Parties, who secured 81 seats between them. The Radical supporters of Mr. Zahle were routed and won only 17 seats. The Socialists, however, were still powerful and won 42 seats. The Right obtained altogether about 580,000 votes, as against about 430,000 votes given to the Left. The King then sent for the leader of the Liberal Party, Mr. Neergaard, and that statesman succeeded in forming a Cabinet with Mr. Scavenius as Minister for Foreign Affairs.

At the end of April Sir Charles Marling and the International Commission left Schleswig and proceeded to Paris to make their report to the Supreme Council. Sir Charles Marling and the majority of the Commission proposed that, with perhaps trifling modifications, the future frontier between Denmark and Germany should be the boundary between the first and second zones. The French member of the Commission appears to have suggested that a portion of the second zone (on the mainland) should be given to Denmark. The former proposal was adopted by the Supreme Council. There appears to have been little to recommend the French suggestion; but a criticism which was made in more than one unofficial quarter, that the Frisian island of Sylt ought to have been included in the first, instead of in the second zone, had much reason in it. Danish troops entered the first zone at the beginning of May, and the International troops left the second zone in June. The German troops then re-entered Flensburg. After he came into office, Mr. Neergaard made it clear that he could not support the agitation of the extreme Danish Nationalists; but he was ready to endeavour to obtain guarantees for the just treatment of the Danish minority in Middle Schleswig. The Liberal Govern-

ment did not attempt to induce the Powers to internationalise the second zone. A treaty between the Principal Allied Powers (Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan) and Denmark was drawn up, the agreement being necessary for the transfer of Northern Schleswig to Denmark. The treaty was duly signed in Paris on July 5. At about the same time a "North Schleswig Reunion Act" was passed through the Danish Parliament and was signed by the King on July 9. The King then made a royal progress through the towns and villages of Northern Schleswig, and was received everywhere with great enthusiasm. The German minority in the re-annexed district appear to have accepted the decision with a good grace. And the Danish Government on their side immediately passed legislation providing that the German peasantry should be able to have their children educated in the German language in special schools. Indeed the conciliatory attitude adopted by both sides was an example to the many other districts of Europe where less happy conditions prevailed.

After the Bill incorporating Northern Schleswig had been passed by the Rigsdag, Parliament was immediately dissolved in order to give the people an opportunity of expressing their opinion on the measures which had been approved. The second General Election was held on July 6 for the Folketing and on July 30 for the Landsting. In the Folketing the Conservatives and Liberals won 82 seats and the Radicals and Socialists 58. The total of the votes cast for the Liberals and Conservatives amounted to about 550,000, and the total cast for the Radicals and Socialists was about 395,000. The elections for the Landsting resulted in a further strengthening of the Liberal position in the Upper House.

The Bill incorporating the territory was passed by the new Parliament and was then finally submitted to a plebiscite at the beginning of September. The Plebiscite resulted in the Bill being approved by 616,994 votes to 13,975. Parliament was then again dissolved, and a third General Election was held, this time including North Schleswig. The restored territory returned 9 members to the Lower House and 4 to the Upper House. The total results for the Folketing were as follows: Right 82 (Liberals 52, and Conservatives 30); Left 66 (Radicals 18, and Socialists 48); Schleswig Germans, 1. There was a large increase in the Socialist poll, quite apart from the inclusion of North Schleswig. In the elections for the Landsting, which were concluded at the beginning of October, the Right won 46 seats and the Left 30.

Parliament was opened on October 5, and the King made a speech welcoming the Schleswig members after the fifty-six years of separation, and expressing his gratitude to the Allied Powers whose victory had made the reunion possible.

In December the formal ratifications of the Schleswig Treaty were duly deposited in Paris by the representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and Denmark.



By the re-annexation of Northern Schleswig, Denmark became liable for a certain small proportion of German public debts; namely (1) a portion of the debt of the German Empire as it existed on August 1, 1914; (2) a portion of the debt of Prussia (of which state Schleswig-Holstein was of course a province) as it existed on August 1, 1914; and (3) the value of the public property in the ceded district belonging to Germany or to Prussia. The Allied Reparations Commission made a valuation of the several liabilities, and fixed the sum at 3,250,000*l*. At the end of the year the Danish Government paid over this sum to the Reparations Commission, and it was duly credited to the German Government.

Denmark duly accepted the invitation to join the League of Nations, and sent six delegates to the meeting of the Assembly at Geneva.

During the year further steps were taken to give Iceland complete administrative independence of Denmark. The Danish Ministry for Iceland was abolished, and in its place an Icelandic Legation was established in Copenhagen.

#### SWEDEN.

At the beginning of the year Mr. Eden's Liberal Government was still in power and still continued to possess the support of the Socialist members of Parliament. The chief issue before the country at the beginning of the year was the question as to whether Sweden should join the newly formed League of Nations. At the beginning of the year a Conference of the three Scandinavian Governments was held at Christiania, and the Scandinavians decided upon a uniform policy in regard to the League. It was decided that the invitation to join the League should be accepted. Accordingly towards the end of February the Prime Minister introduced into the Rikstag a Bill to enable Sweden to join the League. Mr. Eden in recommending the Bill to the Lower House said that even an incomplete League such as that which had just come into existence was a highly desirable development and had a great mission to fulfil. The Bill was opposed by the Conservatives on the ground that a League was useless unless it included all civilised nations; and the Opposition also urged that the present League was a mere continuation of the War Alliance, which Sweden had rightly refused to join. The reader will remember that the Conservatives had shown pronounced Germanophil sympathies during the war. Notwithstanding the opposition of the Conservatives the Bill was passed by a large majority.

At the beginning of March, friction arose between the Liberals and Socialists, and Mr. Eden resigned office. In Sweden, as in so many other countries of Europe, the Socialists had split since the Russian Revolution into two very distinct groups, who now in truth possessed little or nothing in common.

The first group, that of the Moderate Socialists, was in Sweden—as again in most countries of Europe—much the larger of the two groups. These Moderate Socialists carried on the old traditions of Social Democracy, with perhaps a further moderation of the more extreme tenets. The other group was entirely new and consisted of extreme Communists in sympathy with Russian Bolshevism. The leader of the Moderate Socialists was Mr. Branting, a statesman with a European reputation. In the crisis which had now arisen, the King found that neither Mr. Eden nor any other Liberal statesman was able to form a Cabinet, and he therefore asked Mr. Branting to attempt that task. Mr. Branting succeeded in forming a Government, which included Baron Palmstierna as Foreign Minister and Mr. Thorsson as Minister of Finance.

During April the King of Sweden visited London.

During September a General Election was held. The results were favourable to the Conservatives. The Conservatives and the Agrarians together won 98 seats; the Liberals won 50 seats and the Moderate Socialists won 77 seats. The Bolsheviks won only 5 seats.

The increase in the Conservative strength made it impossible for the Socialists to carry on the Government. It was equally impossible for any one Party to form a Ministry. The King therefore asked Baron L. de Geer to form a non-political Cabinet. Baron de Geer chose the Ministers chiefly from among persons outside Parliament, and the new Foreign Minister was Count Wrangel, lately Minister in London.

As described elsewhere (see Finland) there was a sharp controversy between Sweden and Finland over the question of the Aaland Islands. The matter was brought before the League of Nations in London and Mr. Branting himself went to London to state the Swedish case. The Swedes claimed that the Aalanders' right of self-determination was an international question. The Finns claimed that the problem was one within the domestic jurisdiction of Finland. The Council of the League decided to submit this preliminary contention to a small Committee of International Jurists. Three International Jurists were appointed, namely, M. Larnaude (French), Herr Huber (Swiss), and Mr. Steruycken (Dutch). This Commission of Jurists decided the initial question in favour of the Swedes and Aalanders, and reported that the question was essentially an international one. This, however, was only the preliminary point, and although representatives of the League of Nations proceeded to the Aalands in the autumn, the Council of the League had reached no decision up to the end of the year.

#### NORWAY.

In Norway as in Sweden a Radical Government was in power at the beginning of the year and was supported by the

Socialists. Mr. Knudsen was Prime Minister. The Parliamentary position of the Norwegian Government was, however, much less strong than that of the Cabinet in Stockholm, for in Norway there was a Liberal Party, quite distinct from the Radicals; and the Liberals in combination with the Conservatives made a powerful Opposition.

It will be remembered that in the previous year the Principal Allied Powers had decided to give Spitsbergen to Norway. On February 9 a treaty was signed in Paris between Norway and the Allied Powers establishing Norwegian sovereignty over the archipelago. Although the land was thus given to Norway, the terms of the treaty carefully preserved fishing, hunting, and mining rights to the subjects of Great Britain and of the other Allied Powers, including even the Russians.

In the middle of June Mr. Knudsen's Cabinet resigned office, after a defeat in Parliament on a financial question. Mr. Halvorsen, the Conservative leader, then formed a Government, with the support of Conservatives, Liberals, and some Radicals.

Norway joined the League of Nations.

In the autumn Norway, like Sweden and Denmark, furnished a small contingent of volunteer troops to serve in the Vilna district under the League of Nations.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE MIDDLE EAST AND INDIA: CYPRUS—SYRIA—PALESTINE—  
AZERBAIJAN—ARMENIA—GEORGIA—MESOPOTAMIA—PERSIA  
—AFGHANISTAN—THE HEDJAZ—BOKHARA—INDIA—CEYLON.

### CYPRUS.

DURING the year the Greek community in Cyprus continued to agitate for the union of the island with Greece, and a deputation went to England to press the Greek claims upon the British Government. The Imperial Government again made it plain, however, that there was no intention of ceding the island to Greece. In the summer the Acting High Commissioner, Mr. Malcolm Stevenson, was appointed definitely as High Commissioner.

### SYRIA.

As had been foreseen in 1919, the "mandate" for Syria under the League of Nations was bestowed upon France. This decision was announced definitely after the meeting of the Supreme Council at San Remo in April. It will be remembered that in the previous year an independent or semi-independent Arab State was established at Damascus under the Emir Feisal, the famous son of the King of the

Hedjaz. Feisal was proclaimed "King of Syria" in March. During the summer serious friction arose between the French authorities and the Arabs, and in July hostilities broke out. The French occupied Damascus and reduced the Arabs to terms. The Arabs were compelled to recognise the French mandate for Syria.

#### PALESTINE.

As had also been foreseen in 1919, the mandate for Palestine was given to Great Britain. In June Sir Herbert Samuel was appointed High Commissioner. The declared object of the British Government was to establish a "National Home for the Jewish People," although the Moslems were a large majority in the country. The country progressed satisfactorily and was free from the disturbances which afflicted Mesopotamia and Syria.

#### AZERBAIJAN.

It will be remembered that after the establishment of Bolshevism in Russia, an anti-Bolshevik Tartar Republic was founded in the Russian district of Azerbaijan, which is to be carefully distinguished from Persian Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan was at first an ordinary Moslem State, and it was accorded *de facto* recognition by the Powers. But in the spring a revolution took place and a Bolshevik regime was established at Baku.

#### ARMENIA.

A Christian Armenian State was established after the armistice, with Erivan as its capital, and the country was given *de facto* recognition by the Powers. The massacres of Armenians at Marash have already been mentioned; and unfortunately the Supreme Council found difficulty in discovering any Power willing to undertake the protection of the weakly and indefensible country. The mandate was offered to the League of Nations, but was refused, on the ground that it was not the object of the League to take up mandates. It was also offered to the United States, but was refused by the Senate, contrary to the wishes of President Wilson. The latter was asked, however, to arbitrate on the question of the Armenian frontiers, and agreed to do so. In October the Turkish Nationalists and the Bolsheviks made a concerted attack upon Armenia. The Armenians resisted bravely for two months, not without some success against the Turks, but at the end of the year the Russians overran the country and established a Bolshevik regime at Erivan. The original Armenian Government asked for admission to the League of Nations, but was refused. President Wilson suggested that Armenia's frontiers should be

extended so as to include Trebizond, Erzerroum, Kars, Mush, and Bitlis. This, of course, applied to the non-Bolshevik State, which existed until December.

#### GEORGIA.

Of the three Caucasian Republics, Georgia was the most firmly established at the beginning of the year, and was the only one of the three which survived in its existing anti-Bolshevik form until the end of the year. The Georgian Republic was accorded *de facto* recognition by the Powers in January, and concluded peace with Russia in June. In July the British force which had been in occupation of Batum evacuated the port, and handed it over to the Georgian troops. Georgia applied for admission to the League of Nations, but the application was refused. Georgia did not assist Armenia when the latter was being overwhelmed by the Turks and Russians at the end of the year.

#### MESOPOTAMIA.

At the meeting of the Supreme Council at San Remo in April, it was decided that the mandate for Mesopotamia should be given to Great Britain, this being a course of action which had long been foreseen. It was decided that an Arab Government and a popular representative assembly should be established under the supervision of a British Commissioner and British advisers. Sir Percy Cox was appointed High Commissioner.

In the middle of July a serious rising against the British authorities occurred, possibly as a repercussion of the Franco-Arab conflict in Syria. Fighting took place over a wide area, and was serious in many places. At an engagement near Hilla on July 24, the British sustained 400 casualties. Kufa and Samawah were isolated by the enemy, and were besieged until the middle of October. Kufa was relieved by a column commanded by Brigadier-General Greer, and Samawah by a force under Brigadier-General Coningham. The total British casualties in the campaign up to September 30 were 416 killed, 1,119 wounded, and 632 prisoners or missing. An incident of the campaign was the capture of a British armoured train near Samawah on September 2.

According to statistics published during the year, the total population of Mesopotamia was 2,849,000. Of this population, all except about 200,000 were Moslems in religion.

At the end of the year the frontier between Syria and Mesopotamia was drawn. This ran from Jeziret-ibn-Omar to Rumeilan Keiu, thence to Abu Kemal, and thence to Intar. Sinjar was left in Mesopotamia.

## PERSIA.

The year was less eventful in Persia than in the neighbouring countries. Vossoukh-ed-Dowleh, who was Prime Minister during the earlier part of the year, did good work in the suppression of brigandage. In May the Russian Bolsheviks seized Enzeli, and captured some small warships which had belonged to General Denikin. In July Mushir-ed-Dowleh became Premier; and in the autumn there was another change of Government, the Sipahdar Azam becoming Prime Minister. Measures were taken to put the Anglo-Persian agreement of the previous year into operation.

## AFGHANISTAN.

It will be remembered that a short war took place between India and Afghanistan in 1919, and although peace had been concluded, relations remained strained. In the spring a conference between British and Afghan representatives took place at Mussoorie, which resulted in steps being taken to re-establish more normal relations and to settle outstanding questions. No further hostilities occurred, though there was reason to fear that Russian influence was penetrating the country to some extent.

## THE HEDJAZ.

The hostilities between the French and the forces of the Emir Feisal (see above), who was the son of the King of the Hedjaz, had the unfortunate effect of disturbing the relations of the Hedjaz with the other European Powers also, and the Hedjaz did not sign the Treaty of Peace with Turkey.

## BOKHARA.

As in Azerbaijan and Armenia, so also in Bokhara, the Russian Bolsheviks spread their new revolution by force of arms. At the end of August, apparently without any provocation, a large Russian Army was sent against Bokhara, and after a valorous defence the capital was taken. The Emir, Sayid-Mir-Alim Khan, was driven from his throne, and a Bolshevik regime was established. The Emir was reported to have fled to Afghanistan.

## INDIA.

In December, 1919, the British Imperial Parliament passed the Government of India Act, which bestowed a considerable measure of representative government upon Hindustan. The Act was, of course, of fundamental importance, and it might almost be said that the passage of the measure through Parliament marked the beginning of a new age in India. Hence the principal duty of the British bureaucracy in India in 1920 was

to make the necessary preparations for the application of the new constitution.

The annual financial statement of the Government of India was presented to the Viceroy's Legislative Council on March 1 by the Finance Minister, Mr. W. M. Hailey. At the outset of his speech Mr. Hailey dealt with the question of the rise in the Exchange value of the rupee, and said that this was due to the depreciation of sterling in terms of gold and the rise in the price of silver. Dealing with the Imperial Revenue for the year 1919-20 he said that the total receipts were expected to be 90,300,000*l.*; whilst the total Imperial Expenditure was expected to amount to 104,600,000*l.* There was thus an anticipated deficit of 14,300,000*l.* instead of the surplus of 6,000,000*l.* which had been anticipated when the Budget for that year had been first brought forward. The chief cause of this disturbance of the original financial expectations had been the Afghan War, which had increased the military expenditure by no less than 14,750,000*l.* In regard to the year 1920-21 the total Imperial Expenditure was expected to be 90,500,000*l.*, of which 40,000,000*l.* was allotted to military expenditure, as against 57,000,000*l.* spent on the same object in 1919-20. On the entire Imperial Revenue and Expenditure for 1920-21 a surplus of 2,000,000*l.* was anticipated. There were to be no serious modifications in the existing scheme of taxation. In conclusion the Minister warned his hearers that the 40,000,000*l.* allotted to military expenditure might prove insufficient if the trouble on the frontiers of India were to continue.

At the opening of the spring session of the Legislative Council the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, said that he thought the danger of a Bolshevik invasion of India was being exaggerated in Europe. The chief danger from Russia, was, he said, that the Bolsheviks might seek to penetrate by propaganda where there was no possibility of their penetrating by force of arms. The Government of India were alive to this danger and were setting up a special staff of officials to deal with the problem.

The last session of the Legislative Council before the coming into force of the Government of India Act was opened by the Viceroy in the middle of August. Referring to the military operations which had taken place in Waziristan, Lord Chelmsford said that it was proposed to keep a force in the country and to construct roads suitable for mechanical transport there. It was impossible to set a limit to the occupation because it was necessary to prevent the recurrence of outrages by the tribes. The Viceroy then referred to the estrangement of Indian opinion which had arisen out of the somewhat severe repression of the rising in the Punjab during the previous year, especially at Amritsar. He said that he hoped that the new Constitution would be worked in a spirit which disregarded the animosities of the past. He hoped and thought that the existing movement of the extremists towards non-cooperation in the working of

the Constitution would fail through the common sense of India. The Viceroy then referred to the financial question; and he dealt at length with the treatment of Indian immigrants in South Africa and the Kenya Colony.

The session lasted only a month, but several important Bills were passed, including a measure creating an Indian Territorial Force. In closing the Legislative Council the Viceroy said that the Chamber was now giving place to a larger and more representative Assembly.

As already indicated, military operations of some importance were undertaken during the earlier part of the year in Waziristan, the tribes against whom these punitive operations were necessary being the Tochi Wazirs and the Mahsuds. The operations lasted from November, 1919, until May, 1920, and were under the direction of Major-General S. H. Climo, D.S.O. The two most severe actions were against the Mahsuds on December 21 and on January 14. The British casualties in the first of these engagements numbered over 300, and very nearly 400 in the second engagement. The forces employed in the campaign were almost entirely Indian, the only white troops being a section of the Royal Air Force and a Battery of mountain Artillery.

It will be remembered that in the spring of 1919 riots of an almost revolutionary character broke out in the Punjab and elsewhere. The most serious riots took place at Amritsar, in the Punjab, the military officer in command at Amritsar being a certain Brigadier-General Dyer. A great deal of discussion was caused both in India and in England by the severity with which General Dyer had suppressed the rioting in Amritsar on April 13 (see English History). General Dyer had subsequently been deprived of his command, and the Imperial Government appointed a committee under the Chairmanship of Lord Hunter to investigate the whole question of the disturbances. The incident which had caused special criticism was the manner in which General Dyer fired upon a crowd which had collected in a space known as the Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar on April 13. The Hunter Committee comprised, besides the Chairman, four other British members, and three Indian members. The English members presented a majority Report which condemned General Dyer's actions, and the Indians presented a minority Report which condemned General Dyer in more severe terms. It transpired that the crowd in the Jallianwala Bagh, though very large and riotous (it numbered about 15,000 persons), and although assembled contrary to a public proclamation, was unarmed. In order to disperse this crowd General Dyer, in command of a small force, fired ball cartridge into the mob without giving the people a preliminary warning to disperse. He continued to fire for ten minutes, and about 379 persons were killed and about three times that number were wounded. The British Government and the



Government of India agreed with the Hunter Committee in holding that force was used with undue severity. General Dyer on his side said that in the very critical situation then existing, it was necessary to make an impression not only in Amritsar but in the Punjab generally. The impression made in India by the Amritsar incident was undoubtedly very bad, and many moderate Indian politicians were estranged from the ruling race. But among the British community in India General Dyer had many sympathisers.

The question of applying the Constitutional Reform Scheme to Burma received much attention during the year. It will be remembered that at the end of 1918 Sir R. Craddock, the Lieut.-Governor of Burma, had made elaborate proposals for constitutional reform in the province, the eventual aim of which was the complete independence of the country from India. When the Government of India Act of 1919 was passed it was left optional as to whether Burma should be included or not. In the spring the Government of India made proposals for the institution of representative Government in Burma.

This scheme did not exclude Burma from India, and Burma was therefore to be represented in the Legislative Assembly of Hindustan. The autonomy of Burma was, however, to be recognised by changing the title of the Viceroy to that of "Governor-General of India and Burma." A Legislature was to be established for the province which was to consist of ninety-two members, of whom fifty-six were to be elected. In the rural districts the method of election was to be indirect and the franchise was to be more limited than in India. The Provincial Government was to consist of the Governor and an Executive Council. Later in the year it was stated that in applying the Government of India Act to Burma, the latter would be constituted "a new Governor's Province."

The details of the new constitutional scheme were worked out and published at intervals during the year. It was stated that of the 100 elective seats in the Legislative Assembly 17 would represent Bengal, and that Bombay, Madras, and the United Provinces would each have 16 seats. The other provinces would have fewer seats, Burma and Assam having only 4 each. It will be remembered that some of the constituencies were class or communal constituencies, not simple territorial constituencies. There were to be 49 general constituencies, the remainder being class constituencies. Thus the Mohammedans were to have 29, the Sikhs 2, landowners 7, Indian commerce 4, and Europeans 9. The electorate for the Council of State was to be extremely limited, and was not to consist of more than 2,000 persons even in the larger provinces.

In accord with the greater measure of provincial autonomy which was to be introduced by the Reform Act, each province in which diarchy was to be applied was raised to the rank of a

Governor's Province, that is to say, to the same status as had hitherto been possessed only by Madras, Bombay, and Bengal. In August the names of the new Governors were announced. Sir Harcourt Butler was to go to the United Provinces; Sir Edward Maclagan to the Punjab; Sir Frank Sly to the Central Provinces; Sir William Marris to Assam; and Lord Sinha to Bihar and Orissa. It will be remembered that Lord Sinha had served in England as Under-Secretary of State for India. His new appointment as Governor of Bihar and Orissa was particularly interesting, as he would thus become the first Indian to hold the highest post in a province of British India. Mr. A. F. Whyte was appointed President of the new Legislative Assembly.

It should be understood that the Government of India Act was not put into force until the very end of the year; nor was it put into force simultaneously in all the provinces. The Act came into force in Madras and the Central Provinces in the middle of December, and in Bihar and Orissa on December 29; but the Act was not to be applied to the other provinces until January, 1921.

A very unfortunate development during the year was the capture of the Indian National Congress by the extremist politicians, headed by that notorious agitator, Mr. Ghandi. The extremists set in motion a scheme of what they called non-cooperation, that is, they endeavoured to dissuade the Indian people from taking any part in the reformed institutions. Fortunately, however, although the "National Congress" passed resolutions in favour of non-cooperation, the movement attained only limited success in the new electorates as a whole.

The Treaty of Peace with Turkey was much resented by Indian Mohammedans, the position of the Sultan as Khalif making him almost sacred in the eyes of Moslems. Serious protests were sent both to the Government of India and to the Imperial Government. Even the decision of the Supreme Council to allow Constantinople to remain in Turkish hands did not by any means appease the anger of the Indian Moslems.

It is pleasant to record that the "National Liberal Federation of India," as the Indian moderate politicians were now called, met at Bombay in the autumn and passed resolutions condemning the non-cooperation movement of the extremists and every other agitation which was likely to accentuate racial hatred. The moderates called attention, however, to the grievances of Indians in East Africa.

The mortality returns for 1919 showed that during that year 20,273 persons died from snake bites. Apart from these persons, 2,637 people were killed by other wild animals, tigers alone killing 1,162 people. On the other side of the account, it may be recorded that over 1,500 tigers, over 5,000 panthers, and over 2,400 bears were destroyed during that year.

## CEYLON.

During the year the Imperial Government decided that amendments should be introduced into the constitution of Ceylon. It was decided that the Legislative Council should be reformed so that it should include a majority of unofficial members, instead of a majority of official members, as hitherto. It was contemplated that there should be 37 members of the Legislature, exclusive of the Governor, and that of these 23 should be unofficial members, 19 elected, and 4 nominated. Special powers were to be reserved to the Governor, to be used in special emergencies.

## CHAPTER VII.

## THE FAR EAST: CHINA—JAPAN.

## CHINA.

At the beginning of 1920 the Chinese Republic was still suffering from the schism between North and South, which had existed since 1917. It will be remembered that civil war broke out in 1917 owing to the conflict between the President, Li Yuan-Hung, and the Parliament on one side, and the Prime Minister, Tuan Chi-Jui, and the Cabinet on the other side. The provincial Governments in China possessed considerable independence, and in the war which broke out, the southern provinces supported Li Yuan-Hung, and the northern provinces supported Tuan Chi-Jui. On the basis of the constitution the Southern Party appeared to have the better cause, but from the military point of view the North were somewhat the stronger, and since they had possession of Peking they were recognised internationally as the Chinese Government. During 1918 a new Parliament had been elected in the North under Tuan Chi-Jui's influence, but the South of course refused to recognise these elections, and the Parliament which had fled from Peking with Li Yuan-Hung continued to meet in Canton. During 1919 an armistice was concluded between the two parties, the defection of the great province of Zechuan from the North having rendered any definite military decision impossible. Negotiations were opened in Shanghai, but no definite settlement was attained. The hostility towards Tuan Chi-Jui remained as bitter as ever, but the new President in the North, Hsu Shih-Chang, and the leader of the Opposition in the Peking Parliament, a well-known statesman named Liang Shih-Yi, were both in favour of reaching a compromise with the Southern Party. The antagonism to Japan, which became intensified during 1919 through the famous Shantung clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, tended somewhat to heal the breach between North and South.

Chin Yun-Peng, then one of Tuan Chi-Jui's chief lieutenants, was Prime Minister, but Tuan Chi-Jui, who held a high military command, was still virtual dictator of the North.

The chief development in the year 1920 was the outbreak of a new civil war between different protagonists. At the beginning of June an agreement was reached between all the more important leaders and provinces in the South on the one side and the more moderate or Opposition Party in the North. At the beginning of June Sun Yat-Sen, Tang Shao-Yi, and other important Southern leaders issued a manifesto stating that the provinces of Zechuan, Shensi, Hupeh, Kweichow, and Hunan had seceded from the Canton administration and that that administration had therefore ceased to exist. Negotiations were then immediately opened between the Opposition in the North, now known as the Chihli Party, and the Sun Yat-Sen group in the South. Probably the chief cause of this reunion was to be sought in a common hostility to the pro-Japanese policy of Tuan Chi-Jui and the Ministerial or An-Fu Party generally. The union between the Opposition in the North and the stronger party in the South naturally led to a very strained situation in the North. During June the President seems to have attempted to keep the peace between the Ministerialists and the Opposition; and Chou Shu-Mou became Prime Minister in place of Chin-Yun-Peng. Nevertheless, the hostility between the two Northern parties continued to grow; and Tsao Kun, the Tuchun (Military Governor) of Chihli, and General Wu Pei-Fu marched their troops north from Hunan with a view to overawing the capital. At the beginning of July the President appears to have decided in favour of the An-Fu Party, and accordingly he issued a proclamation dismissing Tsao Kun and Wu Pei-Fu from the Army. At the same time the chief leader of the Chihli Party residing in Peking, Chang Tso-Lin, left the capital for Mukden. Chang Tso-Lin was Governor-General of Manchuria.

The position now was that the An-Fu Party were the stronger in the immediate vicinity of Peking, but that the Chihli Party were in possession of the greater part of the North. In the middle of July hostilities broke out between Tuan Chi-Jui's forces and Wu Pei-Fu's Army which had deployed along the Hunho River, west of Peking. The only efficient section of the Government troops was the so-called Frontier Defence Force which had been organised by the Japanese and had been under the immediate command of Tuan Chi-Jui. The hostilities seem to have been of a somewhat serious character. When the An-Fu troops advanced, Wu Pei-Fu executed a clever strategic retreat as far as Kaopeitien, 50 miles south of Peking. A section of the Chihli troops were ordered to march round the left wing of the advancing An-Fu Army, and they thus succeeded in taking the Government troops in the rear. A complete disaster to Tuan Chi-Jui's force followed. Several of his divisions surrendered without resistance, and the

rest were driven back in panic on the Capital. Tuan Chi-Jui, seeing that his cause was lost, resigned his military appointment, and the President issued a declaration ordering the immediate disbandment of the Frontier Defence Force. The President then appointed a new Cabinet, with Chin Yun-Peng again as Prime Minister.

Although the new Government represented a compromise between the North and the South, they were nevertheless unable to establish themselves as an effective Administration for all China. Part of the South had never given its consent to the compromise, and within its own sphere each provincial Government in the South, and to some extent even in the North, continued to act very much as it pleased. The worst result of the civil war was that the very large numbers of troops maintained by the various Tuchuns were a great drain on the resources of the unhappy country.

In addition to the troubles arising out of the civil wars, a large area of China suffered in a most acute degree from famine during the later months of the year. During the spring there was a severe drought in Chihli, Honan, and Shantung, and the harvest in the large area affected was a complete failure. It was stated that 15,000,000 persons were reduced to the point of actual starvation.

#### JAPAN.

At the opening of the year the internal situation in Japan had considerable interest. It will be remembered that at the end of 1918 Mr. K. Hara had become Prime Minister, being the first commoner to hold that position. Mr. Hara was the leader of the Seiyukai Party, which had obtained a majority in the General Election of 1917. During 1919 a Reform Act had been passed which increased the number of Parliamentary voters from about 1,500,000 to about 3,000,000. The Government were opposed to any further extension of the suffrage, but sections of the Opposition in the Lower House continued to clamour loudly for a truly democratic franchise.

In February somewhat acrimonious debates took place in the Lower House on the question of universal suffrage; but before the debates were concluded, the Prime Minister unexpectedly announced that he had advised the Mikado to dissolve Parliament, so that the country might express its opinion upon this question. Mr. Hara pointed out that there had as yet been no election on the basis of the extended franchise as fixed in the previous year. The General Election was not held until May 10. The result was to increase considerably the majority held by the Seiyukai Party. The electoral strength of the Government was in the rural districts, where the suffrage question awakened but little interest. The Seiyukai won about 280 seats, and the chief Opposition Party, the Kenseikai, won

110 seats. The smaller parties won 76 seats. The position of the Government in the House of Representatives therefore became thoroughly secure.

The Anglo-Japanese alliance, which had been renewed on July 13, 1911, was due to exist for a term of ten years. If either party desired to terminate the alliance at the end of the ten-year period, by the terms of the treaty a notification to that effect would have to be made before July 13, 1920. Neither Great Britain nor Japan made any such notification. But the British and Japanese Governments sent the following note to the Council of the League of Nations, the note being dated Spa, July 8:—

“The Governments of Great Britain and Japan have come to the conclusion that the Anglo-Japanese Agreement of July 13, 1911, now existing between the two countries, though in harmony with the spirit of the Covenant of the League of Nations, is not entirely consistent with the letter of that Covenant, which both Governments earnestly desire to respect. They accordingly have the honour jointly to inform the League that they recognise the principle that if the said Agreement be continued after July, 1921, it must be in a form which is not inconsistent with that Covenant.”

The note was signed by Lord Curzon and Viscount Chinda.

During the autumn particulars were published of the proposed Naval and Military expenditure of Japan. Under both heads there had been an enormous increase in latter years. The Government proposed that two capital ships should be built per year. And in the Budget for 1921 a sum of no less than 74,000,000*l.* was set aside for Naval expenditure. The expenditure on the Army was expected to be 39,000,000*l.* The other items of the National expenditure were much the same as in the previous year, and the total expenditure was estimated at 234,000,000*l.* Speaking in the House of Representatives at the end of December, the Prime Minister said that the guiding principle in framing the Budget had been to increase the national strength.

During the year no final agreement with China was reached on the question of the Japanese evacuation of Shantung.

During the year the Japanese remained in occupation of Vladivostok and the surrounding district; but Japanese troops were withdrawn from all the other parts of Siberia, so that all Siberia, except the Vladivostok district, fell into the hands of the Russian Bolsheviki.

## CHAPTER VIII.

AFRICA: THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA—RHODESIA—PORTUGUESE  
WEST AFRICA—PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA—BRITISH EAST  
AFRICA—SOMALILAND—LIBYA—MOROCCO—EGYPT—SUDAN.

## THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

THE political situation in South Africa at the beginning of the year was substantially the same as that which had existed since the beginning of the war. After the death of General Botha in the previous year, General Smuts had succeeded him as Prime Minister, and as Leader of the South African Party; but that party were only a minority of the Lower House, and General Smuts owed his continuance in office to the support given him by the Unionist (or British) Party, notwithstanding the fact that the Unionists had been formerly regarded as the official Opposition. The real Opposition was the Nationalist Party, the group of Boer extremists, led by General Hertzog. The latter party had been gaining in influence during the war, and were stronger in the country than their membership (under 30) in the House of Assembly seemed to imply. The Nationalists were determined anti-Imperialists, and in the year 1917 they had definitely adopted the faith of republicanism, and sought to sever the connexion between South Africa and the British Empire.

At the beginning of the year statistics were published relating to the census of 1918. It was stated that the total white population of South Africa was 1,418,634. Slightly over half the white population was classed as Urban, but the definition of the term Urban included every townlet with over 2,000 inhabitants.

On March 10 a General Election was held. The contest was fraught with considerable interest, because the Nationalists claimed to have improved their position in the country during the previous two years. The Unionists and the South African Party came to no electoral agreement, and a large number of triangular, or even quadrilateral, contests took place. The total number of members to be elected was 134, as against 130 in the old House of Assembly. In the result, the South African Party won 40 seats, the Unionists 25, and Independent candidates 3. There was thus a total of 68 members who could be reckoned in different degrees as supporters of General Smuts. The Nationalists won 45 seats, and the Labour Party 21. There was thus a striking increase in the Nationalist strength, and the rise of the Labour Party was also very marked, because they had possessed only 5 representatives in the previous House. The Prime Minister was therefore placed in a difficult position, but he could expect to be supported on many issues by the

Labour Party, and the latter were in particular opposed to separation from the British Empire.

Parliament was opened for a short session on March 19. At the end of April the Minister of Finance, Mr. Henry Burton, made his Budget statement to the House. He said that in the financial year, 1919-20, the Revenue had amounted to 26,739,000*l.*, which left a surplus of 2,271,000*l.*, and it was proposed to apply the greater part of this to the Redemption of Debt. The Finance Minister said that the anticipated Revenue for the year 1920-21 was 27,969,000*l.* which would leave a small surplus.

In the summer Lord Buxton retired from the post of Governor-General, and Prince Arthur of Connaught was appointed as his successor. Prince Arthur arrived at Cape Town in the middle of November and was received with great enthusiasm.

The Elections for the Provincial Councils were held in the autumn, and those in the Transvaal provoked considerable comment, because they revealed a remarkable increase in the Nationalist strength since the Parliamentary Election early in the year. Forty-nine members were elected on both occasions. In the Parliamentary Election the Nationalists won only 12 seats; in this election for the Provincial Diet, they won 21 seats. The Nationalists were also strong in the Cape Province Diet. It was doubtful, however, how far these elections were fought on the same issues as the Parliamentary Elections. The Provincial Diets had very restricted powers, and the problems with which they had to deal were really of a purely local character.

The reverses suffered by the South African Party in the Parliamentary General Election made it apparent that the Ministerial Party would have to seek some kind of definite agreement, either with General Hertzog and his followers or with the Unionists. In the circumstances it was perhaps natural that General Smuts should first seek a reunion with his fellow Boers. It will be remembered that when the South African Union was first established the Boers had formed a strong and united party, which had been disrupted, partly indeed on matters of principle, but also partly through General Hertzog's jealousy of General Botha. Accordingly, in September, the South African and Nationalist parties held a great "Hereeniging Conference," at Bloemfontein. Sincere efforts appeared to have been made by both sides to reach an agreement, but the conference broke down on a genuine difference of fundamental principle. General Smuts and his followers were entirely in favour of preserving the Imperial connexion. The Nationalists on the other hand were quite determined that if the two Dutch parties were re-united, the programme should include republicanism as an ideal, though an ideal to be attained by peaceful methods and the assertion of the rights of majorities, and not by force.



The conference broke down on this issue, and General Smuts then turned to those who had given him such consistent and self-effacing support during the war. Negotiations were opened for the fusion of the South African and Unionist parties to form one great moderate Imperialist Party. General Smuts declared that the time had come when South Africans of both races ought to unite into one party to preserve the Union Constitution. Sir Thomas Smartt, the Leader of the Unionist Party, was quick to respond to the Prime Minister's invitation; he said that he was sure that British South Africans would rally to the support of General Smuts in face of the menace to South Africa involved in the Nationalist policy of secession.

During the year a highly interesting and important project was put forward by Professor E. H. L. Schwartz for the re-watering of an enormous tract of country in the Kalahari desert. Professor Schwartz pointed out that South Africa had been drying up rapidly in the last few centuries, and that even within the last hundred years a very appreciable difference had taken place. Professor Schwartz pointed out that the waters of some of the rivers were lost to the great dry plateau of South Africa unnecessarily. In particular he proposed that a great dam should be built across the river Cunene above the cataracts which mark its fall to the sea. In this way an enormous quantity of water could be diverted southwards, and the Etosha Pan which had once been a lake 25 feet deep would be again filled with water. A connexion with the Okavango might be effected. In this way it was hoped that the climate of a great part of the Kalahari, covering an area twice that of England, would be fundamentally changed, with the result that vegetation would reappear, and the district would become suitable for occupation by a large population.

#### RHODESIA.

In May a General Election for the Legislative Council of Southern Rhodesia was held. The Election was of considerable interest, because the question of a change in the constitutional position of Rhodesia had been discussed for some years, and the opinion of the white settlers upon the problem was therefore awaited with interest both in South Africa and Great Britain. It will be remembered that there were four possible alternatives. Firstly, a continuance of the present system of government under the British South Africa Company. Secondly, the institution of Crown Colony Government. Thirdly, the entrance of Rhodesia into the Union of South Africa as a fifth province thereof. And fourthly, the granting of Responsible Government to the territory by the Imperial authorities, a course which would place Southern Rhodesia in the same rank in the British Empire as that held by Newfoundland. Of these possibilities the idea of Crown Colony Government was even more unpopular with

the colonists than a continuance of the existing regime. The candidates for the Legislative Council therefore favoured either union with South Africa or the policy of Responsible Government. A "Responsible Government Association," was formed and took an active part in the election campaign. Thirteen candidates were to be elected, and in the result 11 of the seats were captured by candidates favouring Responsible Government. Rhodesians were opposed to absorption in South Africa on much the same grounds as had caused Natal to incline to stand out from the union in the past. The white population of Rhodesia, like that of Natal, was predominantly British in extraction; whereas South Africa as a whole was of course predominantly Dutch. The new Legislative Assembly straightway passed a resolution by 12 votes to 5 asking the Imperial Government to bestow Responsible Government upon the Colony. It will be noted that one of the official members of the Council voted with the elected majority. The Imperial authorities decided, however, that the time was not yet ripe for such a step to be taken. It was recognised, on all hands, that the problem of Northern Rhodesia was quite distinct. Northern Rhodesia was really a tropical colony. It was obvious that the Zambezi was the real dividing line between "South Africa," and "Central Africa."

#### PORTUGUESE WEST AFRICA.

According to reports received during the year conditions in this Colony were somewhat more favourable than in the other Portuguese possessions. It was stated that during the previous few years enormous progress had been made in the construction of roads. In 1914 the total length of roads in the country was only 300 kilometers. In 1920 it was 12,000 kilometers. In the same period the foreign trade of the country had trebled. The chief exports were coffee, cocoanut, bees-wax, and palm-oil.

#### PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA.

On December 31, 1919, a census of the Mozambique territories was held, and the results were published at the end of 1920. It appeared that the European population was still extraordinarily small. The native population numbered 252,376. The coloured (half-caste) population was 1,665. The Asiatic settlers numbered 908. The total of the European population was only 2,233.

#### BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

During the year there was a reorganisation of the Allied East African territories in several respects. In the first place the British East Africa Protectorate underwent a change of name and a change of status in the Empire. The Protectorate was re-named the Kenya Colony and became a Crown Colony

instead of a Protectorate. In the second place, the partition of what had been German East Africa was carried out. It will be remembered that under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, Great Britain and Belgium had become mandatories under the League of Nations, for two portions respectively of the ex-German territory. The British portion of the territory was by far the larger. The Belgians obtained the province of Urundi, and most of the province of Ruanda, situated in the north-east of the colony. The border between the British and Belgian spheres ran from the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika, at Megera, for about 150 miles north-eastwards, and then almost due north to the point where the Muvumba River cut the old frontier between Uganda and German East Africa. The large British section of the territory was not annexed to the Kenya Colony, which would of course have been impossible since the territory was held not as part of the British Empire but under the authority of the League of Nations. The British sphere was named the Tanganyika Territory. It will be observed that the Belgian sphere was contiguous to the Belgian Congo. Some Belgians made it a case for complaint that part of Ruanda had gone to Great Britain.

During the summer the Governor of the Kenya Colony, Sir Edward Northey, visited England, and whilst he was away Sir C. Bowring held the post of Acting-Governor, and it fell to him to open the first session of the new East-African Legislative Council, which included elected representatives of the white population. The Acting-Governor said that the new Legislature marked an era in the history of the colony. On his return to East Africa in July, Sir E. Northey announced the details of the establishment of the Kenya Colony. He said that the Sultan of Zanzibar's territory on the coast would remain a Protectorate under the title of the Kenya Protectorate.

During the year serious charges were made against the white settlers in British East Africa in regard to the alleged ill-treatment and forced-labour of the natives. The charges were made among others by the Bishop of Zanzibar and Sir Harry Johnston. The charges led to a somewhat acrimonious controversy, and although the charges may have been, and probably were, exaggerated, it appeared to be desirable that an authoritative investigation into the matter should be instituted.

Sir H. A. Byatt became Governor of the Tanganyika Territory.

#### BRITISH SOMALILAND.

During January there were brief hostilities between the British Garrison in Somaliland and the chief Mohammed Abdulla, known as the "Mad Mullah." The Royal Air Force played an important part in the operations, and bombed the chief's Headquarters at Medishi, 200 miles east of Berbera.

The tribesmen were temporarily dispersed, but the chief himself escaped, as on many former occasions.

Proposals were made for the cession of a small portion of territory to Italian Somaliland, but no final arrangement was reached on this question.

#### LIBYA.

During the year France made certain territorial concessions to Italy, so that the south-western frontier of Libya could be straightened out between Ghadames and Rhat, and between Rhat and Tummo. On the south-eastern frontier France also made certain small concessions.

#### MOROCCO.

Remarkable statistics were published during the year relating to the progress in the French zone in Morocco. It was stated that whereas in 1912 there were only 6 miles of roads in the country, in 1919 the length of the roads was 1,500 miles. In the same period the area under cultivation had been increased from 2,500,000 acres to 6,000,000 acres.

#### EGYPT.

The year was a highly eventful one in Egypt. The revolutionary agitations of the previous year had subsided, and relations between the British and the Egyptians had improved. At the end of 1919, Youssef Wahba Pasha was Prime Minister; and the attention of the country was concentrated upon the activities of a special commission which the British Government had sent out to Egypt to investigate conditions there, and to make recommendations in regard to the relations which should exist in future between Egypt and the British Empire. Lord Milner was Chairman of the Commission.

On February 11 a son and heir was born to the Sultan, Fuad I.

In March Lord Milner's mission left Egypt, but continued its deliberations at great length in London during the spring and summer.

On March 25 the Council of Ministers considered and approved the Budget estimates for 1920-21. The figures were very high, since the revenue and expenditure were expected to balance at E40,271,000*l.*, which was over E11,000,000*l.* above the estimated revenue and expenditure of the previous financial year.

In the middle of May Wahba Pasha resigned office, and was succeeded as Prime Minister by Tewfik Nessim Pasha.

The leader of the Egyptian Nationalists was a certain Zaghlul Pasha, and whilst the Milner Mission were in Egypt the relations between Zaghlul's followers and the mission were

not very good. But in June Zaghlul, at the head of a Nationalist deputation, had long conferences with the Milner Mission in London. Although some of the Nationalists had proclaimed the independence of Egypt in the spring, the conversations in London were fruitful, and were continued until the middle of August. It was then announced that an agreement had been reached between Lord Milner and Zaghlul Pasha and their respective committee-men; though the details of the agreement were not at first made known. It was stated, however, that Great Britain would recognise the independence of Egypt, provided that a very intimate alliance were concluded between the two countries. Zaghlul returned to Egypt and recommended the agreement to his countrymen, and was able to secure the support of the majority of his followers. The Nationalist delegation then again returned to England in October.

In November a joint memorandum was sent to the Imperial Government by the Milner Mission and the Egyptian Nationalist delegation. The memorandum proposed that the independence of Egypt as a constitutional monarchy should be recognised by Great Britain, and that Egypt should enjoy the right to representation in foreign countries. It was proposed that the system of capitulations should be modified or abolished. It was proposed that Great Britain should have the right to maintain a military force on Egyptian soil for the protection of her Imperial communications. The rights hitherto exercised under the system of capitulations should be transferred to Great Britain. "On account of the special relations between Great Britain and Egypt created by the Alliance, the British representative will be accorded an exceptional position in Egypt and will be entitled to precedence over all other representatives." An Egyptian constituent assembly was to be called. Special rights were to be preserved for foreigners in Egypt, and Great Britain was to support an application by Egypt for admission as a member of the League of Nations.

#### SUDAN.

It will be remembered that at the end of 1919 the Dinka tribe had risen against the British authorities, and had killed, among others, Major Stigand, the Governor of Mongalla. A punitive force was sent against the Dinkas at the end of March, the force being under the command of Colonel Darwell, of the Royal Marines. The main enemy force was taken by surprise on May 4, and after a brief engagement it surrendered unconditionally. There were no further disturbances during the year.

## CHAPTER IX.

AMERICA : THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES—CANADA—NEWFOUNDLAND — MEXICO — BRAZIL—ARGENTINA—CHILI—PERU—BOLIVIA—OTHER AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

## THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

AT the opening of the year the American people were sharply divided upon one of the greatest political issues which had ever been placed before any nation. That issue was whether the United States should or should not join in the projected scheme for a League of Nations which had been drawn up by President Wilson and the leading European statesmen in Paris in the previous year. It will be remembered that the Covenant of the League of Nations had been inextricably interwoven with the substance of the Treaty of Versailles. President Wilson had been more responsible than any other statesman for the terms of the Covenant, and in particular for the union of the Covenant and the Treaty in one document. The Treaty, with the included Covenant, had been accepted by the Parliaments of the leading European Powers and by Japan, and as described elsewhere (see France) the Treaty was duly ratified and came into force, so far as the European Powers were concerned, at the beginning of January. In America, however, the development of events had been quite otherwise. President Wilson had gone to Paris nominally as the representative of the American nation as a whole, but in practice he had represented only the Democratic Party. During 1918 and the earlier months of 1919 the President had omitted to secure the support of, or to come to any agreement with, the leaders of the Republican Party. The foreign policy which the President advocated involved many conceptions which were new, not only to America, but to the world at large. Hence it was essential, if his policy was to be successful, that he should have behind him very general and widespread support in his own country. And apart altogether from the novelty of Dr. Wilson's plans there was a further Constitutional point, which bulked largely in the American view of the situation, namely, that the American Constitution gave the Senate highly important powers in the matter of foreign policy. And Dr. Wilson had neglected to consult sufficiently with the Upper House of his Legislature. This error of judgment was the more remarkable in that the Republican Party had gained a small majority in that House, and there was therefore, of course, an obvious risk that the President's plans might be vetoed when they came to be submitted to the Legislature. During the course of the year 1919 the hostility of the Republican Party to President Wilson's foreign policy in general, and to the League of Nations in particular, grew rapidly, and from the

time when the Treaty was first brought before the Senate in the autumn, it was obvious to the onlooker that there was no chance of the Treaty being ratified by Congress without grave and important amendments. The prospects of the Treaty were further compromised by the sudden and serious breakdown in Dr. Wilson's health early in the autumn.

During the consideration of the Treaty by the Senate fundamental reservations were introduced by the Republican leaders, and particularly by Senator Lodge. Of these reservations perhaps the most important was a reservation to the essential Article 10 of the League Covenant (see A.R., 1919, p. [281]). There were several other important reservations which the Republicans wished to introduce into the Treaty, and in particular great opposition was shown to the votes in the Assembly of the League which the Covenant gave to the British Overseas Dominions—the opposition being based upon the contention that the British Empire was a single state, and should therefore possess only a single vote.

At the end of the debate in the Senate, which lasted for many weeks, the Republican leaders brought forward a resolution to ratify the Treaty with the reservations which they wished to see appended to it. As has already been explained the majority of the Republican Party were desirous, or at all events willing, that the Treaty should be ratified with these reservations. But there existed a small extreme section of the Republicans in the Senate who were opposed to the League of Nations in any form whatsoever. And this latter group of Senators intended to vote against the Treaty no matter what reservations might be appended to it. It was in this triangular situation that the resolution to ratify the Treaty was finally put to the vote in the Upper House on November 19. The majority of the Republicans voted for the resolution; but the Democrats and the Republican malcontents voted against it, the former on the ground that the resolution did not commit the United States sufficiently to the League of Nations, and the latter on the directly opposite ground that it committed the United States too much. And in the event, the malcontent Republican vote was sufficient to produce an actual majority against the Treaty. And the matter was left in this position at the end of the year.

The reader will understand that since the American Senate was opposed to the general commitment involved in the League of Nations, it followed, *a fortiori*, that the Senate was opposed to the precise and particular commitment to which President Wilson had put his signature in Paris when he had agreed to the joint Anglo-American Treaty guaranteeing French territory against future attack (see A.R., 1919, p. [182]). There was never any serious prospect of this French Treaty being ratified by the Senate.

At the beginning of January President Wilson made it clear that he personally was firmly opposed to any compromise on

the question of the League of Nations, which he regarded as of vital importance for the welfare of mankind. Some of the other Democratic leaders, including Mr. Hitchcock, the Leader of the Democratic Party in the Senate, were, however, in favour of compromise, thinking that the League with reservations was better than no League at all. Mr. Bryan was also in favour of compromising with the Republicans, though not on the question of Article 10.

The refusal of President Wilson to compromise placed the Democrats in a difficult position, because few of them were anxious to have the League of Nations as an issue in the Presidential Election which was due in the following autumn. On the other hand, Senator Lodge and the other Republicans were pleased at this prospect for party reasons, as they saw a possibility of representing the League in an unpopular light. On this point Mr. Lodge declared himself plainly. "The issue," he said, "is squarely drawn. The reservations intended solely to protect the United States in her Sovereignty and Independence are discarded by the President. The President places himself squarely on behalf of Internationalism against Americanism."

During January various conferences were held between the Republican and Democratic Senators in order to investigate the possibility of a compromise, but these attempts always broke down owing to the inability of the Democrats to accept the Lodge reservation on Article 10 of the Covenant. Senator Hitchcock himself proposed to substitute a much milder reservation, merely asserting that the United States would not participate in an economic boycott or in military action in order to preserve the territorial integrity of any other country unless Congress passed an act in each specific case; but this proposal did not suffice to meet the views of the Republicans.

On February 9 the Treaty was once more brought before the Senate, though very little hopes were entertained that an accommodation between Mr. Lodge and the President would be reached. However, the debate on the Treaty again lasted for several weeks.

In the meantime a sensation was caused in political circles by a dispute between the President and the Secretary of State, Mr. Robert Lansing, which led to the resignation of the latter. It appears that on February 7, Dr. Wilson addressed a letter to Mr. Lansing inquiring whether it were true that the latter had frequently called Conferences of the Heads of Executive Departments of the Government during his (Dr. Wilson's) illness. Dr. Wilson also averred that "under our constitutional law and practice, as developed hitherto, no one but the President has the right to summon the Heads of the Executive Departments in Conference, and no one but the President and Congress has the right to ask their views, or the views of any one of them, on any public question."



In his reply dated February 9, Mr. Lansing said that it was true that he had asked his colleagues to confer in an informal manner on inter-departmental matters, which could not be delayed and to which Dr. Wilson's ill-health made it impossible for him to attend. Mr. Lansing went on to say that he had no intention whatever of acting unconstitutionally, but at the same time expressed his willingness to resign.

In reply to this letter Dr. Wilson sent a long and strongly worded—even petulant—answer, stating that Mr. Lansing's explanations were unsatisfactory, and that since the Cabinet could not act without the President, there was no object in holding the inter-departmental conferences. The President went on to say that he had been conscious for some time that there had been a divergence of opinion between them on various matters of foreign policy. Dr. Wilson also accepted Mr. Lansing's suggestion that he should resign.

Mr. Lansing's second letter, dated February 12, declared that he also had been conscious of the divergence of view, and definitely resigned his office.

Public opinion, both Republican and Democratic, was almost wholly sympathetic to Mr. Lansing; as it was felt that President Wilson's complaints were unreasonable in the circumstances then existing. Dr. Wilson appointed Mr. B. Colby as Secretary of State in succession to Mr. Lansing. Mr. Colby had been regarded as a Republican, and in the past had been closely associated with Mr. Theodore Roosevelt; but during the period of the war he had been closely associated with the work of the Administration.

On March 1, the Executive took important action in returning all the railroads of the country to private ownership and management. The Government had taken over control of all the United States railroads in December, 1917.

Whilst these events were taking place, the debate in the Senate on the League of Nations continued, and at the beginning of March all the important Republican reservations, those relating to Article 10, the voting power in the Assembly, and other matters, were re-adopted with but slight modifications. The modified reservation to Article 10 read as follows:—

“The United States assumes no obligation to employ its military or naval forces, its resources, or any form of economic discrimination to preserve the territorial integrity, or political independence, of any other country, or to interfere in controversies between nations, whether members of the League or not, under the provisions of Article 10, or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States under any Article of the Peace Treaty for any purpose unless, in any particular case, Congress in the exercise of its full liberty of action, shall by a joint resolution so provide.”

And the modified reservation directed against the votes of the British Empire in the League Assembly read as follows:—

“Until Part I., being the Covenant of the League of Nations, shall be so amended as to provide that the United States shall be entitled to cast a number of votes equal to that which any member of the League and its self-governing Dominions, Colonies, or parts of Empire in the aggregate shall be entitled to cast, the United States assumes no obligation to be bound, except in cases where Congress has previously given its consent, by any election, decision, report, or finding of the Council or Assembly in which any member of the League and its self-governing Dominions, Colonies, or parts of Empire in the aggregate have cast more than one vote. The United States assumes no obligation to be bound by any decision, report, or finding of the Council or Assembly arising out of any dispute between the United States and any member of the League, if such member or any self-governing Dominion, Colony, or part of Empire united with it politically, has voted.”

Efforts were made by the Democrats themselves, both within and without the Senate, to induce the President to compromise; but Dr. Wilson again made it clear that he regarded the reservation to Article 10 in particular as fatal to the whole spirit and intention of the Covenant and of the Treaty of Peace generally. After a reservation expressing sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people had been adopted at the last minute, the Treaty with the Republican reservations was once more put to the House. In the result, 49 Senators voted for the Resolution, ratifying the Treaty, and 35 voted against the Resolution. But since the Treaty required a two-thirds majority for ratification, this voting was in fact a rejection of the Resolution. The majority consisted of 28 Republicans and 21 Democrats, and the minority consisted of 23 Democrats and 12 extreme malcontent Republicans. The voting was strikingly different from that in November, when only 7 Democrats had voted for the ratification of the Treaty with the Lodge reservations. Since the President was still determined not to agree to the passage of the Treaty with the reservations which had been adopted, the Treaty was once more shelved.

At the end of March, the United States Government interested itself in the controversy between the French and German Governments relative to the sending of German troops into the Rühr Basin in order to deal with the Spartacists. The American Government sent a note to Paris stating that they would have no objection to the occupation of the zone by German troops; but that, on the other hand, they would regard the occupation of the area by Allied troops as inconvenient.

The deadlock with regard to the Treaty of Versailles left the United States still technically at war with Germany; and accordingly it was announced that the Republican leaders in the Senate would introduce a resolution declaring that a state of peace existed between the United States and Germany. The Peace Resolution came before the House of Representatives at

the beginning of April, and on April 9 the House passed the resolution by 242 votes to 150. Twenty-two Democrats voted in favour of the resolution. There was some delay in bringing the resolution before the Senate; but on May 15 the Upper House passed the resolution by 43 votes to 38, only 3 Democrats voting with the majority. The resolution having been somewhat modified by the Senate, it was again sent back to the House of Representatives, where it was confirmed. At the end of May it was, however, vetoed by President Wilson. The House of Representatives then considered the resolution again, and the Republicans endeavoured to obtain the two-thirds majority which was necessary to over-ride the President's veto. When the motion was put to the House, however, it was passed by only 219 votes to 152. Thus the United States continued to be technically at war with Germany and Austria.

In May the United States received an invitation from the Supreme Council to take up the mandate for Armenia. President Wilson urged the Senate to consent to take up the mandate, which he said it was the duty of the United States to undertake. President Wilson again found himself faced by the bitter opposition of the Republican Party. And on June 1 the Senate rejected President Wilson's proposal by 62 votes to 12. The Republicans alleged that the American Army necessary to police and defend Armenia would cost 150,000,000*l.* in the first five years alone.

The question of woman suffrage was considered very fully by various State Legislatures during the year. A majority of three-fourths of the States was necessary in order to give women the vote throughout the country. Washington State adopted woman suffrage in March. And after this only one more State was required to give women the federal vote. Shortly afterwards, however, both Mississippi and Delaware rejected woman suffrage proposals. In August the same woman suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution came before the Legislature of Tennessee. The amendment was first passed by both Houses of the Legislature, but was then disallowed on the ground that when the State House of Representatives passed the motion a quorum had not been present. Finally, however, the resolution was passed by Connecticut, so that woman suffrage was thus embodied in the Federal Constitution. The amendment merely stated that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." It was stated that about 26,000,000 women were thus enfranchised.

Early in August when the Russo-Polish campaign was at its height, the American Government sent a long note to the Italian Government, explaining at length the grounds on which America could have no dealings with the Government of Soviet-Russia. The American Government stated, however, that they thought that Russia should be allowed to establish herself within her full

boundaries, which should include the whole of the former Russian Empire, except Finland proper, ethnographic Poland, and Armenia. The United States had therefore given no recognition to Estland, Lettland, and Lithuania; nor to Azerbaijan and Georgia.

The Presidential Election was held in November, and during the summer there were the usual long-drawn-out preparations by the two great parties. The issue was fought out mainly upon President Wilson's foreign policy. The Democrats supported President Wilson's policy of the League of Nations. The Republicans advocated a return to the historic American tradition of isolation. Owing to President Wilson's illness there was, of course, no question of his standing for a third term. There was considerable doubt during the spring as to who would be the respective candidates of the Republicans and Democrats. The chief Republican names mentioned were those of Senator Harding of Ohio, Senator Borah of Idaho, and Senator Johnson of California. On the Democratic side Governor Cox of Ohio and Mr. Bryan were specially mentioned.

The Republican National Convention met at Chicago early in June, and selected Senator Harding as candidate after an exciting contest in which half a dozen other names were put forward.

At the end of the same month the Democratic Convention met at San Francisco, and after a close contest between Mr. McAdoo and Governor Cox the latter was selected as candidate. Governor Cox was fifty years of age, and as Governor of Ohio he had an extremely good record. He declared himself definitely in favour of the League of Nations.

On the other hand, when he was notified of his nomination by the Republican Party, Senator Harding made it perfectly clear that he was opposed to the United States entering the League. He said that "The resumption of the Senate's authority saved our Republic and its independent nationality when autocracy misinterpreted the dream of a world experiment to be the vision of a world ideal. The Republican Senate halted at the barter of independent American eminence and influence which it was proposed to exchange for an obscure and unequal place in the merged Government of the world. Our party means to hold the heritage of American nationality unimpaired and unsundered."

The elections were held as usual on the first Tuesday in November (the 2nd). Besides the candidates of the two great parties, three other candidates were nominated by much smaller organisations. Mr. P. P. Christenson stood as a Farmer-Labour candidate; Mr. E. V. Debs stood as a Socialist; and the Rev. A. S. Watkins stood as a "Prohibition" candidate.

In the result, the election was an overwhelming victory for the Republicans. Mr. Harding secured 404 votes in the Electoral College, as against only 127 votes for Mr. Cox.

Except in the old Southern States, the Republicans had large majorities almost everywhere. The Republicans secured a majority of 22 in the Senate. And the strength of the parties in the new House of Representatives was as follows: Republicans 293; Democrats 138; others 4. Mr. Harding was born in 1865, and was the son of a medical practitioner.

On September 16 a powerful bomb was exploded in Wall Street in New York, the criminals apparently being Russian anarchists. Over 30 persons were killed and 200 were injured.

In June the Supreme Court declared that the Prohibition amendment of the Federal Constitution, which had been disputed on legal grounds, was valid.

During the year measures were adopted by Congress making the establishment of the regular Army 280,000 men and 17,000 officers. A sum of 87,000,000*l.* was voted for Naval expenditure in the year 1920-21.

#### CANADA.

At the opening of the year the political situation in Canada was still much the same as it had been since 1917, when the Liberal Party had been rent in twain, and the section which was then in favour of compulsory service in the overseas Army had joined with the Conservatives to form the new Unionist Party. The leader of the Conservative Party, Sir Robert Borden, had remained Prime Minister.

The spring session of Parliament was opened by the Governor-General, the Duke of Devonshire, on February 26. The occasion was notable in that the ceremony was held in the new Parliament House. It will be remembered that the old Dominion Parliament building at Ottawa had been destroyed by fire in February, 1916. The speech from the throne opened by a reference to the formal conclusion of peace and to the fact that the League of Nations was now constituted, the Canadian status within the League being established. The Duke continued to say that it was hoped that the League would introduce an effective beginning of a more satisfactory adjustment of international relations. The Duke then drew attention to the fact that privation and suffering were prevalent in all parts of the world, and that the great lesson to be learned from this was the necessity of increased production combined with rigid economy in both individual and national expenditure.

In the debate which followed a vote of no confidence in the Ministry and calling for an immediate General Election was moved by Mr. Mackenzie King, the Leader of the Liberal Party. The motion was defeated by 112 votes to 78.

The Budget for 1920-21, which was introduced by the Finance Minister, Sir Henry Drayton, during March, showed a most satisfactory decrease in national expenditure. The total expenditure during the previous year was just over \$900,000,000; the estimated expenditure for the forthcoming financial year was

\$537,000,000. The greatest reduction was naturally in the expenditure on the Militia; but there were also large reductions on public works. Apart from the Budget, there were few important measures during the session, but the Government brought in a Bill equalising the franchise throughout the Canadian provinces and giving the vote to all British citizens of both sexes and of one year's residence and over 21 years of age.

At the end of June Parliament was prorogued, and it was then announced that Sir Robert Borden, who had been in ill-health for some time, would retire. Sir Robert Borden resigned not only the office of Prime Minister but his leadership of the Conservative Party. There was but little delay in the selection of Sir Robert Borden's successor. After a few days' discussion, it was announced that the Governor-General had asked Mr. Arthur Meighen, who had been Minister of the Interior, to form a Government. Mr. Meighen succeeded in forming a Cabinet, but there were certain important changes in personnel, and the Cabinet was by no means the same as that led by Sir Robert Borden. In particular, Mr. Rowell, who was one of the strongest of the Coalition Liberals, retired from office. The Cabinet was made up as follows:—

Prime Minister -	-	-	-	-	Mr. A. Meighen.
Minister for Immigration -	-	-	-	-	Mr. J. A. Calder.
Minister of Trade -	-	-	-	-	Sir G. Foster.
Minister of the Interior -	-	-	-	-	Sir J. Loughheed.
Minister of Finance -	-	-	-	-	Sir H. Drayton.
Minister of Militia -	-	-	-	-	Mr. H. Guthrie.
Secretary of State -	-	-	-	-	Mr. A. Sifton.
Minister of Railways -	-	-	-	-	Dr. Reid.
Minister of Labour -	-	-	-	-	Senator Robertson.
Minister of Marine -	-	-	-	-	Mr. C. Ballantyne.
Minister of Public Works -	-	-	-	-	Mr. F. B. McCurdy.
Minister without portfolio -	-	-	-	-	Sir E. Kemp.
Postmaster-General -	-	-	-	-	Senator Blondin.
Minister of Agriculture -	-	-	-	-	Dr. Tolmie.

The change of Prime Ministers was necessarily a landmark in Canadian political life, because, as will be remembered, Sir R. Borden had been Prime Minister for nine years. The new Prime Minister was only 46 years of age. For a period of twelve years he had represented a Manitoba constituency in the House of Commons. He was a lawyer by profession and had been educated at Toronto University.

After this reconstruction of the Ministry the name of the Unionist Party was changed to that of "National Liberal and Conservative Party." And the party took occasion to publish their programme in full. It was stated that the first plank in their platform was the "firm adherence to the British connexion in the full confidence that Canada will find its amplest scope for the development of its usefulness and influence as a member of the Britannic Commonwealth, with the status of a self-governing nation equal to that of the other members." The party also stated that they stood for the principle that no Treaty should be concluded which committed the whole Empire except after joint consultation. The party also approved of

Canada's membership of the League of Nations, and also expressed its determination to uphold Canada's full status as a member of the League. The united party declared that in regard to the Militia they proposed to maintain a highly efficient force but on a very moderate scale. The party also favoured increased direct taxation.

At about the same time, Sir Lomer Gouin, the Prime Minister of Quebec, also resigned. He was succeeded by the provincial Minister of Public Works, Mr. L. A. Taschereau. Mr. Taschereau was a lawyer of 53 years of age and had been educated at Leval University.

The new Prime Minister made his first important speech after assuming his new office to a large meeting of farmers in Hastings county. The speech was mainly devoted to a defence of a protectionist policy, and a criticism of the scheme for a low tariff which the Agrarians and Liberals were proposing. He said that the policy of the Government was to increase the employment of Canadian workmen by enlarging the home trade. The idea was to make it to the interest of Canadians to stay in Canada. Continuing, the Prime Minister said: "I see only two classes, only two divisions, in the country. On the one side are those who hold their heads steady and walk firmly and erectly in the middle of the road, who learn from experience, who believe in industry, order, and liberty, who still have faith in British institutions and principles, that have made us what we are to-day. And on the other side I see those who have surrendered to prejudice and class consciousness, to passion for change and experiment, whose minds are occupied in nurturing suspicion and hostility against other classes of the State. On the one side I see the builders of this country's foundations, tried and true. On the other side those engaged in the cheerful occupation of tearing down. I put the question to you. Are you going to be a nation-builder or a nation-wrecker?"

Two provincial General Elections took place in the autumn. On October 9 there was a General Election in New Brunswick; the Liberal Government (of which Mr. Foster was Prime Minister) lost 7 seats, being reduced from 31 members to 24, which was exactly half the House. This of course produced a very unstable position, but the opposing parties were not united among themselves, since they consisted of 13 Conservatives, 9 Agrarians, and 2 Labourites. The provincial capital, St. John City, voted overwhelmingly in favour of the Liberals. A General Election in British Columbia took place on December 1, and resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Liberal Government led by Mr. J. Oliver. The parties were returned in the following strength: Liberals, 21; Conservatives, 9; Independents, 2; Labour, 2; Socialists, 1. It was reported that in the reconstruction of the Government after the elections there had been a novel and interesting departure from precedent, in that a well-known woman politician, Mrs. Ralph Smith, was appointed a Cabinet Minister, with the portfolio of Education.

In reference to the great controversy in the United States, regarding the entrance of the British Dominions into the League of Nations as separate entities, Canadian statesmen made the position of Canada perfectly plain early in the year. For instance, Mr. Rowell declared in speaking to a political meeting in February that "stripped of all its diplomatic verbiage the question is 'shall the Dominions be denied the distinction of voting rights in the League in order that one of the many objections that are urged by some members of the United States Senate to the ratification of this Treaty may be removed?' To that question there is only one possible reply, and that is a dignified but unequivocal 'No.'"

Canadians also pointed out that although it was true that the British Empire had six votes in the Assembly of the League against the one vote of the United States, yet it must be remembered that the petty Central American republics, which were largely under the influence of the United States, each had one vote. So that the inequality was not really so great as was alleged, and the British Dominions were certainly far more important countries than the little republics in question.

At the end of the year an interesting revelation also relating to the League of Nations was made by Sir Robert Borden. He said that when the Covenant of the League of Nations was being drawn up, he and the other Canadian representatives had taken much the same objection to the famous Article 10, as was now being urged by the Republican leaders in the United States Congress. This revelation was interesting in that it showed that the objection to being too closely involved in the politics of Europe was to be found in high quarters in British North America as well as in the American Republic.

It will be remembered that during 1919 the Dominion Government had appointed a Commission to consider an interesting project for increasing the resources of Canada as a meat-producing country by reducing to a state of semi-domestication the two Arctic ungulates, the reindeer and the musk-sheep. The Chairman of the Commission was Mr. V. Stefansson, who was indeed the author of this novel idea. It was hoped that in this way the great northern wastes of Canada would be turned into economically productive areas by this new form of farming.

Mr. Stefansson's Commission reported to Parliament in March. The Commission suggested that a very large area, perhaps 50,000 square miles, should be set aside as a grazing area for reindeer. No revenue could be expected for the first ten years, but after that time the new industry should prove highly profitable. Mr. Stefansson pointed out that the North American reindeer, known as the caribou, was the same species as the European reindeer, though usually called by the different name. He suggested that a certain number of European reindeer should be imported to improve the breed, and good results might perhaps also be obtained by crossing the more southerly woodland caribou with the caribou of the barren grounds.



Apart from breeding reindeer, Mr. Stefansson thought that a profitable industry could be built up by domesticating yak and musk-sheep on a large scale. It was estimated that the number of caribou in the North amounted to millions. Later in the year it was announced that a large strip of territory in Baffin Land, north of Lake Nettilling (Lake Kennedy), had been granted to Mr. Stefansson by the Canadian Government for a period of thirty years in order to carry out his reindeer experiment. Southampton, Mansel, and Coats Islands, north of the Hudson Bay, were also set aside for breeding the Northern ungulates.

#### NEWFOUNDLAND.

It will be remembered that at the end of 1919 there had been a General Election in Newfoundland which had resulted in a somewhat remarkable victory for the Fishermen's Party, the leader of which, Mr. R. Squires, became Prime Minister. Mr. Squires remained in power throughout 1920. During the year there was an important territorial dispute between Newfoundland and Quebec. The western boundary of Labrador had never been definitely demarcated. Newfoundland claimed for Labrador about 250,000 square miles in the Peninsular of Ungava. Quebec claimed on the other hand that Labrador ended at a distance of 20 miles from the coast. At the end of the year the dispute was finally referred to the British Privy Council for a decision. The territory in dispute was said to contain great deposits of coal, and it also had considerable wealth in timber.

#### MEXICO.

During the year there was yet another revolution in Mexico. The President, General Carranza, had been able to establish his authority over the greater part of the country, but like his predecessors he suffered from the extraordinary inconstancy of the Mexican people. The new revolution began in April in the State of Sonora, which declared its separation from the Mexican Republic. Carranza's troops in Sonora were either defeated or went over to the rebels. The leaders of the rebel movement were Señor de la Huerta (Governor of Sonora) and a certain General Cejudo. A large number of other States in the west and south declared in favour of the Sonora movement before the end of April. The famous bandit, General Villa, who had never been reduced by General Carranza, appears to have assisted the revolutionaries. Señor de la Huerta was also joined by General Obregon, a prospective presidential candidate. The State of Chihuahua joined the revolutionaries at the beginning of May, and after this the revolutionaries gradually closed in on the Capital. The revolutionaries demanded that Carranza should resign, but the President refused to do so. On May 8 he was compelled to flee from Mexico City. On May 16

Carranza was murdered by some of his own treacherous followers (see Obituary).

At the end of May the Mexican Congress appointed General Huerta as provisional President. The new Government appears to have had considerable success in re-establishing order in the country, and in August General Villa surrendered and disbanded his forces and was given a free pardon by the Government. At the beginning of September a formal Presidential Election was held, and General Obregon was elected President. He took over the reins of office on December 1; and Señor de la Huerta became his Minister of Finance. At the end of the year negotiations proceeded with the United States for the formal recognition of the new Mexican Government.

#### BRAZIL.

The year was a quiet and prosperous one in Brazil. Almost the only disturbances of importance were the strikes which occurred at the end of March. These strikes began on the Leopoldina Railway, and spreading rapidly they soon developed into a general strike of all the organised workmen throughout the country, but the strike was fortunately of short duration. Brazil played an important part in the League of Nations, and was represented not only in the Assembly but also in the Council of the League.

#### ARGENTINA.

Argentina was one of the first of the neutral States to signify its adhesion to the League of Nations; and during the latter part of the year the Argentine Government took the lead in endeavouring to persuade the European Powers not to attach too much importance to the absence of the United States from the League. At the meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva, the Argentine Government were represented by the Foreign Minister, Señor Pueryrredon.

#### CHILI.

Through the good offices of President Wilson, the long-standing Tacna and Arica dispute was settled during the year. It will be remembered that after the war of 1879 between Chili on the one side and Peru and Bolivia on the other side, the provinces of Tacna and Arica were occupied by Chili, though it was arranged that a plebiscite should be held later in order to decide the destinies of those provinces. Chili and Peru had, however, been unable to agree on the conditions under which the plebiscites should be held. President Wilson now acted as mediator, and proposed that the provinces should be definitely ceded to Chili, and that Chili should pay Peru a sum of 6,000,000*l.* sterling, by way of compensation. It was reported at the end of the year that Chili and Peru had agreed to President Wilson's suggestion.

A Presidential Election took place in September and Señor A. Alessandri was elected President. The new President, who was of Italian extraction, took office at the end of December.

Chili joined the League of Nations.

#### PERU.

The new President of Peru, Señor Leguia, was successful in passing through the special Constituent Assembly which had been elected in the previous year the important constitutional reforms which had been before the country for some time. It will be remembered that the reforms involved an extensive measure of devolution and the establishment of three provincial Legislatures at Arequipa, Huncayo, and Trujillo. The new Constitution was proclaimed in January.

#### BOLIVIA.

During July there was a revolution in Bolivia. Señor G. Guerrero, the Leader of the Liberal Party, was President; and he had made himself very unpopular with some sections in the country by the claim which he put forward to obtain a sea-port in Arica. It had been rumoured that the Chilean Government were prepared to grant this concession to Bolivia; but, however that may have been, the proposal was of course keenly resented in Peru, and also by the Republican Party in Bolivia, who were in favour of maintaining the traditional friendship between Bolivia and Peru. The anxiety of the Republicans was not without some basis in fact, because hostilities almost broke out between Bolivia and Peru in March. On July 12 there was a *coup d'état* and Señor Guerra's Government was driven from power, and several Republican leaders, with Señor Saavedra at their head, seized control of the capital and of the country. Señor Saavedra became Provisional President. He declared that he was in favour of obtaining a Pacific port for Bolivia, but only through an amicable agreement with both Chili and Peru.

#### OTHER AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

During April there was a revolution in Guatemala. After serious fighting President Cabrera, who came into power in 1917, was driven from office; and his place was taken by Señor C. Herrera. In January Señor L. Tamajo was elected President of Ecuador. In October Señor A. Zayas was elected President of Cuba. In December a Conference of Representatives of all the Central American Republics was held at San José, Costa Rica, with the purpose of endeavouring to find a basis for the federation of the five little States.

## CHAPTER X.

## AUSTRALASIA: AUSTRALIA—NEW ZEALAND.

## AUSTRALIA.

IN December, 1919, a General Election was held in Australia, and the corrected results of the elections, which were somewhat different from the preliminary reports, were published in January. The elections for the Senate (or rather for one half of the Senate) were a triumph for the Nationalist Party, led by Mr. W. M. Hughes, the Federal Prime Minister. In the old Senate the Nationalists had held 25 seats and the Labourites 11 seats. After the elections it was found that the Ministerialists had secured altogether no fewer than 33 seats, the Labourites therefore having only 3 seats. Of the 18 seats contested the Labourites won only 1. The elections for the House of Representatives were less favourable to Mr. Hughes. Before the dissolution the Nationalists had held 49 seats in the Lower House. At the General Election they suffered some reverses at the hands of the new Farmers' Party, and won only 40 seats. The Labourites won 26 seats, and the Farmers' Party won 9 seats.

At the same time as the General Election, two referenda were held on the constitutional reforms which had been passed by Parliament a few months earlier, this being a legal necessity. These reforms gave the Federal Government increased powers over commerce and in regard to the nationalisation of monopolies. The interest in these highly important referenda was even greater than in the General Election results themselves. Both referenda resulted in the defeat of the proposed reforms. On the question of the increase of Federal Legislative powers, the proposal was defeated by about 924,000 votes against about 911,000 votes. And in the other referendum on the nationalisation of monopolies, the proposal was defeated by 859,000 votes against about 814,000 votes.

The General Election was fought very largely on the Labour proposal for the unification of Australia. In the spring the Labour Organisations published a highly interesting programme on this important problem. It was apparently the intention of the Labour Party to advocate an entire change of the Australian Constitution, with the setting up of a Constitution more comparable to that of the Union of South Africa. They proposed that the existing States should be entirely abolished; and that in the place of the State Parliaments there should be 31 district councils, consisting of only 10 members each. The partition of Australia into these 31 much smaller districts, would of course involve the abolition of the system of State Governors. And indeed the proposed District Councils would be bodies with even more restricted powers than the provincial diets of South Africa. The Labour Party also proposed that the Federal Senate should be abolished, and that the National Parliament should therefore consist of one House only, including 100 members.

The Federal Parliament was opened by the Governor-General on February 26. In his speech from the throne Sir R. Munro-Ferguson referred to the ratification of the Peace Treaty with Germany and the mandates in the Pacific which had been bestowed upon Australia. The Governor-General also announced that the Prince of Wales proposed to visit Australia during the year. He said also that the Government greatly regretted the defeat of the constitutional reforms by the referenda. The Government hoped to carry through a revision of the Federal Constitution by means of conferences between State and Federal authorities. The revenue for the past year had been satisfactory, but a still higher revenue would be necessary to meet the heavy obligations arising out of the war. Now that peace had been concluded, the Government hoped to proceed with a plan for the establishment of a federal capital.

During the year Sir R. Munro-Ferguson came to the end of his period as Governor-General. He was succeeded by the Right Hon. Lord Forster, P.C. During his tour round the world the Prince of Wales paid a long and highly successful visit to Australia. The *Renown*, with the Prince on board, arrived at Melbourne on May 26, and the heir to the throne was welcomed in Australia by the Governor-General and Mr. Hughes. The Prince visited every State of the Commonwealth in turn. He stayed about three weeks in Victoria and then went on to Sydney where he arrived on June 16. Next he proceeded to Western Australia, where he arrived—at the City of Perth—on July 1. On July 12 he arrived at Adelaide, and a few days later went on to Tasmania. He then returned to the mainland and proceeded by train to Brisbane. He was greeted at the Queensland border station of Wallangarra by the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Lennon, and by the Prime Minister, Mr. Fihelly. After staying a few days in Queensland the Prince once more journeyed south, and his last public engagement was a speech at Bathurst. Referring to his visit to the rural districts of Australia, the Prince said: "Had I left Australia without seeing the country districts of the interior my tour would have been indeed incomplete. But I have had a glimpse, at any rate, of real Australia. That glimpse has taught me a great deal in a short time. I have seen the richness of the country, and learnt the effects of drought and floods. I trust that the next few years will be years of plenty, and will bring you all that you desire. I need not say how sorry I am to leave these shores, of which I shall always retain the pleasantest memories."

During August the Prince of Wales left Australia; and at the same time Sir R. Munro-Ferguson abandoned his post to his successor.

During the year provincial politics attracted an unusual amount of attention. A highly important General Election was held in New South Wales in March. In the outgoing Parliament the Nationalists had been in a strong majority, with 54 seats, against 32 seats held by Labour and 4 seats held

by Independents. The State Premier was the well-known politician, Mr. Holman. The result of the elections was a serious setback for the Nationalists. The Labour Party was returned in strength equal to that of all the other parties combined; and on April 8 it was announced that the Holman Government had resigned, and that Mr. Storey, Leader of the New South Wales Labour Party, had been entrusted with the task of forming a Labour Ministry. The Portfolios were allotted by the New South Wales Labour Caucus to a number of politicians of whom only one, Mr. Estell, had had previous Cabinet experience. While the Caucus was creating the Cabinet many Unions assembled in the Town Hall of Sydney, where the city organist played the "Red Flag." Mr. Storey announced a few days later the policy of his Government. He proposed, he said, to move slowly, and not aim at the absurd idea of demolishing and then reconstructing the social structure. The object of the Government was to refashion the social system by degrees, but they would go no farther than the people desired.

A new Ministry came into power in South Australia in the second week of April, Mr. H. N. Barwell being Premier and Attorney-General. Elections also took place during the year in Victoria and Queensland. In the former State the Government retained a slight majority. In Queensland the state of parties had been Ministerialists (Labour 46), Opposition 26, but by now a strong Country Party had been organised in the State and numbered 17 members out of the total Opposition. The term of the existing Parliament was due to expire next spring, but the Government decided to force an election which was fixed to take place on October 9. The result of this election was to reduce the Government majority from 20 to 6; the Country Party won 5 Labour seats and the Nationalists 2, and the Minister for Mines was unseated. Although the Government majority was small, it was quite sufficient for practical business, as the Labour Party was so effectively disciplined that the Government could always command its full strength in support.

#### NEW ZEALAND.

Early in January figures were officially published giving the result of the licensing referendum which had been held the previous year. The points on which the referendum was taken were (1) continuance of the present liquor laws; (2) State purchase and control; (3) Prohibition. Votes cast for Prohibition were larger than those in either of the other items, but fell short by nearly 3,000 of the absolute majority required to carry any of the three points. The existing licensing system therefore continued.

On April 17 it was announced that the King had appointed Admiral of the Fleet Lord Jellicoe of Scapa to be Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of New Zealand in succession to Lord Liverpool who retired. Lord Jellicoe arrived in New

Zealand on September 27 and received an enthusiastic greeting. Lord Liverpool's period of office had been extended to cover the time of the Prince of Wales's tour in New Zealand. The Prince landed at Auckland on April 24 and drove to Government House where he was presented by Mr. Massey with a large ornamental casket containing 2,000 pieces of New Zealand woods. Further addresses were given from the Harbour Trust and from the Municipalities of the district, and although the Labour members of the Auckland Council did not attend the Town Hall ceremony the cordiality of the vast body of the people was unquestioned.

Mr. Massey presented the Budget in the House of Representatives in July. The revenue for 1919-20 was 26,000,000*l.* as against 22,250,000*l.* for the previous year. The expenditure was 23,750,000*l.* as compared with 19,750,000*l.*; this showed a surplus of 2,250,000*l.* and the accumulated surplus amounted to 17,500,000*l.* Local redemptions and renewals during the year amounted to 3,750,000*l.* The War Loans raised totalled 80,000,000*l.* of which 53,000,000*l.* was raised in New Zealand. The gross public debt amounted to 201,000,000*l.* and the net indebtedness per head of the population was 165*l.* The annual debt charges were 7,250,000*l.* The total to be provided by loans including 10,000,000*l.* for renewals was 24,800,000*l.*

Mr. Massey's social proposals included the establishment of Maternity Homes, more nurses for the back blocks, increased expenditure on education, and the establishment of a bureau of infant welfare. The estimated revenue for the coming year was 27,750,000*l.*, and the estimated expenditure 26,750,000*l.*

New Zealand suffered from the loss in September of Mr. W. D. S. MacDonald, Leader of the Opposition, who had been a distinguished member of the National Cabinet during the war and succeeded Sir Joseph Ward as Liberal Leader in 1920.

In the House of Representatives a proposal was brought forward in November that the Dominion Parliament should be elected by a system of proportional representation, but the proposal was defeated by 39 votes to 23.

Towards the end of the year details were published of the new Land Defence Scheme which re-modelled the territorial training partly on the lines followed in training for the war. The period for training was reduced from 7 to 4 years in addition to cadet work. From the ages of 14 to 16 cadets would receive physical training, and from 16 to 18 military training; in the 19th year all would serve a recruit period varying from 2 to 6 weeks in camp according to efficiency. After this selected recruits would be drafted to the territorials for 3 years; all promotion would be from the ranks by merit. The intention was to retain a skeleton force with the strength of one division with a full establishment of officers, non-commissioned officers, specialists, and artificers, and a half establishment of other ranks.

# PART II.

## CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

### IN 1920.

#### JANUARY.

1. The list of New Year Honours included one earldom, which was conferred on Lord Midleton; three new barons were created: Sir Bertrand Dawson, physician, Sir George Riddell, who was in charge of the British and Colonial press arrangements during the Peace Conference in Paris, and Sir Albert Stanley, M.P., late President of the Board of Trade. Ten new Privy Councillors (three of them Irish) were announced, including Sir Henry Birchenough, Sir Trevor Dawson, Sir Thomas Holderness, Lieut.-Colonel Sanders, M.P., and Sir Henry Robinson. Forty-five new knights included Mr. Beck, M.P., Dr. Wallis Budge, Mr. Mackinder, M.P., and Professor Arthur Schuster, late Secretary of the Royal Society. Sir John Bradbury, Sir David Harrel, and Sir Rennell Rodd were promoted G.C.B., and there were seven new K.C.B.'s.

— The Rev. W. L. Lee was inducted as the first Moderator of the London Province of the Congregational Union.

3. A bye-election at Spen Valley resulted in the return of Mr. Tom Myers (Lab.) by a majority of 1,718 over Sir John Simon (Ind. Lib.) and of 3,828 over Colonel Fairfax (Co.-Lib.).

5. *The Times* announced that British butter was to be de-controlled on February 1.

— Mr. Stephen Gaselee was appointed Librarian and Keeper of the papers at the Foreign Office.

— The will of the late Lord Astor was filed; in New York City alone the real estate was assessed at \$60,000,000.

10. The Peace Treaty was ratified at 4.15 P.M. at the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs at Quai d'Orsay.

— Official announcement that dairy products were to be de-controlled at the end of the month.

— The steamer *Treveal* from Calcutta to Dundee was wrecked on the Dorsetshire coast with a loss of 36 lives.

11. Mr. Herbert Samuel left England for Palestine to advise Lord Allenby on administration and finance.



11. A gale swept over the country, the wind attaining a velocity in London of 50 miles an hour, and in the Scilly Islands of 68 miles an hour.

12. The liner *Afrique*, with 599 passengers on board, sank about 50 miles from La Rochelle in the Bay of Biscay with the loss of all but 43.

13. Sir Harold Stuart was appointed British High Commissioner on the Rhineland Commission.

— Viscount Grey of Fallodon arrived in England on leave from America.

14. Nine men were killed by an explosion at the National Filling Factory between Lancaster and Morecambe.

15. Increased railway rates for goods traffic came into operation.

— *The Times* announced that General Sir J. A. L. Haldane, K.C.B., would shortly take over the command of the troops in Mesopotamia.

— Dr. Karl Schulte, Bishop of Paderborn, was elected Archbishop of Cologne.

16. The first meeting of the Council of the League of Nations was held in Paris under the Presidency of Monsieur Léon Bourgeois.

— Announcement that Lieut.-General Sir William Pulteney had been appointed "Black Rod" in place of the late Sir Henry Stephenson.

— Mr. C. Grant Robertson was appointed Principal of the University of Birmingham in place of Sir Oliver Lodge who had resigned.

17. Prohibition came into legal effect in the United States.

— M. Paul Deschanel was elected President of the French Republic.

— Wales beat England in the International Rugby Union football match at Swansea.

21. Mr. Asquith was selected as Liberal candidate for the Paisley bye-election.

— Lord Haig was presented with the Freedom of Manchester.

— Mr. T. R. Glover was elected public orator at Cambridge in succession to Sir John Sandys, resigned.

22. The Prince of Wales was admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society.

23. The Duchess of Westminster who had divorced the Duke in December, 1919, was married to Captain J. F. Lewis, late R.A.F.

26. Lord Haig was made a Freeman of Sheffield.

— The Venerable H. Gressford Jones was appointed Dean of Salisbury.

27. Announcement that Colonel Weigall, M.P., had been appointed Governor of South Australia.

— Mr. George Barnes, the only Labour member of the Cabinet, resigned from the Government.

29. A heavy snowfall occurred in Yorkshire, the Midlands, and Wales, involving an interruption of the telegraph and telephone services.

30. Prince Arthur of Connaught held an Investiture at Canterbury on behalf of the King.

## FEBRUARY.

2. Price of imported beef was reduced by 2d. per lb.

— Monsieur Henri Jacques Lebaudy, who died intestate, left English estate of over 1,500,000*l.*

— Lord Curzon of Kedleston and Mr. E. S. Montagu, M.P., were elected Trustees of the British Museum.

3. The Prince of Wales visited Eton College and spoke to the boys in reply to an address of welcome. He was afterwards admitted to the office of High Steward of Windsor and received the Freedom of the Borough.

4. The purchase was completed of the National shipyard at Chepstow by representatives of large shipowning and building interests.

— *The Times* announced that between August, 1914, and February, 1920, 239,126 honours were awarded for services in the field.

— Mr. G. H. Roberts, the Food Controller, resigned his office.

7. In the International Rugby football match at Inverleith, Scotland beat Wales by 9 points to 5.

9. General Sir Francis Lloyd was appointed a Commissioner of the Duke of York's Royal Military School.

10. The King opened Parliament accompanied by the Queen.

11. The first meeting in England of the Council of the League of Nations was opened at St. James's Palace with Mr. Arthur Balfour presiding.

— A one-day strike of taxi-cabs took place in London as a protest against the increase of 8d. a gallon in the price of petrol.

— The price of silver reached its record height of 7*s.* 5½*d.*

12. Sir Marshall Reid resigned his membership of the Council of India.

13. At a bye-election at Ashton-under-Lyne, Sir Walter de Frece (Co.-U.) was elected; he polled 8,864 votes against 8,127 for the Labour candidate and 3,511 for the Liberal candidate.

— The late Mlle Gaby Deslys left usufruct of 400,000*l.* to her mother and sister; at their death the money was to go to the town of Marseilles for the assistance of the poor.

14. Resignation of Mr. Lansing, United States Secretary of State.

16. The Ideal Home Exhibition was opened at Olympia; 21 nations being represented at an International Conference on housing and town planning.

18. Sir Richard Vassar-Smith was appointed Deputy Grand Master of Grand Lodge of Mark Master Masons.

20. *The Times* announced that Lord d'Abernon had resigned from the Chairmanship of the Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic).

— A bye-election in the Wrekin division of Shropshire was won by Mr. C. Palmer (Ind.) who polled 9,267 votes against 8,729 for the Labour candidate and 4,750 for the Coalition Liberal candidate.

23. Announcement that an increase of 50 per cent. was to come into force for taxi-cabs on March 1.

24. Five lives were lost in a fire at Aston, Birmingham.

25. The result of the bye-election at Paisley was announced. Mr. Asquith (Lib.) was returned, polling 14,746 votes against 11,902 for the Labour candidate and 3,795 for the Coalition-Unionist candidate.

— Mr. E. R. Edison was appointed Controller of the Profiteering Act department in succession to Captain H. Hincks who had resigned.

26. Mr. R. E. Graves was appointed Chief Inspector of factories in succession to Sir Malcolm Robinson who was due to retire on March 31.

28. Field-Marshal Lord Methuen was appointed Constable of the Tower in succession to Field-Marshal Sir Evelyn Wood, deceased.

— A general strike was proclaimed on the French railways.

29. The cost of living continued to rise during February. In respect of 45 representative commodities prices had on the average trebled since 1913.

## MARCH.

1. *The Times* announced that Sir A. E. Garrod had been recommended for appointment to the Regius Professorship of Medicine at Oxford University in succession to the late Sir William Osler.

— End of the French railway strike.

— General the Earl of Cavan was appointed Lieutenant of the Tower of London in succession to General Sir Ian Hamilton who had retired from the Army.

2. Sir Auckland Geddes was appointed British Ambassador at Washington.

— Convocation at Oxford carried a proposal for the abolition of compulsory Greek in Responsions.

5. Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby, High Commissioner for Egypt, was appointed Colonel of the First Life Guards.

8. Georges Carpentier, boxing champion of Europe, was married to Mlle Georgette Elsassier.

9. A bye-election for the Horncastle division of Lincolnshire resulted in the return of Captain S. V. Hotchkin (Co.-U.) who polled 8,140 votes against 6,727 for the Liberal candidate and 3,443 for the Labour candidate.

10. Sir Thomas Chitty was appointed Senior Master of the Supreme Court and King's Remembrancer.

11. Mr. Howard Morley left estate valued at over 3,000,000*l*.

13. Wales beat Ireland at Cardiff in a Rugby International football match by 28 points to 4.

15. Lieut.-General Sir T. L. Napier-Morland was appointed General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Army of the Rhine.

— Gales and heavy falls of snow, sleet, or rain were experienced over the greater part of the country.

16. The Prince of Wales left England in H.M.S. *Renown* on a tour to Australia and New Zealand.

— A Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the financial resources of Dublin University which had asked for State help.

17. Queen Alexandra unveiled the statue of Nurse Edith Cavell in St. Martin's Lane.

— A barony of the United Kingdom was conferred upon Sir Brien Cokayne, K.B.E.

18. Sir Edwin Lutyens, A.R.A., architect, and Mr. H. Hughes-Stanton, A.R.A., painter, were elected Royal Academicians.

— Mr. Charles Sims, R.A., was elected Keeper of the Royal Academy in the room of the late Mr. Andrew C. Gow.

19. The following ministerial appointments were announced : Dr. Macnamara to be Minister of Labour ; Sir Robert Horne to be President of the Board of Trade ; Mr. McCurdy to be Food Controller ; Mr. J. Avon Clyde to be Lord President of the Court of Session.

22. The domestic sugar ration was increased from 6 oz. to 8 oz. a week, and the price from 10*d.* to 10½*d.* a lb.

23. Announcement that Mr. Morison, Solicitor-General for Scotland, would succeed Mr. Clyde as Lord Advocate, his place being taken by Colonel C. D. Murray, K.C.

— Sir William Sutherland was re-elected M.P. for Argyllshire with a majority of 4,689 as against 9,237 at the last General Election.

— The Venerable H. K. Southwell, Archdeacon of Lewes, was appointed Bishop Suffragan of Lewes.

26. The Prince of Wales arrived at Barbados.

— The War Office announced that the rank of Brigadier-General was to be abolished in the Army.

27. Cambridge won the University boat race by four lengths in 21 minutes 11 seconds. Oxford won the athletic sports by 5 events to 4.

28. "Summer-time" came into force at 2 A.M., clocks and watches being advanced one hour.

29. The Rev. F. S. M. Bennett was appointed Dean of Chester.

30. General Sir W. R. Robertson was promoted to be Field-Marshal.

— A list of 5,604 promotions in and appointments to the civil division of the Order of the British Empire was published by the *London Gazette*.

— Cambridge beat Oxford in the annual golf match by 6 matches to 3.

## APRIL.

3. Announcement that the Government butter ration would be increased from 1 oz. to 1½ oz. per week from April 19.

— The following Ministerial appointments were announced :—

The Right Hon. Sir L. Worthington-Evans, Bart., M.P., to be Minister without portfolio in succession to the Right Hon. G. M. Barnes, M.P., resigned.

The Right Hon. J. I. Macpherson, K.C., M.P., to be Minister of Pensions, in succession to Sir Worthington-Evans.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Hamar Greenwood, K.C., M.P., to be Chief Secretary for Ireland in succession to Mr. J. I. Macpherson.

Mr. F. G. Kellaway, M.P., to be Parliamentary Secretary to the department of overseas trade and additional Under-Secretary to the Foreign Office in succession to Sir Hamar Greenwood.

Colonel Sir James Craig, Bart., M.P., to be Financial Secretary to the Admiralty in succession to Dr. Macnamara.

Major G. C. Tryon, M.P., to be Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Pensions in succession to Sir James Craig.

The Marquess of Londonderry, K.G., to be Under-Secretary of State for Air in succession to Major Tryon.

Sir Montague Barlow, K.B.E., M.P., to be Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Labour in succession to Mr. Wardle, resigned.

6. The greater part of the National Portrait Gallery was re-opened to the public.

— The Independent Labour Party at a Conference at Glasgow decided to withdraw from the Geneva International.

7. The Prince of Wales received an enthusiastic greeting at San Diego in California where he addressed a crowd of 20,000 people through a "magna vox" instrument.

— The Bishops of the Welsh province elected the Bishop of St. Asaph as the first Archbishop of Wales.

— The Freedom of Belfast was conferred on Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, Lord Londonderry, and the Dowager Lady Dufferin.

10. At a bye-election at Stockport, Mr. W. Greenwood (Co.-U.) and Mr. Henry Fildes (Co.-Lib.) were elected by majorities of more than 6,000 over the first of the five other candidates.

— At a bye-election at Dartford Mr. J. Mills (Lab.) was elected, polling more votes than the other four candidates combined; this involved the loss of a seat to the Government.

12. Parliament met after the Easter recess.

— The price of bread was raised to a shilling the quartern loaf.

14. The Prince of Wales arrived at Hawaii where he was welcomed by the natives.

— Dr. T. J. Macnamara, the new Minister of Labour, retained his seat in N.W. Camberwell by a majority of 1,885 over Miss Susan Lawrence, the Labour candidate.

— At a bye-election at Basingstoke, Colonel Sir Arthur Holbrook (Co.-U.), was elected by a majority of 3,122 over the Liberal candidate.

15. Mr. C. A. McCurdy (Co.-Lib.), the new Food Controller, retained his seat at Northampton by a majority of 3,371 over Miss Margaret Bondfield, the Labour candidate.

— The Bank rate was raised from 6 per cent. to 7 per cent.

— Sir Howard Frank succeeded Mr. Kellaway as Chairman of the Disposal Board of the Ministry of Munitions.

15. Sir William Robinson, K.C.B., Secretary for the Air Ministry, was appointed first Secretary of the Ministry of Health in succession to the late Sir Robert Morant.

16. St. George's Hall, Wolverhampton, an old building used as a billiard saloon, collapsed without warning, involving the loss of two lives.

— Rear-Admiral F. L. Field was appointed a Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty in place of Rear-Admiral Sir W. C. M. Nicholson.

17. *The Times* announced that Lord Jellicoe would succeed Lord Liverpool as Governor-General of New Zealand.

19. The Supreme Allied Council met at San Remo.

— Sir Auckland Geddes, Ambassador to the United States, arrived at New York.

— Sir David Shackleton and Sir James Masterton-Smith were appointed joint permanent secretaries to the Ministry of Labour.

20. The Prince of Wales arrived at Fiji.

— The *Labour Gazette* estimated the average increase in weekly wages at about 120 to 130 per cent. on the pre-war rates.

— Brigadier-General W. T. Horwood, C.B., D.S.O., was appointed Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police in succession to General Sir Nevil Macready.

— Sir William Mitchell-Thomson, M.P., was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food.

21. The Rev. Neville Talbot, Chaplain of Balliol College, Oxford, was appointed Bishop of Pretoria in succession to Dr. Furse, appointed Bishop of St. Albans.

— Mr. H. C. Biron was appointed Chief Magistrate for the Metropolitan police courts in succession to Sir John Dickinson, retired. Mr. Biron received a knighthood.

22. M. Caillaux was found guilty by the French Senate, on the charge of correspondence with the enemy. He was sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment, 10 years' deprivation of civil rights, and 5 years' interdiction from residing in places to be specified by the Government. As he had already served practically the whole of his term of imprisonment he was released.

— Bye-elections in North and South Edinburgh resulted in the return of Mr. P. J. Ford (Co.-U.), and Mr. C. D. Murray (Co.-U.), by reduced majorities.

— Mr. Henry Poole, sculptor, Sir Robert Lorimer, architect, and Mr. Walter W. Russell, painter, were elected Associates of the Royal Academy.

23. Sir William Llewellyn, A.R.A., K.C.V.O., painter, and Mr. F. Derwent Wood, A.R.A., sculptor, were elected Royal Academicians, and Mr. Oliver Hall, painter, was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy.

24. The Food Controller revoked control over the retail price of imported mutton, but the maximum wholesale prices remained in force.

26. The Prince of Wales witnessed a parade of children at Auckland.

26. Mr. Julius Olsson, A.R.A., painter, and Mr. Richard Jack, A.R.A., painter, were elected Royal Academicians.

27. The Prince of Wales visited Rotorua where he had an enthusiastic welcome from the Maoris.

28. The light cruiser *Chatham* was presented by the Imperial Government to the Government of New Zealand.

— Bishop Hine, M.D., was appointed Suffragan Bishop of Grantham.

29. Sir Theodore Chambers, K.B.E., and Sir William Schooling, K.B.E., were appointed Vice-Chairmen of the National Savings Committee.

30. The will of Mr. Howard Morley, a principal partner in I. & R. Morley of Wood Street, E.C., was proved at 1,539,429*l.* He left about 80,000*l.* in public and charitable bequests.

### MAY.

1. General Lord Horne was appointed Aide-de-camp General to the King vice General Sir William Robertson who was promoted to the rank of Field-Marshal.

— May day was celebrated in England by peaceful processions and the passing of resolutions. In Paris there was rioting, and a number of people were killed and injured.

3. Sir Henry Birchenough was appointed Chairman of the British Dyes Corporation.

— In an accident near Dijon to the Rome express to Paris one person was killed and 17 injured.

4. The Aeronautical Research Committee was constituted with Professor Sir Richard Glazebrook as Chairman.

7. The Prince of Wales received a great welcome at Wellington.

— Sir Hamar Greenwood, Chief Secretary for Ireland, was elected at a bye-election at Sunderland by a majority of 8,434 over the Labour candidate; the Independent Liberal candidate failed to poll one-eighth of the total votes and forfeited his 150*l.* deposit.

10. Announcement that all restrictions on the price of fish would be removed from the 17th.

— The will of Adeline, Duchess of Bedford, was proved, the gross personalty being sworn at 104,863*l.*

— Beckett knocked out Bombardier Wells in the third round of the fight for the heavy-weight championship of Great Britain at Olympia.

— General Sir Arthur Currie was appointed Principal of McGill University in succession to Sir Auckland Geddes.

11. The King and Queen were present at the marriage of Mr. Oswald Mosley, M.P., and Lady Cynthia Curzon in the Chapel Royal.

— A new scale of salaries adopted for certificated assistant teachers in London elementary schools fixed the minimum for men at 200*l.* and for women at 187*l.* 10*s.* Men's salaries rose to 425*l.*, women's to 340*l.*

11. Convocation at Oxford passed the Statute admitting women to degrees.

12. The maximum price of industrial coal was raised by 4s. 2d. per ton and that of household coal by 14s. 2d.

— A gift was announced from "A. M." of 130,000l. of 4 per cent. funding loan for cancellation as a contribution towards the reduction of the National Debt.

14. The Prince of Wales was enthusiastically welcomed at Christ Church, New Zealand.

— Lieut.-Colonel Van Ryneveld and Flight-Lieutenant Brand were appointed K.B.E.'s in recognition of their services to aviation by their flight from England to Cape Town.

16. The canonisation of Joan of Arc took place at St. Peter's, Rome, in the presence of the Pope and many Church Dignitaries.

17. The price of granulated sugar was raised to 1s. 2d. per lb., an increase of 4d.

— An express air mail service was opened between London and Amsterdam.

18. Devonshire House, Piccadilly, was purchased for one million guineas by a London financier and a Liverpool shipowner.

19. Honorary degrees were conferred at Cambridge on Lord Jellicoe, Lord Haig, Rear-Admiral Sir W. R. Hall, M.P., Sir John Sandys, and the Abbé Breuil of Paris.

23. M. Deschanel, President of the French Republic, fell out of his sleeping compartment while travelling from Paris to Montvrison, and was stunned by his fall.

25. Señor Adolfo de la Huerta was elected President of Mexico *ad interim*.

— Mr. Hugh Macnaghten was elected Vice-Provost of Eton College.

28. M. Masaryk was re-elected President of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic.

29. At Louth, Lincolnshire, a sudden flood swept through the town causing the loss of 22 lives and great damage to property.

31. The Prince of Wales was enthusiastically greeted at Melbourne cricket ground by 50,000 people, and watched a display of physical drill by 10,000 school children.

## JUNE.

1. The new postage rates came into operation, the lowest rate for letters being raised from 1½d. to 2d.

— The Bishop of St. Asaph was enthroned at St. Asaph as the first Archbishop of Wales.

— Food prices were officially estimated to have increased by 155 per cent. since 1914.



2. The Derby was won at Epsom by Spion Kop owned by Captain G. Loder; Archaic was second, and Orpheus was third; the betting against Spion Kop was 100 to 6.

3. Miss Bonar Law was married to Major-General Sir Frederick Sykes; they left by aeroplane for their honeymoon.

4. The Board of Trade announced the end of coal rationing as from June 7.

5. The King's Birthday Honour List was headed by Prince Albert on whom the King conferred the dignity of Duke of York. The Prime Minister's list included four new Privy Councillors, nineteen baronets, and forty-two knights.

6. F. P. Toplis was shot by the Penrith police while they were attempting to capture him with reference to the murder of a motor driver in Hampshire.

8. The directors of the Commercial Union Assurance Company allotted 165,000*l.* for the endowment of Bio-Chemistry at Cambridge.

9. The first sod of the *Daily Mail* Ideal Village of Welwyn was cut by Lord Hampden, Lord-Lieutenant of Hertfordshire.

10. The King and Queen held their first Court since 1914 at Buckingham Palace.

11. Announcement of a gift of 1,205,000*l.* by the Rockefeller Foundation to University College Hospital Medical School and to University College in the interests of medical teaching and research.

— Mr. Cyril Tolly beat Mr. Robert Gardner of Chicago in the final round of the Amateur Golf Championship at Muirfield on the 37th green.

— Miss Wethered beat Miss Cecile Leitch in the final round of the English Ladies Golf Championship at Sheringham.

12. The Bishop of Hereford was translated to Durham and was succeeded in the See of Hereford by Dr. Linton Smith, Bishop Suffragan of Warrington. The Dean of Christchurch was appointed Bishop of Ripon, and the Rev. H. H. Williams, Bishop of Carlisle.

14. Lord Forster was appointed to succeed Sir Ronald Munro-Ferguson as Governor-General of Australia.

— Two thousand acres of woodland were destroyed by a forest fire which broke out on Lord Glentanar's Deeside estate.

15. Dame Melba, by means of the wireless telephone, sang at Chelmsford to an audience spread over the greater part of Europe.

— Honorary degrees were conferred on Mr. Lloyd George and eighteen others at the Senate House, Cambridge.

16. The Prince of Wales arrived at Sydney where he was enthusiastically greeted.

— A bye-election at Louth resulted in the loss of a seat to the Coalition, Mr. Wintringham (Ind. L.) defeating Mr. C. H. Turnor (Co.-U.) by 2,505 votes.

16. The Food Controller announced that the maximum retail price of Government butter would be reduced from 3s. to 2s. 8d. per lb. on June 28.

— The Glentanar forest fire covered an area of 25 sq. miles.

19. Sixteen men were injured in fighting which took place at Hull between coloured seamen and white men.

22. Mr. Rigby Swift, K.C., and His Honour Judge Acton were appointed Justices of the High Court of Justice, King's Bench Division.

— Estate of the gross value of 1,147,925*l.* was left by Mr. W. B. Gregoe-Colmore, a Birmingham landowner.

— Miss B. A. Clough was appointed Principal of Newnham College to succeed Miss Stephen in October.

23. Announcement of the appointment of Prince Arthur of Connaught as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Union of South Africa in place of Lord Buxton whose term of office was due to expire shortly.

— Major-General Sir John Edward Capper, K.C.B., was appointed Lieut.-Governor of Guernsey.

24. Celebration of the 700th anniversary of the foundation of Salisbury Cathedral.

27. The Grand Prix at Longchamps was won by Comrade, the property of M. E. de Saint-Alary.

29. The Dean of Westminster issued an appeal for 250,000*l.* for the preservation of Westminster Abbey. The King headed the list of subscribers with a gift of 1,000*l.*

30. The Prince of Wales arrived in Western Australia.

— A bye-election for Nelson and Colne was won by Mr. R. Graham (Labour) by a majority of 5,557 over the Coalition candidate.

## JULY.

1. George Duncan of the Hanger Hill Club won the open golf championship at Deal with a score for the four rounds of 303.

5. Sir Henry Bunbury was appointed Comptroller and Accountant-General of the Post Office.

6. Governor Cox of Ohio was chosen by the Democrats at San Francisco as their Presidential candidate.

— Poland recognised the Independence of Lithuania.

8. It was officially estimated that the deficit on the working of the British Railways for the year beginning April 1 last would be 54,500,000*l.*

9. *The Times* announced the following changes at the War Office: Sir Charles Harris, Assistant Financial Secretary, to be Joint Secretary of the War Office, retaining his present functions; Sir William Perry, Sir Bertram Cubitt, and Mr. J. B. Crosland to be raised to the grading of Principal Assistant Secretary; Mr. J. A. Corcoran to be director of Army Contracts; Mr. H. Mensforth to be Director-General of Factories in the War Office.

9. The Elcho Shield at Bisley was won by Scotland.

10. Dr. A. L. Lowell, President of Harvard University, received the honorary degree of D.Litt. at Oxford University.

11. Death of the Empress Eugenie [*v. Obit.*].

12. Mr. C. G. Stephens, a Bristol hairdresser, lost his life in an attempt to shoot Niagara Falls in a barrel.

— Lieut.-Colonel Sir Matthew Nathan was appointed Governor of Queensland in succession to the late Sir Hamilton Gould Adams.

— Mr. Ernest Barker, of New College, Oxford, was appointed Principal of King's College, London, in succession to the late Dr. R. M. Burrows.

— At the Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church it was stated that the membership had diminished by 9,760 in the last ten years.

14. The King and Queen with Princess Mary spent a few hours in the Isle of Man where they had an enthusiastic welcome.

— The Rev. J. T. Wardel Stafford was elected President of the Wesleyan Conference.

— The King of Spain opened the new house of the Spanish Club in Cavendish Square.

15. The first race in the contest for the America Cup took place off Long Island between Sir Thomas Lipton's *Shamrock IV.* and the American boat *Resolute*. *Resolute* broke her throat halyards and *Shamrock IV.* won.

16. Nine rooms of the Tate Gallery were re-opened to the public.

— Beckett beat Tom Burns, once champion of the world, in a contest for the Heavy Weight Boxing Championship of the British Empire at the Albert Hall.

17. Prince Joachim of Prussia, the youngest son of the ex-Kaiser, shot himself at Potsdam [*v. Obit.*].

— The second contest for the America Cup ended in a declaration of "no race" owing to failure of wind.

— Three persons were killed and a number of others seriously wounded in a collision on the Lancashire and Yorkshire railway near Bolton.

19. The following Admiralty changes were announced to date from September 22:—

Vice-Admiral Sir Richard Phillimore to be Vice-Admiral commanding the reserve fleet; Vice-Admiral Sir Henry Oliver to be Second Sea Lord; Admiral Sir Montague Browning to be Commander-in-Chief at Plymouth.

20. The funeral of the ex-Empress Eugenie took place at her Abbey Church at Farnborough in the presence of the Kings and Queens of England and Spain, members of the princely houses of Europe, and representatives of the Powers.

— Mr. A. F. Buxton resigned the Chairmanship of the L.C.C. Finance Committee after having held the office for nearly twenty years.

— *Shamrock IV.* won another race for the America Cup.

21. The *Resolute* won the third race for the America Cup on her time allowance.

23. The fourth race in the contest for the America Cup was won by *Resolute*.

24. Mr. C. H. Sampson was elected Principal of Brasenose, Oxford, in succession to Dr. Heberden.

26. The Prince of Wales arrived at Brisbane and was received with great enthusiasm.

— The fifth race for the America Cup was abandoned when it was seen that neither the *Shamrock* nor the *Resolute* could finish in the time limit.

27. *Resolute* won the final contest for the America Cup.

29. *The Times* announced that Mr. Walter Morrison had given 50,000*l.* to the Bodleian Library.

30. Sir Archibald Bodkin was appointed Director of Public Prosecutions.

31. *The Times* stated that Dr. G. C. Simpson would succeed Sir Napier Shaw as Director of the Meteorological Office.

## AUGUST.

1. Celebration of the tercentenary of the Bermuda Parliament.

2. Opening of the Welsh National Eisteddfod at Barry.

3. Mr. D. Lynch, Sinn Fein M.P. for South-East Cork, resigned his seat as a member of Parliament.

4. The Prince of Wales concluded his visit to Queensland and returned to New South Wales.

6. Increases in railway fares came into operation ; passenger tickets were increased 75 per cent. on pre-war fares. The increase of 50 per cent. had existed since January 1, 1917, and the new addition established a rate of 1½*d.* per mile for ordinary tickets.

— Viscount Buxton was appointed Chancellor of the Order of St. Michael and St. George in succession to the Marquis of Lansdowne who had resigned that position on the ground of ill-health.

7. *The Times* announced a new alliance between the London County & Westminster & Parr's Bank, the National Provincial & Union Bank of England, and the Standard Bank of South Africa. Each bank subscribed in equal proportions for 100,000 new shares of 10*l.* each (4*l.* paid) in the bank of British West Africa at the price of 6*l.* 5*s.* per share.

9. A bye-election in South Norfolk resulted in the return of Mr. G. Edwards (Labour) by a majority of 2,118 over the Coalition Liberal. This involved the loss of a seat to the Government.

10. Peace with Turkey was signed at Sèvres, eleven Allied Powers being represented.

— Lord Montagu of Beaulieu was married at St. Margaret's, Westminster, to Miss Pearl Craik.

10. Mr. A. E. Lawley of Hilston Park, Monmouth, who had died intestate, left estate of the gross value of over 360,000*l.*

— A bye-election in the Woodbridge division of Suffolk resulted in the return of Sir A. Churchman (Co.-U.) by a majority of 191 over the Labour candidate.

12. The Chancellor of the Exchequer announced two gifts, one of 12,000*l.* 4 per cent. funding loan and the other of 5,000*l.* war loan and national war bonds towards the cost of the war and debt reduction.

13. The Minister of Labour appointed Captain F. E. McClellan Controller of the Appointments Department in succession to Sir Robert Gillan.

14. Viscount Finlay was appointed British member of the permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague.

15. Baron Frankenstein, the newly appointed Austrian Minister, arrived in London.

16. The *Vindictive* was successfully refloated and towed into her berth at Ostend.

17. The King and Queen, accompanied by Princess Mary, arrived at Balmoral Castle.

— Captain Fryatt's ship the *Brussels* was sold to Mr. T. B. Stott, a Liverpool shipowner, at the Baltic Exchange for 3,100*l.*

19. The average cost of houses in tenders being approved by the Ministry of Health was 900*l.*, as compared with 700*l.* a year previously.

— Lord Jellicoe left England to take up the duties of Governor-General of New Zealand.

20. Mr. W. F. Denning of Bristol discovered a new star in the constellation Cygnus.

21. Mr. W. C. Bridgeman, M.P., formerly Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, was appointed Secretary of Mines.

— Major Sir P. Lloyd-Greame, M.P., was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade.

23. General Lord Rawlinson was appointed to succeed General Sir Charles Monro as Commander-in-Chief in India, when the latter vacated his command in October.

— Mrs. Lloyd George was created a Dame Grand Cross of the Order of the British Empire in recognition of her services in the war.

24. The *Times* announced that the Earl of Stradbroke had been appointed Governor of Victoria in succession to Sir Arthur Stanley who had recently vacated that appointment.

— The meeting of the British Association opened at Cardiff when Professor W. A. Herdman delivered his Presidential Address on Oceanographical research.

25. Dr. H. J. White of King's College, London, was appointed Dean of Christ Church, Oxford.

— Sir Herbert Guy Dering, High Commissioner at Sofia, was appointed British Minister to Rumania.

26. Sir Percy Cox left London to take up his duties as High Commissioner for Mesopotamia.

27. The Prince of Wales visited Samoa.

— Colonel Commandant Lewis Conway-Gordon was appointed A.D.C. to the King.

30. The Prince of Wales arrived at Honolulu from Samoa.

— An inquest was held on an English hunger-striker who had died in Birmingham Prison hospital.

## SEPTEMBER.

1. The Prince of Wales left Honolulu for Acapulco on the Mexican coast.

— Increases took place in the cost of inland telegrams, newspaper postage, railway goods rates, workmen's fares, coal, and various stamp duties.

3. *The Times* announced the amalgamation of Messrs. C. J. Hambro & Son with the British Bank of Northern Commerce, under the title of Hambro's Bank of Northern Commerce.

6. Mr. E. A. Gowers, C.B., was appointed Permanent Under-Secretary for Mines.

— Public celebrations were held in Plymouth to celebrate the sailing of the *Mayflower* with the Pilgrim Fathers on board 300 years ago.

7. Severe earthquake shocks were felt in Italy; damage to property and much loss of life were reported in Tuscany.

— The Prime Minister returned to London from Switzerland.

— *The Times* announced the appointment of Lord Hardinge of Penshurst to succeed Lord Derby as British Ambassador in Paris.

8. The St. Leger Stakes was won by Mr. Goculdas's Caligula; Sir E. Hulton's Silvern was second, and Lady J. Douglas's Manton, third.

9. The Sopwith Aviation & Engineering Company, Ltd., decided to close their works at Kingston-on-Thames and go into voluntary liquidation.

10. The Victoria Cross was awarded posthumously to Captain H. J. Andrews and Lieutenant W. D. Kenny for devoted gallantry in the fighting in Waziristan the previous winter.

— At a meeting of the House of Bishops of the Church of Ireland, Dr. J. A. F. Gregg, Bishop of Ossory, Ferns, and Leighlin, was elected Archbishop of Dublin in succession to Dr. D'Arcy, who had recently been elected Primate of All Ireland.

11. M. Kameneff left England for Russia.

— In a motor cycling race at Brooklands, V. E. Horsman covered over 71 miles in an hour, thereby beating the world's record.

13. The Prince of Wales arrived at Colon.

— It was announced that the Cabinet had decided to appoint an additional Assistant Under-Secretary for Ireland who would have an office in Belfast and deal with all problems in the six counties area of Ulster.

14. Vice-Admiral Sir Richard Phillimore succeeded Vice-Admiral Sir Henry Oliver at Portsmouth in command of the Reserve Fleet.

— The Dairymen's Federation fixed the winter milk prices varying from 10*d.* to 11*d.* a quart.

— Marshal Pétain was married to Mlle Hardon.

15. Announcement that M. Paul Deschanel, the French President, had decided to resign, as he was unable to conduct affairs owing to ill-health.

— Sir Ernest Clark, C.B.E., a Deputy Commissioner of income tax, was appointed Assistant Under-Secretary for Ireland.

— A new aerial mail was inaugurated from Copenhagen to Hamburg, Amsterdam, and London.

16. A big explosion occurred near the Morgan building in the financial district of New York, in which about 30 people were killed and 200 injured.

17. Rear-Admiral Henry L. Mawbey, C.B., was appointed to the new post of Rear-Admiral at Bombay.

18. The late Mr. J. J. Ford of Edinburgh left estate valued at nearly 500,000*l.*

— The Food Controller estimated that the average working class family's weekly budget during the coming Christmas would be 9*s.* 6*d.* more than it was the previous year.

20. Sir William Meyer was appointed High Commissioner for India in London to take up his duties on October 1.

21. Dr. O. S. Sinnett was appointed to the Professorship of Aeronautical Science at the R.A.F. Cadet College, Cranwell.

22. The Prince of Wales landed at Georgetown, British Guiana.

— Lord Lytton was appointed to succeed Lord Sinha as Under-Secretary of State for India.

23. M. Millerand was elected President of the French Republic in succession to M. Deschanel.

24. The Prince of Wales spent a day at Granada.

— M. Georges Leygues accepted the position of Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs in France.

— It was announced that "summer-time" which would normally have ended on September 27 would be continued until October 25 in view of the possibility of a coal strike.

— The International Congress of Philosophy was opened at Oxford.

25. Lord Cavan was appointed to the Aldershot command; Sir Charles Harington to the command of the army of the Black Sea, and Sir Philip Chetwode, Deputy Chief of the Imperial General Staff.

— Five persons were killed and one was seriously injured in an aeroplane accident near Hayes, Middlesex.

26. The Prince of Wales visited the island of Dominica.

— Increased fares came into force on the London Underground Railways, tramways, and omnibuses.

27. The price of milk was raised from 8*d.* to 10*d.* a quart.
28. The Gordon Bennett air race of about 188 miles was won by Sadi-Lecointe in the record time of 1 hour 6 minutes 8 seconds.
29. Mr. Alderman James Roll was elected Lord Mayor of London for the ensuing year.
30. War-time legislation on the control of wages came to an end.  
— Sir Eyre Crowe was appointed permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in succession to Lord Hardinge.

## OCTOBER.

1. Major-General Sir Edward Northey was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony of Kenya.
4. The price of Government butter was raised to 3*s.* 4*d.* per lb.  
— Announcement that Dr. Knox, Bishop of Manchester, would resign his See at the end of the year.
5. The estate of the late Lord Fisher was sworn at 23,767*l.*  
— The Treasury received from an Edinburgh firm the gift of 25,000*l.* in the form of the cancellation of five years' interest on 100,000*l.* war stock.  
— Sir W. Graham Greene, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Munitions, retired and was succeeded by Sir S. Dannreuther and Mr. D. Neylan as Joint Secretaries.
7. Women were for the first time admitted to membership of the University of Oxford; 110 women undergraduates were presented.
8. The bye-election at Ilford resulted in the return of Mr. Frederic Wise (Co.-U.) by a majority of 9,035 over the Labour candidate who polled almost the same as the Liberal candidate.  
— Mr. Chamberlain announced that the Government proposed to grant an extra 500,000*l.* a year to the Universities for a term of years.
9. Forty-five people were killed and over a hundred injured in a railway accident at Houilles, just outside Paris.  
— One miner was killed and 30 injured through the collapse of a bridge near Stoke-on-Trent.
11. The Prince of Wales in the *Renown* arrived at Portsmouth and travelled to London.  
— The price of petrol was reduced by 3*d.* a gallon.
12. The legal year opened with the customary services in Westminster Abbey and Westminster Cathedral and the procession of judges at the Law Courts.
13. The estate of the late Mr. Charles Combe of Cobham, brewer, was sworn at over 1,000,000*l.* This was the tenth millionaire estate proved during the year.  
— The Cesarewitch stakes at Newmarket was won by Mr. G. Robinson's Bracket. Mr. J. P. Walen's Front Line was second, and Mr. W. T. de Pledge's Greek Scholar third.
14. Degrees were conferred for the first time on women at Oxford.



15. The Duke of York opened the *Daily Mail* Exhibition of village signs.

18. Increased prices for bread came into force. In London 1s. 4d. was charged for the quartern loaf.

— Mr. F. L. C. Floud was appointed Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries.

— Vice-Admiral Sir Frederick Tudor was appointed President of the Royal Naval College, Greenwich.

19. The Dairy Show opened at the Royal Agricultural Hall, Islington.

— Parliament reassembled after the recess.

20. The King conferred an earldom on Lord Buxton in recognition of his services as Governor-General of South Africa.

— Mr. J. E. G. de Montmorency was appointed to the Quain Chair of Comparative Law at University College, London.

— The Senate of London University decided to accept the site offered by the Government at Bloomsbury.

— A fire broke out at the London Hop Exchange causing extensive damage. One of the walls fell on to the railway and blocked the line between London Bridge and Waterloo.

22. *The Times* announced that Lord Onslow was to be appointed Civil Lord of the Admiralty in succession to Lord Lytton, the new Under-Secretary for India. The announcement was officially confirmed on the 26th.

— Commodore J. S. Dumaresq was appointed a naval A.D.C. to the King.

23. Mr. Francis Ricardo left estate valued at 576,362l.

— M. Stancioff was appointed Bulgarian Minister in London.

25. Death of the King of the Hellenes [*v. Obit.*].

— "Summer-time" came to an end at 2 A.M., clocks and watches being put back one hour.

26. Major-General W. D. Smith was appointed Lieut.-Governor of the Island of Jersey as from October 29.

29. Prince and Princess Arthur of Connaught with Lord Macduff, left Southampton for South Africa.

— Honorary degrees were conferred at Cambridge on the Archbishop of Wales, Lord Allenby, and Sir George A. Grierson.

— Lieut.-General Lord Cavan was appointed Aide-de-Camp to the King in succession to General Sir Archibald Hunter.

30. Mr. Lloyd George was elected Lord Rector of Edinburgh University by a majority of 1,255 votes over Professor Gilbert Murray.

— Dr. Hensley Henson was enthroned as Bishop of Durham.

31. Three firemen were killed by an explosion at a wharf fire at Wapping.

## NOVEMBER.

1. Lieut.-Generals Sir H. Hudson and Sir W. P. Braithwaite were appointed to two newly formed commands in India.

2. Sir Campbell Stuart was appointed Managing Director of *The Times*.  
— A K.B.E. was conferred upon Mr. Paul Dukes.

3. Local veto polling in Scotland resulted in the great majority of the towns concerned deciding to remain "wet." In Glasgow out of thirty-seven areas only four voted in favour of prohibition.

4. Mr. William Brace, M.P., was appointed Labour Adviser to the Department of Mines.

5. Lord Knutsford announced that the London Hospital would close on January 1, as it would not be able to pay its bills after that date.

6. Lieut.-General Sir Alexander Cobbe, V.C., was appointed to succeed Lieut.-General Sir H. Vaughan Cox as Military Secretary of the India Office.

8. The domestic sugar ration was restored to 12 oz. white sugar.

9. Harold Greenwood, after seven days' trial at Carmarthen Assizes on the charge of murdering his wife, was found Not Guilty. The case had attracted widespread public attention.

— The Lord Mayor's show was celebrated, but the usual pageantry was abandoned on account of the coal strike.

— The Duchess of Marlborough obtained a divorce from the Duke.

10. The Rev. G. B. Allen was appointed Principal of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford.

11. Celebration of Armistice Day [*v. Eng. Hist.*].

12. A Viscounty was conferred on Sir R. Munro-Ferguson, the retiring Governor-General of Australia.

15. The first assembly of the League of Nations began its sittings at Geneva. M. Hymans, former Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs, was elected President.

17. Prince Arthur of Connaught, the new Governor-General of South Africa, landed at Cape Town, and received a civic welcome.

— Mr. Charles Shannon, A.R.A., was elected a Royal Academician.

19. Canon P. H. Eliot was appointed Bishop-Suffragan of Buckingham.

22. At the bye-election in the Wrekin division of Salop, Major-General Sir C. Townshend (Ind.) was elected by a majority of 3,965 over the Labour candidate.

24. The personal estate of the late Mr. F. A. Dubs was sworn at 122,938*l.*

25. Mr. A. R. Dickinson was appointed Commissioner for Nauru Island.

26. The Ministry of Food issued orders that all district Food Offices throughout the country should be closed on December 31.

— The first of a series of meetings took place at 10 Downing Street, between the Ministers of France and Great Britain.

27. Two men were killed and much damage was done to property by the explosion of a French mine which was washed ashore at Sandgate.

— Lord Hardinge, the new British Ambassador to France, arrived in Paris to take up his duties.

— The Treaty of Rapallo was ratified by the Italian Chamber.

29. Sugar rationing was abolished and the price reduced by 2d. a lb.

— The International Advertising Exhibition was opened by Sir Robert Horne at the White City.

30. The King and Queen of Denmark arrived in London on a visit to Buckingham Palace.

— The Freedom of Brighton was conferred on Lord Haig.

— Convocation at Oxford passed a statute establishing a Final Honour School in Philosophy, Politics, and Economics.

— Sir Gerald Goodman was appointed Chief Justice of the Strait Settlements.

## DECEMBER.

1. Admiral Sir Hugh Evan-Thomas was appointed to succeed Admiral Sir Doveton Sturdee as Commander-in-Chief at the Nore when his term expired on March 1, 1921.

3. A violent gale swept over the North of Britain and Ireland, squalls of 72 miles an hour being recorded in Scotland and of 60 miles an hour at Liverpool.

4. Polling under the Temperance Act in Edinburgh resulted in a heavy defeat of the Prohibitionist Party.

7. The Prince of Wales received an address of welcome in the City on his return from his Australian tour.

8. Cambridge University Senate rejected proposals for the admission of women students to full membership.

9. The late Miss Anne Haworth of Accrington left the bulk of her fortune of 145,000*l.* to Baptist Charities.

10. In a heavy-weight boxing contest at the Albert Hall, Frank Moran of Pittsburg, U.S.A., knocked out Joe Beckett of Southampton in the second round.

11. Professor J. C. Irvine was appointed Principal of the University of St. Andrews.

— Mr. Arthur Watson was appointed General Manager of the London & North-Western Railway.

12. A fire occurred at *The Times* Office, Printing House Square, doing some damage.

13. New silver coins became legal tender containing only 500 parts of fine silver to 500 parts of alloy.

14. Four lives were lost in an aeroplane accident near Cricklewood, when a Handley-Page machine crashed into a tree and the back of a house and caught fire. The pilot and mechanic and two of the six passengers were burnt to death.

15. Austria was admitted to the League of Nations.

— Sir John Tilley, K.C.M.G., was appointed British Ambassador to Brazil.

16. The cost of living on December 1 was estimated at 169 per cent. above that of July, 1914, as compared with 176 per cent. on November 1.

17. "Airco," the pioneers of daily flights to the Continent and the holders of the Paris Air Mail contract, closed down.

18. Opening of the ex-service men's carnival at the White City.

20. Farrow's Bank suspended payment.

21. Mr. Thomas Farrow, Chairman of Farrow's Bank, was arrested at St. Leonards and brought to London.

— The Hon. Ronald C. Lindsay, C.V.O., was appointed Under-Secretary (additional) at the Foreign Office.

22. Forty-five thousand Rhondda Valley miners struck work.

— Bye-elections for Abertillery and West Rhondda resulted in both cases in the return of the Labour candidate by large majorities.

23. Prorogation of Parliament.

24. An order of the Food Controller prohibited the importation of hops as from December 28 except under license.

25. The temperature in London on Christmas day was the highest since December, 1882.

28. A notable collection of pictures and prints was bequeathed to the National Gallery of Scotland under the will of the late Mr. John Kirkhope.

— The date of the Oxford and Cambridge boat race for 1921 was fixed for March 30.

29. Prince George was appointed as a midshipman to H.M.S. *Iron Duke*.

30. Mr. Bonar Law appointed Sir Malcolm Fraser as principal agent of the Unionist Party.

31. The Food Controller revoked the order fixing maximum prices for eggs.

— Sir Milne Cheetham was appointed His Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris.

— The sales of London Housing Bonds up to the end of the year amounted to 3,216,010/.

# RETROSPECT

OF

## LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN 1920.

### LITERATURE.

THE number of books published during 1920 in the United Kingdom was 11,004, being an increase of 2,382 over the preceding year. The increase in fiction was specially notable. Travels, science, history, and law all showed increases, while religion showed a decrease of 87. A new quarterly review was started in October, called *The Pilgrim*, described as a review of Christian Politics and Religion. It was edited by Canon Temple, and made a successful debut. The publishing world suffered the loss of a distinguished member in the death of Mr. William Heinemann. Subject to certain bequests he left half of his estate as a gift to the Royal Society of Literature for the establishment of a foundation or scholarship fund, to be called "The Heinemann Foundation for Literature." The object of this foundation was to help in the production of literary work of real value. No kind of literary work was excluded; but it was Mr. Heinemann's desire that the Royal Society of Literature should award the prizes mainly to the least remunerative departments of literature—poetry, criticism, biography, and history.

We note below a selection from the works published during the year which attracted most public interest.

**British Mammals**, written and illustrated by A. Thorburn, F.Z.S., Vol. I. (Longmans, Green & Co.), is a very fine work of coloured illustrations, in the same style as the author's "British Birds" and "Naturalist's Sketchbook." The illustrations are of unsurpassed beauty, and admirably true to life. Notwithstanding the great difficulty of observing British Mammals in their natural haunts, Mr. Thorburn has contrived in these water-colour drawings to convey a wonderful picture of the wild life of this country. The present volume is the first of two, and comprises the bats, insectivores, carnivores, and two of the rodents. The remainder of the rodents, together with the ruminants and cetaceans, are reserved for the second volume, to be published in the spring of next year. Most of the animals described are illustrated on a plate to themselves; and in addition to the coloured illustrations, there is added a number of pen-and-ink drawings of many species, which are supplementary to the plates, and of great assistance in giving a life-like idea of the animal concerned.

The first animals to be dealt with are the bats, of which the twelve

British species are figured on half a dozen plates. It is hard to single out one more than another from these striking drawings, but perhaps one of the most successful is that of the serotine, about to seize a cockchafer. Following the bats come the insectivores, represented in this country by the hedgehog, mole, and three species of shrews. But probably the section of greatest general interest is that dealing with the carnivores. There is an exceptionally fine drawing of the wild cat, supplemented by a pen-and-ink sketch of the animal in a typical attitude. This most formidable of British mammals has long been extinct in England, though it may still be found in various remote parts of Scotland. It is sad to reflect upon the impending extinction of this as of other of our mammals, such as the polecat and the pine marten, both admirably depicted in the present volume. The polecat still exists in England, Wales, and Scotland; its scarcity is due to the introduction of steel traps, in which it is very readily caught. The pine marten may also still be found in suitable localities, but as far as Great Britain is concerned, it is a dying species. The wolf, wild boar, giant fallow deer, etc., are already extinct, and are not figured by Mr. Thorburn. Included in the present volume are the British Pinnipeds, consisting of six species of seals, and also the walrus which occasionally wanders into British waters. Of our fourteen rodents, only the squirrel and dormouse come into this volume, the rest being postponed to the second volume.

As in Mr. Thorburn's previous works, the pictures are accompanied by letterpress, which, though not going into much detail, is entirely adequate for the needs of those who wish to know something of the habits and distribution of each species. For purposes of identification by the amateur, Mr. Thorburn's "Mammals" will rank, like his "Birds," as the standard authority and of unrivalled excellence.

**A Naturalist in Himalaya**, by R. W. G. Hingston, M.C., M.B. (H. F. & G. Witherby), is a record of observations on animals in the Himalayan valley of Hazara between the years 1914 and 1916. The author first describes the valley itself. He then goes on to describe the habits and instincts of certain species of ants found in the valley. From ants he passes to spiders, paying special attention to the geometrical principles on which they construct their snares. After further chapters dealing with insect life (to which indeed the book is chiefly devoted) there follow a chapter on mammals, one on birds, and one on the geological features of the district. As regards mammals, the local fauna is poor; none are dealt with except the flying squirrel, monkeys, and the leopard. The latter is described entirely from the point of view of expression of emotion, a number of plates being included showing the appearance of the animal when under the influence of different emotions. The book is interesting and useful, notwithstanding the limited area with which it deals. The observations are made at first-hand; the inferences drawn from them by the author appear to be just and sensible; so that while the book is in no respect a complete treatise or textbook, it ranks as a reliable first-hand document from which such treatises may be compiled. Being fired by genuine enthusiasm from the author, it is interesting reading to a wider circle than that of naturalists alone.

**Life of Lord Kitchener**, by Sir George Arthur (Macmillan & Co., Ltd.),

is the official biography of the greatest soldier of the time. It is in three volumes: the first of which carries the story of Kitchener's life down to the year 1900, when he became Commander-in-Chief in South Africa. The second deals with his conduct of the South African War, and his subsequent career to 1914; the third opens with his appointment as Secretary of State for the new Great War, and gives the full story of the last crowded years of his life. Such a biography cannot fail to be deeply interesting, for Kitchener was closely involved with the leading events of history during his generation. Although he figured so largely in the public eye, his character was never really known to the public: for his work lay in the sphere of action, and not that of speaking. In many respects the revelation of the man comes as a surprise. He was not, as generally imagined, the pure soldier and nothing more. There was a deep artistic leaning at the bottom of his mind: he was a first-rate administrator, and endowed with a power of wide outlook. Especially interesting is Sir George Arthur's account of his efforts to end the Boer War, which he clearly thought might, with a little tact and consideration, have been terminated more than a year before it was. He would have conceded more in the direction of form, while retaining in full the substance of victory. But the British Government laid much stress on form, and his recommendations were not always accepted. It is probably due in no small part to Kitchener's personality and influence that Boers and British were so successful in burying the hatchet of past discord; and his premature death was a profound misfortune to the country which he had served so well.

**The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield**, by George Earle Buckle, Vols. V. and VI. (John Murray), is the conclusion of one of the most important biographies of recent times. These two volumes carry the life of Disraeli from the year 1868 down to his death in 1881, and cover therefore the period of his greatest triumphs, as also of his greatest misfortunes. The feature which has attracted most attention in the new volumes has been the publication in them of Disraeli's correspondence with Lady Bradford and Lady Chesterfield, two sisters, the former of whom was married and the latter a widow. Disraeli had been deeply attached to his wife during her lifetime; and her death near the end of 1872 was one of the most grievous afflictions of his life. His need for female companionship, however, led him into the closest possible friendship with these two sisters. To Lady Chesterfield he actually proposed, and she refused him; with Lady Bradford he was no doubt warmly in love. Another interesting feature of the book is Disraeli's correspondence with the Queen, who held him in high regard and showed him every favour. Few ministers have ever been so intimate with their sovereign as was Disraeli: a fact that will be readily understood, both through his felicitous mode of address, and also through the general agreement of the Queen with his political outlook, and her dislike for his great antagonist, Mr. Gladstone.

Mr. Buckle is warmly to be congratulated on the conclusion of the task which he has so brilliantly carried out. If anything were capable of dissolving the atmosphere of mystery surrounding Disraeli, it would be Mr. Buckle's admirable presentation of the man. It is not often

that an author succeeds in rising so completely to the height of so great a task. If the mystery still remains, it is due to the accuracy of portrayal of a man essentially mysterious.

**Lord Grey of the Reform Bill**, being the Life of Charles, Second Earl Grey, by George Macaulay Trevelyan (Longmans, Green & Co.). It is a remarkable circumstance that no complete biography of so famous a Prime Minister had ever before been published; but the deficiency has now been made good with unrivalled ability and success by Mr. George Trevelyan. The only previous attempt at a biography was published in 1861, and brought the story down only to the year 1817. The climax of Grey's power and influence were of course attained in 1830 to 1832, culminating in the passage of the great Reform Bill. Mr. Trevelyan, as usual with him, does not restrict himself as regards historical comment: so excellent a writer can well afford to disregard some of the conventions of pure biography; and the work gains greatly in its living interest by the course which he has adopted. It is divided into three parts: the formation of parties: the stagnation of parties: and the Reform Bill. All three are deeply interesting, and the final part details with admirable vividness the circumstances which led up to the greatest political change of last century. Mr. Trevelyan remarks: "Grey had not the genius of Fox or of Gladstone; yet it was given to him to accomplish the work of Fox, and to succeed more completely than Gladstone. No man mediocre in mind or character could have achieved that. And while he lacked the highest qualities of his predecessor and successor, he lacked also their faculty for making mistakes." While many of Mr. Trevelyan's political convictions can be seen through his narrative, they in no way diminish the value of the book. A historian is bound to have convictions, if he is of any value, and they are certain to affect his work. It is better that they should do so consciously and overtly than behind a mask of apparent indifference. It is a great biography, and an important contribution to history.

**Life of Goethe**, by P. Hume Brown (John Murray), is a detailed biography in two volumes, the author of which, unhappily, died in the winter of 1918, leaving the work very nearly completed. In a prefatory note, Lord Haldane tells us that he and Professor Hume Brown had been in the habit of going to Germany every year from 1898 to 1912 inclusive, to collect materials for a life of Goethe. Prolonged research and high industry are apparent throughout the work, which must unquestionably rank in future as the standard life of Goethe in the English language. There are some small inaccuracies: for instance, we are told in one place that Frau von Stein was five years older than Goethe, and in another, that she was eight years older; but, in general, the book is admirable, not only for its amplitude of material, but for the author's careful critical estimate of Goethe's work and personality. Some favourite traditions are demolished; the story of Goethe's last words—"More Light"—is only doubtfully true, and in any case has not the symbolic meaning attached to it by later tradition. Professor Hume Brown convincingly portrays Goethe as a man of strong and impetuous passions, which he was unable to control. His life was a succession of crises connected with the women with whom he fell in love; and he



was unable to master his own feelings. The work is important, and makes interesting reading.

**The Harrow Life of Henry Montagu Butler, D.D.**, by Edward Graham, with an introductory chapter by Sir George O. Trevelyan, Bart., O.M. (Longmans, Green & Co.), deals with the first half of Dr. Montagu Butler's life, *i.e.*, down to 1885, when he resigned the headmastership of Harrow. The account of his early life is remarkably interesting and well done, but the story becomes fuller, when, after an exciting contest, he was appointed Head Master of Harrow, at the early age of 26. Several chapters record the main incidents of his career there. They consist largely of letters written to and by Dr. Butler, and are naturally of special interest to Harrovians. His distinguished career as a Head Master caused many speculations as to the probability of his being offered a Bishopric, but the offer was never made. Twice he refused a Deanery proposed to him by Mr. Gladstone, but at length, in 1885, he accepted a third offer and resigned his position at Harrow, to become Dean of Gloucester. He held this appointment only fifteen months before Lord Salisbury appointed him Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he remained till his death early in 1918. The later chapters of the book contain discerning estimates of Dr. Butler as a teacher and a man, his position in Church and State, etc. The impression remains of a man of remarkable personality, not always popular, but always respected. Few names in the academic world were more widely known, and the second volume of the biography will be awaited with interest.

**The Life and Work of Sir Jagadis C. Bose, M.A., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S., C.I.E., C.S.I.**, by Patrick Geddes (Longmans, Green & Co.), is an interesting account of a very remarkable career. Born in 1858, Bose suffered from almost every natural disadvantage, except for the fact that his parents were of strong character and admirable disposition. His mother sold her jewellery to pay for his journey to England, where he took a science degree at Cambridge. Fighting against ill-health, he made up for all wants by enthusiasm and force of character. He returned to India, and soon threw himself into the study of science, for which he had a strong natural aptitude. For long he struggled against adversity and lack of recognition; but the value of his work was ultimately recognised, first by Government honours, and afterwards by admission to the Royal Society. A great part of Professor Geddes' book is devoted to an account of his scientific work: his best-known achievement is the invention of an instrument for exhibiting the growth of plants, by immense magnification of the infinitesimal movements of growth. The book is of great interest, not only as the story of an extraordinary career, but for its account of the unique scientific devices and astonishing results obtained by Sir Jagadis.

**The Autobiography of Margot Asquith** (Thornton Butterworth, Ltd.) was probably the most talked of book published during the year, its wide notoriety being due to the fact that the authoress was the wife of the last Prime Minister. It was also one of the most criticised books of the year: the ground of objection being that it divulged private letters and conversations, which should not have been given to the public. The book is a very lively narration of the life of the authoress, mainly in her

earlier years before her marriage. She reproduces many conversations with well-known persons, often of much interest, and writes in a direct and challenging style, markedly free from reticence. It is this circumstance which gives the book most of its vitality, though furnishing the ground of attack for hostile critics. It nevertheless presents a remarkably clear picture of a certain section of English society. Mrs. Asquith had the advantage of an acquaintance with many of the most prominent men of the time, and succeeds in portraying them in a truer light than would have otherwise been possible. In her youth she defied the conventions, and the description of her flirtations fills up a considerable space in the book. None of them seem to have been deep; if they had been, she could not have exposed them with the lightness of heart evident in her writing; nor perhaps would any of them be considered worth recalling, if it were not for the social position which she subsequently came to occupy. The book is of merely ephemeral interest, but deserves mention as being one of the most successful publishing ventures of the year.

**The First World War, 1914-1918**, Personal Experiences of Lieut.-Col. C. à Court Repington, C.M.G. (Constable & Co., Ltd.), is a diary of the war in two large volumes. The part played in the war by Col. Repington was that of military correspondent, first to *The Times* and afterwards to the *Morning Post*. He was, therefore, in an exceptionally good position to hear what was going on; and the book is an excellent record of what was known about the prospects of the war during its progress. The diary further includes a very large number of items of purely social and fashionable interest; and it is not very clear for what purpose this comparatively irrelevant matter has been introduced. The mingling of the lighter social entertainments with the serious problems of the war seems somewhat incongruous, and was the occasion of much criticism. The book, however, attracted wide attention, and was much talked of during the summer.

**The Mirrors of Downing Street**, Some Political Reflections, by a Gentleman with a Duster (Mills & Boon, Ltd.), is a collection of short sketches of prominent politicians, written in a somewhat cynical vein by an anonymous author. "There is too much dust on the mirrors of Downing Street for our public men to see themselves as others see them." So the author declares in his preface, and he proceeds in his own language to take a literary duster and polish the mirrors, so that politicians who read his sketches of them may no longer remain in doubt as to how they appear to others. Of politicians as a whole, the author has a poor opinion: the essays are very outspoken, they betray personal knowledge of most of the subjects, and nothing is toned down in these character-sketches. Some of the statesmen selected, as for instance Lord Fisher, are greatly admired by the writer: others are less fortunate. The very considerable reputation achieved by this book is due to the fact that the intimate characters of politicians are revealed very much as they were supposed to be by the better-informed of the general public. Not that the author always agrees with the point of view of the public: his vigorous defence of Lord Haldane is enough to dispose of that suggestion. There was much speculation as to the authorship of the volume,

but the secret was well kept. It is scarcely likely that the author will achieve what he professes to be his main object—the raising of the tone of public life: for it is probable that, notwithstanding its wide popularity, the book has not been taken quite so seriously as was hoped.

**HISTORY OF THE GREAT WAR**, based on official documents, by direction of the historical section of the Committee of Imperial Defence: **Naval Operations**, Vol. I., by Sir Julian S. Corbett (Longmans, Green & Co.).

This first volume of the Naval History of the War goes down to the Battle of the Falklands in December, 1914. It is accompanied by eighteen very elaborate maps and charts, comprised in a separate case made to match the volume of letterpress, while the latter also contains a considerable number of maps, plans, and diagrams. Sir Julian Corbett is to be warmly congratulated on this product of monumental industry. He begins with an account of the period of strained relations preceding the war, and the preparations which were made for notifying the Fleet instantaneously of every step towards the outbreak. Then follows an interesting account of the opening movements and the passage of the expeditionary force. The outlines of the war after the commencement have already been made familiar to the public by a number of books, which we have from time to time noticed in the *ANNUAL REGISTER*. Sir Julian writes in a different strain: his principal object is not so much to arouse interest, as to give complete insight into the actual events and the reasons which brought them about. The vast wealth of detail often appeals rather to the scholar than to the superficial reader, though the story is full of live interest all through. Technicalities are avoided, and the low price of the book (17s. 6d. net for volume of text and case of maps) is suited to a work of national importance. Sir Julian is very chary of uttering blame for any of the unfortunate incidents which occurred. He refers to the escape of the *Goeben* as “a shadow in our naval history,” but adds that “it will perhaps be judged most leniently by those whose wisdom and knowledge are the ripest.” Blame must indeed be hard to allocate: the confusion and misunderstandings occurring in this and other cases seem almost inevitable. The fact that the book is an official history naturally renders it liable to suspicion of being too favourably disposed towards Government departments. We are glad to note little sign of this defect, however, except perhaps in Appendix D, containing two minutes of Mr. Churchill, inserted apparently for the express purpose of justifying that statesman. Sir Julian has fulfilled his difficult task with admirable discernment and success.

**A Naval History of the War, 1914-1918**, by Sir Henry Newbolt (Hodder & Stoughton), furnishes the most complete story hitherto published, for the official history by Sir Julian Corbett is a work which cannot be completed for some years. The most notable feature of the book is its defence of the British tactics in the Battle of Jutland, the moral result of which Sir Henry declares to be absolutely final. “The control of the sea was now unassailably ours. The High Sea Fleet, even when patched, could never again be ordered to meet the Grand Fleet until it met it to surrender without a blow.” Sir Henry proceeds to meet the criticisms of Admiral Reinhold Scheer on the German side, and of Commander Bellairs on the British. The German Admiral had

claimed that he never broke off the action ; but this contention is easily disposed of by Sir Henry. He had further claimed that on the balance of loss the Germans were victorious, to which Sir Henry replies that at the end of the action the British had a larger margin of superiority than they had had at the beginning. Finally, the German Admiral had claimed that after the battle the English Navy had lost its boasted irresistibility, a statement which Sir Henry controverts by a quotation from Captain Persius to the opposite effect. New light is also thrown in this book on the reverse at Coronel. Sir Henry defends the Admiralty, stating that they appreciated the situation, but that Admiral Cradock took on himself the responsibility of departing from his instructions. The book is authoritative and eminently readable.

**Gallipoli Diary**, by General Sir Ian Hamilton, G.C.B. (Edward Arnold), is the Diary kept by Sir Ian Hamilton when he was commanding the Dardanelles Expeditionary Force during the war. Of the numerous books on the war written by leading Admirals and Generals, this is no doubt the best that has appeared, from the purely literary point of view. Sir Ian Hamilton is not only a distinguished soldier, but has the capacity, somewhat rare among soldiers, of vivid and easy expression. The book is of great interest, and illustrates the enormous difficulties which the Expeditionary Force met with after their landing. It would be very hard to affix blame to any particular individuals for the failure of the expedition : certainly Sir Ian affixes none. It is clear that he was severely handicapped by the urgency of the demand for men and material on the Western Front : so that to some extent he was starved as regards his resources. This, however, was almost inevitable, and indeed had been foreseen by many who opposed the policy of sending out a force at all. Sir Ian Hamilton's book is one that nearly all readers will appreciate : literary capacity together with interest of subject-matter is none too common a combination : and the work takes high rank among the great war books published during 1919 and 1920.

**Secrets of Crewe House**, by Sir Campbell Stuart, K.B.E. (Hodder & Stoughton), describes the work of the Department of the Director of Propaganda, during the last nine months of the war. The Department was instituted in February, 1918, with Lord Northcliffe as Director, and Sir Campbell Stuart as Deputy-Director. They began to work first upon Austria, with a view to increasing the breach that existed between the various sections of the Austrian Army and the Hapsburg Monarchy. Millions of leaflets were printed and disseminated among the hostile troops by various methods. They were dropped from aeroplanes : they were fired off in rockets constructed to hold about thirty pamphlets each, and they were further distributed by means of grenades and contact patrols. Gramophones even were set up to promote sedition in the enemy's trenches by the reproduction of nationalist songs. The proximity of the lines of trenches made this comparatively easy. Similar methods were next adopted against the morale of the German army, among whom leaflets were distributed by the million—5,500,000 in a month. In all this propaganda work, the principle was adhered to that nothing should be told but the truth. Lying could only be a short-

sighted policy: nor towards the end of the war was there any occasion for it. The truth was sufficiently depressing for the Germans to render unnecessary any tampering with the facts. The book is interesting as the record of a totally new form of warfare, aiming to undermine insidiously the morale of the enemy. As far as could be judged, the methods adopted met with conspicuous success.

**International Law and the World War**, by James Wilford Garner, two volumes (Longmans, Green & Co.), is an important work issued as one of the "Contributions to International Law and Diplomacy," edited by L. Oppenheim. Its object is to examine the conduct of the belligerents during the late war, in its relations to International Law. The first volume opens with an account of the status of International Law at the beginning of the war. Then follows an interesting account of the treatment of enemy diplomatic representatives on the outbreak of war—the departure of ambassadors from the capitals where they were accredited. In this respect, as in nearly every other matter of international law or courtesy throughout the book, the author finds that the German behaviour was far inferior to that of the French and British. The treatment of enemy aliens in the different countries is next described. The use of forbidden weapons, the treatment of hostages, submarine warfare, aerial warfare, bombing of undefended towns, etc., are the subjects of various chapters, in all of which the evidence goes to show the inhumanity and illegality of German actions. The second volume deals with the treatment meted out to prisoners, questions of contraband, neutrality, etc., and above all with the legal aspects of the German invasion of Belgium. Professor Garner admits that the rules of war may be broken where necessary for the continued existence of the State, but he finds that they were continually broken by the Germans under entirely unjustifiable circumstances, as, for instance, in order to obtain mere strategical or tactical advantages. The book is by far the weightiest compendium hitherto issued on the illegalities of the war; and it is equally interesting to read, whether describing the actual events, or criticising them in the light of international law.

**Germany and the French Revolution**, by G. P. Gooch (Longmans, Green & Co.), attempts to describe the effects of the French Revolution on the German mind. Mr. Gooch devotes his study, not only to the practical results of the Revolution on German political development, but also to the opinions held of it at the time by the leading German men of letters. The latter account is particularly interesting; for the last decade of the eighteenth century comprises some of the greatest names in German Literature—Goethe, Schiller, Wieland, Herder, Klopstock and the Romantics, Gentz, Humboldt, Kant, and Fichte. On all these writers, Mr. Gooch has much that is interesting to relate. Of all of them Humboldt alone appeared to adopt an attitude of philosophic detachment, standing as a calm spectator high "above the battle." The rest for the most part warmly welcomed the outbreak in 1789, and were keenly sympathetic during what Mr. Gooch calls the honeymoon period. But an extreme revulsion of feeling took place, when the later atrocities occurred. The execution of the King and the Reign of Terror forcibly struck the imagination of Europe, and were

regarded with universal horror. As regards the political effects Mr. Gooch argues that the Revolution had quite different results in Germany from those observed in England. In England "the reform movement was thrown back forty years." In Germany "it was strengthened and accelerated." "The constitutional ideas of the Revolution everywhere struck root on German soil." "The political unification of the nation was deferred for a couple of generations; but the signal for its deliverance from the thralldom of mediæval institutions and antiquated ideas was sounded by the tocsin which rang out in 1789." Mr. Gooch writes with great ability and wide knowledge, though mainly for those who have some previous acquaintance with this historical period. The book is of much importance and value.

**The Evolution of Parliament**, by A. F. Pollard (Longmans, Green & Co.), is described by its author as being "less a history of Parliament than a suggestion of the lines upon which it should be written." Professor Pollard's estimate of his own book is a great deal too modest; for we have here not only an admirable account of the origins and development of Parliament, but also a work of high literary merit, no less interesting perhaps to the general reader than to the professional historian. In many respects Professor Pollard's account dissipates popular ideas as to the origin of Parliament. He repudiates, for instance, the doctrine that the foundation of Parliament was purely financial. "Its earliest function was judicial," and in early Parliaments no financial supply was either asked for or granted. The last two chapters of the book are not historical. In the last of all Professor Pollard makes an interesting suggestion for the reconstitution of the second chamber. "Second chambers," he says, "are the political failure of the British Empire": an important feature of the second chamber should at all events be that it is very different from the first. Throughout the book, it is made clear how widely our views of the origin of Parliamentary institutions have been falsified by legends which grew up in the seventeenth and later centuries. Four illustrations of Parliament in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries contribute greatly to the formation of a concrete picture as to what Parliament looked like, and how its appearance altered from one century to another. The weakest part of the book is the index, which is scarcely adequate for a work of this kind.

**The Outline of History**, by H. G. Wells (Cassell & Co., Ltd.), is a history of the world from the origin of our globe down to the year 1920 A.D. Book I. describes the situation of the Earth in time and space, the beginnings of life, the age of reptiles, the age of mammals, culminating in the appearance of man. Book II. deals with the various extinct races of men: in both of these books the admirable illustrations add materially to the interest of the contents. Having passed from geology to archæology, Mr. Wells arrives at the dawn of history proper, and gives an excellent account of the earliest known civilisations of man. And so he carries on his story, becoming always fuller as he approaches the present time, until he reaches the last war to which is devoted an entire chapter. Even then Mr. Wells seems unwilling to break off, for yet another book follows, dealing with "The Next Stage in History."

The whole work is intended for the general reader, and embodies a mine of information in very simple and pleasant form. It is indeed a great achievement: so comprehensive a survey of human life and progress is not likely to be rivalled for some time to come; and the distinguished authorities whose advice was obtained by Mr. Wells are sufficient guarantee of the accuracy of the record. Naturally, Mr. Wells does not go very deep: he does, however, present modern views as a whole in an attractive and readable form.

**The Idea of Progress**, an inquiry into its origin and growth, by J. B. Bury (Macmillan & Co., Ltd.), is a historical work, describing the gradual progress of an idea which now exists so universally, as almost to appear a natural part of the mind. But Professor Bury shows that this is not so. In ancient times, there was virtually no history showing the gradual advance of civilisation, and the corresponding idea had not come into existence. During the Middle Ages, also, mankind were more concerned with the destiny of their souls in a future life, than with the amelioration of their conditions in the present. It was only with the coming of the Renaissance that the ideal of progress began to captivate the mind, and finally to dominate it altogether. Professor Bury devotes very special attention to the share of French philosophers in bringing about this result. He does not enter into the question whether there has taken place an actual progress of mankind—whether the state of man is happier or better now than it was in past history. That is a question which it would be very hard to judge in the absence of all standards of comparison. Material wealth has increased enormously no doubt: but happiness does not depend upon material wealth, nor upon education, nor upon any of the features specially associated with civilisation. Human passions are little altered in the state of civilisation. They are disguised only, and work their effects in slightly different ways, but essentially they are the same as they always have been. Professor Bury treats the subject from the purely historical point of view, and his book is of the high standard which was to be expected from him.

**Freethinkers of the Nineteenth Century**, by Janet E. Courtney, O.B.E. (Chapman & Hall, Ltd.), consists of seven essays on well-known Victorians — Frederick Denison Maurice, Matthew Arnold, Charles Bradlaugh, Thomas Henry Huxley, Leslie Stephen, Harriet Martineau, and Charles Kingsley. For each of these a portrait is supplied. The selection may seem curious, but the essays are graceful and well-written, summing up in a short space the main facts concerning the lives of the seven subjects dealt with. The chief bond of connexion between them seems to be rather in their palpable Victorianism than in any community of opinion. They none of them could have lived in any other age than that in which they did live, unless indeed they had been very different persons from what they were. Each in his own way calls for some admiration. Each did his best to advance what he believed to be the truth, and several did very valuable work in re-forming public ideas on fundamental subjects. But they were all typical of their century: none is likely to last: the farther we go from them, the more certainly will they be forgotten. Mrs. Courtney has at all events successfully fulfilled the task which she set for herself, and assisted in the com-

memoration of individuals from whom she has derived profit. Many others at the beginning of the present century have learnt much from the same persons, and they will welcome a volume which fittingly describes the life-work of each.

**Economic Liberty**, by Harold Cox (Longmans, Green & Co.), consists of a dozen essays, most of which have been previously published in reviews. They set forth the well-known political creed of the author, whose guiding principle is that of individual liberty. Mr. Cox's belief in liberty is not merely limited to a condemnation of collectivism, but also to a condemnation of protection, which has been defined as the rich man's socialism. In point of fact, free trade and individual liberty are two branches of the same philosophy, and Mr. Cox's combination of the two makes a very complete system of political belief. In both departments there is no writer in existence of greater knowledge or authority than Mr. Cox. Not only is he thoroughly conversant with his subject, but he writes with singular fluency and effect; and the book is by far the most important exposition of the true individualistic point of view that has appeared for many years past. Indeed no politician can claim to be properly informed and equipped, unless he has both read and carefully studied this book.

Anyone who adopts the belief in economic liberty must very soon find himself in antagonism to the doctrine of equality. Equality is so unnatural a condition that no approximation towards it can be achieved save by severe legal restrictions and ordinances. The motto of the French Revolution endeavoured to combine two incompatible ideals: and the choice now lying before the democracies of Europe and America is whether they will have liberty or whether they will have equality. Mr. Cox answers the question with no uncertain voice. He is for liberty—an equal liberty for rich and poor—and he furnishes arguments in support of his view, which present a powerful challenge to his opponents. It is greatly to be hoped that the challenge will be taken up.

**A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain**, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb (Longmans, Green & Co.), is a concrete picture of the kind of government which would, in the authors' opinion, be likely to prevail under a Socialist Ministry with a Socialist majority in Parliament. They begin with a survey of the ground, pointing out many defects in the so-called "Capitalist system," and leading to the conclusion that constitutional reform is urgently needed. The nature of that reform is indicated in the succeeding chapters. The authors would retain the Monarchy for purely ceremonial purposes, and deriving its authority by Act of Parliament, which like all other Acts can be repealed. But their most novel suggestion is that there should be two Parliaments, a political and a social Parliament. The political Parliament would deal with foreign affairs and the administration of justice: the social Parliament would control the economic and social activities of the nation. Both would be elected on a popular basis; and questions concerning the personal liberty of citizens and also concerning finance would have to be submitted to both. The reorganisation of local government is studied in detail. The authors have neglected no point in their endeavour to show how a moderate and constitutional form of socialism



would work in practice. In so far as it is ever possible to see in advance how new institutions will work, this book of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb may be taken as a highly authoritative forecast. It is full of knowledge, and exceptionally interesting to read; very moderate in statement, and thoroughly deserves the success of which it was assured by the distinction of its authors.

**When Labour Rules**, by the Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P. (W. Collins, Sons & Co., Ltd.), is an interesting statement of the kind of measures which would probably be adopted by a Labour Government, if it came into power. Mr. Thomas makes it clear that he speaks only for himself, but it is well known that he represents a very large section of the more moderate opinion in the Labour movement. In a survey of what life "under these new and improved conditions" would be like, Mr. Thomas states that "the lives of the people will, without question, be far happier than they have ever been before." Their homes will be better, hours of labour shorter, the worker will go more to his home and less to the public-house, "a great Army of University Extension lecturers will be employed to give popular instruction," and there will be a National Theatre and a National Opera. Facilities will be provided for gymnastic exercises, there will be State-endowment of motherhood, education will be extended, and so on. The right to work is of course a feature of the programme, and the principle of nationalisation will be greatly developed. Mr. Thomas is especially severe on the Liquor Trade, which would be nationalised under a Labour Government. He pays due attention to foreign politics, to India and the Colonies, to finance, and to the economic position of women, and makes clear that the Labour movement is in no way directed against the middle classes. Work, however, would be compulsory for all. The programme as described involves no revolutionary changes: it merely accelerates the course of political evolution already in existence; and Mr. Thomas has performed a useful work in setting forth the principles at which the Labour Party are aiming.

#### FICTION.

**The Rescue: A Tale of the Shallows**, by Joseph Conrad (Dent & Sons, Ltd.). This is another of Mr. Conrad's works set in that romantic and glowing atmosphere amongst the people of Malay. There is a fantastic plot for the regaining of a chief's kingdom; and the scheme of years is brought to a sudden climax by unexpected incidents. Each character in the story feels the tragic events in his own different and individual way, and even the Malays themselves feel tragedy in the air. It is through the meeting of Captain Lingard—whom we have heard of before—with Mrs. Travers whose husband's yacht has become stranded, that the drama of the story is developed.

**The Vanity Girl**, by Compton Mackenzie (Cassell & Co., Ltd.). This new story of Mr. Mackenzie's gives vivid pictures of the stage, of country life, and also has much of interest to say about turf life. Norah Caffyn, a beautiful girl, becomes dissatisfied with her humdrum life and decides to go on the stage. She makes a success as a musical comedy actress,

and after a year or two marries Lord Clarehaven. He dissipates the family monies on the turf and they are almost brought to penury. War breaks out and Clarehaven is killed. A posthumous son is born, and Norah (whose stage name is Dorothy Lonsdale) consents to marry an old admirer—a wealthy Jew—who buys back Clare Court, and the family seat is secured for the sixth Earl of Clarehaven.

**Tatterdemalion**, by John Galsworthy (Heinemann), is a collection of stories and sketches. Those dealing with the French soldier are very pathetic and real. The story, "A Strange Thing," tells of how a prostitute slinks back to her native village to see her daughter, "the prettiest, brightest maid in these parts," married to an honest man, and is one of moving simplicity. "Spindleberries" is different from the others, and shows the difference of feeling between a real lover of beauty and a clever painter.

**Verena in the Midst**, by E. V. Lucas (Methuen & Co., Ltd.). The story is told by a series of letters written in 1919 by Verena and her friends; they pour out their troubles and their joys, their loves and their desires in a delightful way. An old friend from "The Vermilion Box," Mr. Richard Haven, appears again and again, provides many amusing stories, and has many wise things to say on passing events.

**The Ancient Allan**, by H. Rider Haggard (Cassell & Co., Ltd.). Allan Quatermain again appears in this last work of Sir Rider Haggard. Through the means of a herb called "taduki," and through the indefatigable promptings of Lady Raglan, once more Allan sets out on his wanderings. He becomes a great hunter in ancient Egypt when it was under the despotism of Persia, kills lions, restores the independence of his country, and he himself becomes King of Egypt after killing the tyrant by a shot from his unfailing bow.

**The House of Baltazar**, by William J. Locke (Lane). The hero of Mr. Locke's new novel is a mathematical genius who has made an unfortunate marriage. He disappeared one day and was not heard of for twenty years. Those years he spent in China where he made a unique position for himself. He returns to England and war breaks out and he again goes back to China, but this time it is as representative of our Foreign Office. Mr. Locke works out his ingenious story in a delightful manner.

**Inisheeny**, by G. A. Birmingham (Methuen & Co., Ltd.). This new story of Mr. Birmingham's does not record any adventures after hidden treasure; but the island of Inisheeny, off the West coast of Ireland, is the centre of a scene of a most interesting adventure, in which a beautiful lady with great force of character plays the principal part.

**Green Apple Harvest**, by Sheila Kaye-Smith (Cassell & Co., Ltd.). Miss Kaye-Smith in her latest book has given another powerful study of Sussex peasant life. Bob Fuller, the hero, is a young Sussex farmer who had the makings of a "saint and a martyr," but as it was he made nothing of his life, circumstances and environment being against him. Miss Kaye-Smith has made her reader realise with telling force the environment in which her hero has been brought up.

**Adam of Dublin**, by Conal O'Riordan (Collins, Sons & Co., Ltd.), is a vivid picture of the Dublin of to-day and its people, as seen through the

eyes of a child raised from the gutter. The book is full of delightful humour, wit, and acute observation.

**Lucinda**, by Anthony Hope (Hutchinson & Co.), is a very good story whose incidents carry the reader from Devon to Venice, Paris, and the Riviera. The hero does not discover his love for Lucinda until the last, and his rival, Arsenio Valdez, is a very lovable quaint villain.

**The Mills of the Gods**, by Elizabeth Robins (Thornton Butterworth), is a series of seven stories written with Miss Robins's power and keen dramatic sense. They seem to deal with life as it was years ago before there had been a war; the human qualities which are emphasised have been exchanged for other qualities that we are now getting used to.

**Queen Lucia**, by E. F. Benson (Hutchinson & Co.). This latest book of Mr. Benson's is full of amusing situations and sparkling wit. Riseholme is a busy little village which next to gossip adopts culture as its chief occupation, and Mr. Benson has many amusing things to tell about the saintly Brahmin instructor whom Queen Lucia allows the community to consult.

**Autumn Crocuses**, by Anne Douglas Sedgwick (Martin Secker). In this book of short stories Miss Sedgwick has chosen a flower to represent certain characteristics in human beings, and three of them—Daffodils, Autumn Crocuses, and Christmas Roses—must be singled out for their exquisite charm and originality.

**Awakening**, by John Galsworthy (Heinemann), is one of the tenderest stories that Mr. Galsworthy has written. It is an episode in the life of little Jon Forsyte, a younger member of the family of Forsyte who appear in "The Man of Property" and "In Chancery." It tells how the wonder and mystery of beauty suddenly comes to this healthy and delightful boy.

**The Imperfect Mother**, by J. D. Beresford (Collins, Sons & Co., Ltd.). The imperfect mother is Cecilia Kirkwood, a lady of rebellious temperament, who has made a mistaken marriage. She leaves her husband when her son is seventeen years old; telling the boy beforehand her motives for doing so. After seven years Stephen seeks out his mother and finds that Dr. Threlfall, her lover, has transferred his affections to a young and beautiful girl, Margaret. Stephen marries Margaret through the guidance of his mother. The story is developed through the boy's intense sensitiveness.

**Potterism**, by Rose Macaulay (Collins, Sons & Co., Ltd.). This new book of Miss Macaulay's is not a story, but she intends it to be a cynical study of certain types of present-day English character. Potterism, the English habit of thinking and talking nonsense, makes an excellent subject for Miss Macaulay's lively humour and satire.

**Night and Day**, by Virginia Woolf (Duckworth). In this new novel Mrs. Woolf has created a wonderful heroine in Katherine Hilberry, who is almost too great for the people she lives amongst. Ralph Denham with his love for Katherine is very real and very convincing. Mrs. Woolf's landscape scenes are described with extraordinary delicacy and freshness.

**The Twilight of the Souls: Dr. Adriaan**, by Louis Couperus (Heinemann). The people of M. Couperus's creation in these books are a masterful study of nervous temperaments. They feel and see things

differently from ordinary people, their lives are more intense. The author has depicted his scenes with the utmost simplicity, and so has emphasised their greatness.

**The Tall Villa**, by Lucas Malet (Collins, Sons & Co., Ltd.), is a weird story of how the ghost of Lord Oxley haunted a certain "tall villa" in Primrose Hill where Mrs. Frances Copley, the wife of a rich stock-broker, is staying. How she met her visitor and what happened are told with great ingenuity and skill.

**The Gay-Dombeys**, by Sir Harry Johnston, with an introduction by G. H. Wells (Chatto & Windus). This novel deals with the growth of the Empire, and Sir Harry Johnston makes it plain that the solid work of settlement in the dependencies of Africa was done, not by the politicians and officials, but by scientists and enthusiasts. Woman, too, plays a great part, and Suzanne Gay-Dombey, with her frankness and inconsequence but withal her great ability, shows that woman must take a high place in the new scheme of things.

**Shepherd's Warning**, by Eric Leadbitter (Allen & Unwin). The theme of this story is English rural life, and centres round an old labourer—Bob Garrett—who lives amongst the fruits of his labour. The old man is proud of his skill and proud of the power that his skill gives him; but the new order of things does not appeal to him: the increase of material prosperity means to him a loss of individuality and of power.

**The Merchant at Arms**, by Ronald Oakeshott, with a preface by Jeffery Farnol (Longmans, Green & Co.). The story centres round the valiant and manly deeds of the youth George Nuttman, a merchant's son, during and after Bosworth Field. George begins as a page in Sir Walter Dale's service, and they are called to serve on King Richard's side at Bosworth. After the defeat they take to flight and are forced to undergo many privations during which stirring adventures are related.

**A Tale that is Told**, by Frederick Niven (Collins, Sons & Co., Ltd.). In this work Mr. Niven's gift for character study is brought to great perfection. The study of the narrator of "A Tale that is Told," and the people he describes are very fine indeed. The people are Scotch, and Mr. Niven has dealt with a side of their life that is seldom written about.

**The Stranger**, by Arthur Bullard (Macmillan & Co., Ltd.). The scenes are laid in New York amongst interesting people. "The Stranger" has lived in Mohammedan countries, and his philosophical and religious outlook on life is in direct opposition to the feverish tendencies of modern America.

**Mainwaring**, by Maurice Hewlett (Collins, Sons & Co., Ltd.), is a story of modern life; Mainwaring is an Irishman of passionate beliefs whose life is told by the narrator of the story. The reader is taken through scenes of political strife, through scenes of love, passion, and grief, and finally to triumph.

## SCIENCE OF THE YEAR.

No single event of outstanding importance characterised the year 1920, as had been the case in 1919. Scientific laboratories throughout the country had now resumed their normal work of peace-time : the number of scientific books published considerably exceeded that of the preceding year. Pure science was once more pursued for its own sake, apart from its possible applications to the purposes of war or industry.

In astronomy, the main event of public interest during the year was the discovery of a new star in the constellation Cygnus. It was first seen by Mr. W. F. Denning of Bristol in the evening of August 20, and was then of magnitude  $3\frac{1}{2}$ . Three days later it was estimated to be of magnitude 2.2, but by August 26 it had fallen again to 2.8, and on August 29 it was 3.8. The maximum was on August 24, after which date it steadily subsided. As in the case of nearly all novæ, its site was in the Milky Way. The discovery of this star was made unusually early, for novæ generally escape observation until they have already attained or passed their maximum.

Recent conclusions on the "Internal Constitution of the Stars" became more definite, thanks largely to the work of Professor Eddington. According to his view, stars were divided into two groups : those which were increasing in brightness, and those which were decreasing. The former were the giant stars ; the latter were the dwarfs. All stars began their existence as giants, and then slowly contracted, while their temperature consequently increased. After reaching a certain density, however, the temperature rose no further, but began to fall ; so that all stars passed through the same temperature twice in the course of their existence. The source of their heat was not only the molecular motion within them, but also the radiant energy locked among their molecules and escaping only by slow degrees.

The new researches in physics were the cause of a great change in the astronomical estimates of the age of the Sun. The contraction theory of Helmholtz set the birth of the Sun at not more than 20,000,000 years ago—a period of time altogether insufficient to account for the evolution of life and the facts presented by geology. It became necessary, therefore, to postulate some new source of energy in addition to that supplied by mere contraction. This energy, of course, is the sub-atomic energy, of whose existence physics had only recently become aware. It is now assumed that during the early life of a star, the complexity of the elements increases, energy being absorbed in the process. In very early stages, none but the lighter atoms would be present. If during certain stages energy is thus absorbed, it does not

seem unlikely that there may be other stages in which that same energy is liberated.

In the sphere of philosophical physics, the Principle of Relativity remained the dominating subject of interest; and many important books and pamphlets were issued, in the attempt at popular exposition of the new doctrine. Specially noteworthy was Professor Eddington's "Space, Time, and Gravitation: An Outline of the General Relativity Theory," published by the Cambridge University Press: this work furnishes the most complete popular treatment published, though portions of it are still somewhat technical. Professor Einstein himself published a book, the English translation of which—"Relativity: the Special and the General Theory"—was published by Messrs. Methuen & Co. Less comprehensive than Professor Eddington's book, it is, however, equally lucid. The nature of the subject is such as to render it almost impossible to understand except for a trained mathematician or philosopher; and during the year the general reading public realised this fact, and to a great extent gave up trying to understand the theory. Notwithstanding its paradoxical character, it steadily gained prestige during the year, and its position was more securely established at the end of it than it was at the beginning.

In experimental physics, the constitution of the atom continued to be one of the principal subjects of research. During the year final confirmation was provided of the fact that the positively charged atom of hydrogen is one of the constituents of the nitrogen atom. Hydrogen atoms were obtained, not only from nitrogen itself, but from the nitrides of boron, sodium, and titanium, and also from para-cyanogen. Not only were hydrogen atoms thus obtained, but in one or two cases they were obtained in greater quantity than was theoretically to be expected: a conclusion which might have been due, either to an imperfect exclusion of hydrogen at the start, or else to the production of hydrogen atoms by boron or the other non-nitrogenous constituent of the compounds tested.

The nucleus of the nitrogen atom was shown to contain other components in addition to the hydrogen atom and in much greater quantity. These other components had a mass greater than hydrogen and less than helium, and were produced alike either from nitrogen or oxygen. It has now been established that they are fragments of disintegrated atoms, which are common to both oxygen and nitrogen, and are from five to ten times as numerous in these elements as the hydrogen atom. The general conception gained progress that the nuclei of all atoms are made up of hydrogen nuclei in combination with electrons. The helium nucleus would thus consist of four hydrogen nuclei and two electrons: and the helium atom would consist of the nucleus with two planetary electrons neutralising the charge.

Further research was also conducted on the isotopes of the lighter elements. It had hitherto been among the radio-active elements that the existence of isotopes had been established: *i.e.*, of elements of identical chemical properties but different atomic weights. Several varieties of lead, for instance, had been produced, altogether indistinguishable except by their different atomic weights. This fact was accounted for on the supposition that the mass of an atom resides in

the nucleus, whereas the chemical properties depend upon the planetary electrons. An alteration may occur in the constitution of the nucleus without affecting the surrounding electrons, and thus variations of atomic weight would occur without any corresponding variations in chemical properties. The existence of isotopes among the lighter elements was first demonstrated in the case of neon, which was proved to be a mixture of at least two separate isotopes. The theory was then applied to other elements, whose atomic weights are fractional, and especially to chlorine, of which the recognised atomic weight is 35.46. It was found to consist, like neon, of isotopes whose masses were represented by whole numbers, as far as experimental accuracy could reach, and especially by the numbers 35 and 36. Argon has also been the subject of experiment : and the conclusion has been drawn that its atomic weight of 39.88 may be due to one constituent of mass 40, and a secondary constituent of mass 36, present to the extent of 3 per cent. Experiments on krypton and xenon indicated that they also are complex elements, consisting in each case of as many as five or six isotopes. The study of other elements yielded similar results : so as to give rise to the generalisation that all atomic masses are ultimately whole numbers on the oxygen scale. The elements therefore appear to be immensely more complex than used to be supposed. Their complexity, however, is of no great practical importance, since the various isotopes of which they are made up are identical in chemical properties. The ancient theory thus seems about to come into its own—the theory that all the elements are built up out of one common unit, that unit being according to modern ideas a positively charged atom of electricity in close combination with a negatively charged atom of electricity.

The Report of the Royal Commission on Decimal Coinage was published in March. The Commission had been appointed on August 26, 1918, under the chairmanship of Lord Emmott, and their report decided against any change in the existing system. There was agreement that in any scheme for reducing the existing system to a decimal basis the pound should be retained. This, however, would necessarily involve an alteration in the value of the penny ; and no such alteration could be made without causing great practical inconvenience. The Commission regarded the pound and mil scheme as the best available, but did not consider that the greater facilities which it offered as regards keeping accounts were commensurate with the loss of convenience in other ways. A minority report was signed by four members of the Commission, who thought that the advantages of a decimal coinage were so great as to outweigh the practical inconveniences which they admitted must come from the change. Among the general public little interest was taken in the question.

The findings of the Commission were controverted by Mr. H. Allcock in the section of Economic Science at the British Association. Mr. Allcock advocated dividing the pound into 200 instead of 240 pennies, which, he thought, would accelerate the reduction of prices by the introduction of a new coin worth about  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  in present money. He argued further that such a step would relieve the prevailing shortage of copper coins.

An invention which made great progress during the year was that of the wireless telephone, the main installation of which was established at Chelmsford. In February, messages were sent from Chelmsford to Burlington House in London, where a *conversazione* of the Royal Society was taking place. By means of a loud-speaking receiver, every one in the hall at Burlington House could hear plainly what was being said at Chelmsford, the apparatus being very simple and standing upon an ordinary table. In December, a still greater achievement was carried out, messages being sent from Chelmsford to Geneva, and being perfectly audible there. In this case, however, some difficulty was experienced owing to interference by other high-tension currents from Helsingfors and elsewhere. An interesting development of wireless telephony was the attempt to hear sounds in the depths of space. The experiments led to the conclusion that deep and absolute stillness prevails, when out of range of noises on the Earth.

In biology no new problems of importance arose. Discussion continued sporadically to break out on the "Inheritance of Acquired Characters," in which a few men of science still professed belief. No fact could indicate more plainly the slow progress made by biology towards the solution of fundamental problems. Another controversy that aroused discussion was whether evolution proceeded continuously by infinitesimal steps, or discontinuously by sudden leaps. Opinion seemed to lean towards the theory that evolution might at all events be continuous. The evidence of fossils indeed is such as appears to indicate sudden alterations in the form of a species: but this fact is more likely due to the interruptions in the palæontological records than to any real discontinuity of evolution. In point of fact palæontologists were the chief upholders of the Darwinian theory of continuous evolution. Wherever a continuous series of fossils was available for examination, it seemed to show that evolution had taken place by small and gradual steps. Moreover, the direction of evolutionary change often seemed to correspond with the alteration in the structure of individuals as they advance from youth to old age. In short, a species develops like an individual from birth to death, and on lines that in certain respects are parallel.

The chief opponents of the theory of continuous evolution were the Mendelians, whose doctrine comprised the cardinal feature that an individual was a bundle of "unit-characters," which were either present or absent as a whole, but were not capable of being partially present. This doctrine necessarily implies a discontinuity of evolution, for there is no halting-place between the presence or absence of a "unit-character." A step in evolution must involve at least one entire character, and must, therefore, present the appearance of discontinuity. Some Mendelians went so far as to reject the theory of natural selection altogether; but they remained in a small minority. Biologists as a whole entertained little doubt that by some process or other, direct or more likely indirect, the evolution of species was affected and controlled by the environment.

Further researches on the protozoa seemed to strengthen the arguments in favour of the influence of the environment in determining structure. The ciliates and flagellates were shown to exhibit definite



structural regions corresponding to the nerves and muscles of higher animals; and the view was expressed that this development of structure was necessarily due to the motions of the animals. Even bilateral symmetry was held to originate in this manner.

In physiology, experiments were conducted to find the effects of reducing the amount of oxygen in the blood. Several physiologists submitted to experiments, which showed that a deficiency of oxygen had an injurious effect on the mental powers. The question then arose as to whether this effect was due to reduced oxygen pressure or actual lack of oxygen, and reasons were given for the opinion that the former factor had at all events much to do with the result. The symptoms to some extent resembled alcoholic poisoning.

Further research was also published on the mental effects of alcohol. The general conclusion was that alcohol is deleterious to the powers of attention and memory, except in certain states of fatigue, when it may be advantageous. The toxic effects of alcohol were less marked when taken in dilute solution, and also when taken at the same time as food. Milk was found to constitute a good preventive against alcoholic intoxication.

Considerable public interest was taken in an invention of an Indian scientist, Sir J. C. Bose, F.R.S., whereby the slow growth and movements of plants could be rendered visible. The instrument was known as the crescograph, and was capable of magnifying movements up to several million times. Some doubt was thrown in the early part of the year on the reliability of Professor Bose's work, and on April 23 a test demonstration was carried out in the physiological laboratory of University College, London, the result of which was generally held to be satisfactory, a number of eminent professors expressing their conviction that the crescograph correctly recorded the growth of plant tissues, and at a magnification of from one to ten million times. Scepticism, however, was not wholly banished by this test experiment, and, at a subsequent meeting of the Royal Society, a discussion took place, the result of which was somewhat inconclusive. Professor Bose was the first Indian to be admitted to Fellowship of the Royal Society.

The normal work of the Geological Survey was resumed during the year. A very important memoir was published on the Geology of Anglesey, by Mr. Edward Greenly, accompanying the new series map of that district. Progress continued, however, as before the war, to be exceedingly slow.

In the sphere of medicine two official publications were issued, especially deserving of notice. The first gave a very comprehensive account of the great influenza outbreak of 1918, and was published as a Supplement to the Annual Report of the Local Government Board. Dr. Carnwath, the writer of the report, found evidence pointing to the conclusion that the disease had originated in China, and spread from there, first to America, and thence to Europe. It appears that the first onslaught of it in this country fell upon the Grand Fleet in April, reaching its height on May 10. The Army in France was attacked about the same time. In the First Army alone, between May 18 and June 2, 36,473 patients were admitted to casualty clearing stations. Among

civilians, the disease first broke out in Glasgow, but reached London in June and attained its height there during the second week of July.

A far more serious outbreak occurred in the autumn, reaching its height in most localities between three and four months after the climax of the first wave. In London alone in eight weeks the total number of deaths from all forms of influenza and pneumonia amounted to 13,744, or a rate of 341 per 100,000 of the population, a figure considerably exceeded in many towns of the United States. During the summer wave, the persons principally attacked were those in the prime of life. In the autumn, the mortality was specially high among young children; the disease being contracted by 30 per cent. of breast-fed infants and 54 per cent. of artificially-fed infants. In Cheshire, a special investigation showed that of expectant mothers affected, over 25 per cent. died, while out of 118 expectant lives only 57 survived. There appeared to be several strains of influenza about, so that one attack did not necessarily afford protection against another.

The second official publication to be noticed is the First Annual Report of the Ministry of Health. It dealt among other matters with Venereal Disease and with tuberculosis. As regards the former, 82,500 fresh cases were reported in 1919, while attendances at the centres numbered over a million, as compared with less than half a million the preceding year. The disease was growing in extent, and the expenditure of the Ministry of Health on its cure mounted up towards a quarter of a million sterling. Much comment was aroused by the fact that a disease so easily preventible should be allowed to involve so great an expenditure of money, and to wreck so many lives.

Tuberculosis accounted for a still larger expenditure. Here, however, there was a decline in the number of cases notified, as well as in the number of deaths, during 1919 as compared with the previous year, both as regards pulmonary and other forms of tuberculosis. The number of fresh notifications in 1919 was 84,898, and the number of deaths 46,312.

The story of the triumph of medical science over tetanus during the war was recorded by Sir David Bruce, Chairman of the War Office Committee on Tetanus, in an important pamphlet published by the Research Defence Society. At the beginning of the war, the incidence of the disease among wounded men was 9 per 1,000. The routine practice was then introduced of inoculating anti-tetanus serum immediately after a wound, with the result that in a month the incidence had fallen to 7 per 1,000, and by the end of 1914 had dwindled to 1.4 per 1,000. When the war ended, and the technique had been perfected, the incidence had fallen still lower, to 0.7 per 1,000; and among the small minority who did become infected, the disease was of a far less fatal character than usually prevails where no serum has been used.

A special report was published by the Fuel Research Board on the efficiency of coal fires for heating purposes, and the results obtained by the investigator, Dr. Margaret Fishenden, were far more favourable to the coal fire than had been generally anticipated. The waste of heat occurring in a coal fire was shown to be due, partly to radiation from the outer wall of the house into the surrounding air, and partly to the escape of hot gases up the chimney. The former deficiency is to a great

extent remedied by building fireplaces on the inner and not the outer walls of houses; the latter, by preventing the upward draught from exceeding what would in any case be necessary for purposes of hygiene. When these two conditions are realised, the efficiency of a coal fire leaves little to be desired. Experiments were conducted with many different forms of grates, including those commonly reputed to be the most economical and the least economical respectively. Very little difference was found in their radiant efficiency. Apart from the position of fireplaces, the saving of waste seems likely to be achieved only in two directions: first, by regulation of the upward draught, and secondly, by the admixture of coke with coal; for coke appears to have a somewhat higher radiant efficiency than ordinary coal.

In the sphere of anthropology, Professor Eugene Dubois, the discoverer of *Pithecanthropus*, published in May an account of two fossilised human skulls, which he had discovered in Java in 1889 and 1890. One of these was that of a woman, and was, moreover, of exceptional size, its cranial capacity being estimated at 1,550 c.c., or more than 200 c.c. greater than that of an average Englishwoman of the present time. The other was inferred to be that of a man, and disclosed a jaw and palate of dimensions exceeding those of any race of men now living. A great part of the interest in these fossil remains arose from the comparison of them with the skull found at Talgai, Queensland, by Dr. Stewart A. Smith in 1918. This skull indicates a youth of Australoid characteristics, though the cranial capacity is unusually large, and the palate also approximates to that of the Javanese find. Hence it is inferred that a race of men inhabited Java and Australia in Pleistocene times, characterised by large brains and massive jaws. Professor Keith supposes them to have been the ancestors of the Tasmanians, though differing from their descendants in the respects indicated.

These remains were compared with the skull discovered at Boskop in the Transvaal in 1913, and also believed to be of Pleistocene age. Here again the cranial capacity is immense—being estimated at 1,832 c.c., or 350 c.c. above the average for Englishmen of the present time. The jaws on the contrary appear to be no larger than in modern types: and there is a wide difference between this skull and those of Java and Australia. The closest affinities of the Boskop skull are with the Hottentots and Bushmen, of whom accordingly it is regarded as an ancestral type. Thus Java, Australia, and South Africa are found to have been peopled in Pleistocene times with races of men similar to the known aborigines of those countries, though more primitive in type. It is a curious circumstance that in all three cases, the advance of evolution has implied a diminution in the size of the brain. It can scarcely be doubted that the beginning steps of civilisation—the discovery and utilisation of fire, the acquirement of speech, etc.—were far higher intellectual achievements than almost any of the comparatively minor discoveries of civilisation.

As regards travel and exploration, the most interesting event was the attempt of Captain Amundsen to reach the North Pole. He left Christiania in the *Maud* in June, 1918, with the intention of drifting with the ice-pack across the Polar Sea, and provided for an absence of five years.

Sailing along the north coast of Asia, he soon fell in with very severe weather, and was compelled to winter at Cape Chelyuskin, the most northerly point of Asia, where he met with extremely hard and heavy ice. New land was discovered near Tsar Nicholas II. Land, and scientifically explored. Several adventures were reported, in one of which Captain Amundsen broke his arm in an encounter with a Polar bear. From Cape Chelyuskin two members of the crew set out in the winter of 1918 to 1919 to travel overland to Russia, but no news of their whereabouts has been received.

The *Maud* was unable to leave her winter quarters till September 12, 1919, being obliged to force her way out through over a mile of thick unbroken ice. Shortly afterwards Captain Amundsen endeavoured to begin his drift towards the Pole; but he found the currents moving in the wrong direction, and was obliged, therefore, to cast loose again, and take up winter quarters for the second time on the northern coast of Asia. He was unable to penetrate farther than the Island of Aion, where he remained locked in the ice till July 6, 1920. He then continued his journey to Nome in Alaska, where he arrived on July 27. He left Nome on August 8, steering for Wrangell Island, from whence he intended to start his drift with the Arctic Ice-pack. Nothing further has been heard of the expedition, which, according to Captain Amundsen's estimate, will probably take five years to accomplish.

In the sphere of exploration, it is noteworthy that plans were being projected during the year for climbing Mount Everest, the highest mountain peak in the world. In this project the Royal Geographical Society and the Alpine Club worked in conjunction. A deputation waited upon the Secretary for India, and Colonel Howard Bury paid a visit to India to try to make the necessary arrangements. After some difficulties had been experienced in overcoming political obstacles, it was arranged that a preliminary reconnaissance of the ground should take place in 1921, and that the actual attempt on the summit should be made in 1922.

The 88th meeting of the British Association was opened at Cardiff on August 23, the attendance being comparatively small. The President, Dr. W. A. Herdman, F.R.S., devoted his address to the subject of Oceanography. He mentioned that the greatest depth of the ocean was about six miles, somewhat greater than the highest mountains on land, and referred to the calculation that if all the land were washed down into the sea, the entire globe would be covered by an ocean of the average depth of two miles. The extraordinary complexity of the subject was illustrated by the life-history of eels. Eels have never been found to spawn on land, and for long the method of their reproduction was a complete mystery. At length, however, it was discovered that when they are ripe for breeding, they travel down the rivers into the sea, and thence far out into the deepest portions of the Atlantic, where the young are then born, and start forth upon their long journey to land. The precise breeding ground of eels is the subject of an investigation now being conducted. Dr. Herdman laid emphasis on the immense potentialities of the sea as regards food-productivity, and suggested that in the future it would be necessary to institute a system of aquiculture corresponding to the system of agriculture adopted on land.

The question of a new *Challenger* expedition was raised ; and it was stated that the Admiralty would probably be willing to contribute towards the expense.

The meeting of the Association in 1921 was arranged to take place at Edinburgh, with Sir T. E. Thorpe, F.R.S., as President. An invitation was accepted to hold the meeting for 1922 at Hull.

During the year, it devolved upon the Council of the Royal Society to appoint a new President, in succession to Sir J. J. Thomson, whose term of office had expired. Since it was now the turn of a biologist to occupy that position, they selected Professor C. S. Sherrington, Professor of Physiology at Oxford, whose researches on the physiology of the nervous system had brought him a world-wide reputation.

## ART, DRAMA, AND MUSIC.

### I. ART.

IMPORTANT alterations in the laws of the Royal Academy were made in 1920; changes, little noticed by the Press or the general public, that concerned the admission to the schools and the status of the Associates. Both have been burning questions in controversies of past years, in which critics of the teaching at the Academy have objected to the nature of the works that it was obligatory on candidates for admission to the schools to submit. Particular objection has been taken to the highly finished chalk study of a figure from the antique which has been demanded of every painter candidate since the eighteenth century days, and on the strength of which Lawrence and Constable, and in later times Millais, gained admission. Last year all the obligations were swept away, and candidates were invited to send in works of any kind that represented them best.

This showed a remarkable change in the Academic outlook, but it was less interesting than the alteration in the status of the Associates, who were regarded as persons of slight importance when the institution was young, and were long denied the smallest voice in its affairs. This was remarked by the Royal Commission that examined the constitution of the Academy in 1863, with the result that Associates were afterwards permitted to vote at elections. The innovation was resented by some of the older Academicians, but they were compelled to accept it because the question of a new site for the galleries was then being considered by the Government that had appointed the Royal Commission. "If we hadn't agreed to give the Associates the vote we shouldn't have got Burlington House," Sir Francis Grant, P.R.A., afterwards told one of the objectors. The power of the Associate class has since gradually increased, and last year an amendment of the laws permitted one of its members to invade for the first time that inner sanctuary, the Hanging Committee, a profanation sufficient to make the early Victorian Academicians turn in their graves.

The Associate thus honoured was Mr. William Strang, who hung the miniatures and works in black and white exhibited at the Academy, and assisted Sir R. Blomfield, Mr. S. J. Solomon, Mr. W. R. Colton, Mr. Seymour Lucas, Mr. H. S. Tuke, Mr. G. Clausen, Mr. F. Dicksee, Mr. D. Y. Cameron, and Mr. F. D. Wood, to examine all the pictures, sculptures, drawings, and engravings submitted by non-members. These were more numerous in 1920 than in 1919, but the sum-total of submitted works did not approach the extravagant figures of 14,000 or 15,000 mentioned by some of the newspapers about the time the exhibition was opened. The

actual number was 9,640 of which more than 7,000 were rejected outright at the first examination. The oil paintings and water colours were hung by Messrs. Solomon, Tuke, Dicksee, Clausen, and Cameron; and the architectural drawings by Sir R. Blomfield. Messrs. Colton and Wood arranged the sculpture.

Only three pictures were bought by the Chantrey Trustees; two from the Academy exhibition, "Epsom Downs—City and Suburban Day," by Mr. A. J. Munnings, A.R.A. (700*l.*), and "Shap Moors," by Mr. Oliver Hall (315*l.*); and one from the Leicester Galleries, "Feeding the Fowls," by Mr. Mark Fisher, R.A. (194*l.* 5*s.*).

Other principal works disposed of included "Spring" (1,000*l.*), by Mr. Tom Mostyn; "The Wise and Foolish Virgins" (525*l.*), by Mr. Charles Shannon; "Peter the Great Studying Naval Architecture in Evelyn's House at Deptford" (500*l.*), by Mr. A. D. McCormick; "A Romance of the Sicilian Vespers" (535*l.*), by Mr. John R. Wilmer; "Scapa Flow, June 21st, 1919" (500*l.*), by Mr. Bernard F. Gribble; "The Three Wise Kings" (500*l.*), by Mr. G. Spencer Watson; "The Waking Child"—statuette, bronze (400*l.*), by Mr. E. Whitney Smith; "Mated" (450*l.*), by Mr. E. Blair Leighton; "The Shepherd Boy: Sunrise" (315*l.*), by Mr. George Clausen; "The Mouth of the River" (350*l.*), by Mr. Arnesby Brown; "His Majesty's Mail" (315*l.*), and "A Suffolk Valley" (315*l.*), by Mr. Bertram Priestman; "Meadow and Stream" (315*l.*), by Mr. Harry Watson; "The Forerunner" (315*l.*), by Miss Eleanor Fortescue-Brickdale; "Landscape" (250*l.*), by Mr. Charles Sims; "A Woodcarver's Shop" (262*l.* 10*s.*), by Mr. F. W. Elwell; "Repose" (250*l.*), by Mr. J. Blair Leighton; "Tennyson's Beech, New Forest" (250*l.*), by Mr. Hugh Wilkinson; and two water colours, "On the Wye, Evening" (250*l.*), by Mr. Sutton Palmer, and "Evening Time" (210*l.*), by Mr. J. Henry Henshall. Many of the pictures sold were not priced in the catalogue, and these included all Mr. B. W. Leader's landscapes, and five out of the six exhibited by Mr. Joseph Farquharson.

Sales at the Academy were good, all things considered, and fairly brisk business was done at most of the spring and summer exhibitions, which were but little affected by the depression in trade that overshadowed the autumn season. In fact, at the beginning of the year a picture was sold at the Royal Institute for what is probably a record price in England for a water colour, disposed of at an exhibition of modern work. A thousand pounds was paid for Mr. F. Matania's "Triclinium," a representation of a dancing girl performing for the amusement of the guests after a dinner party in ancient Rome. Mr. Matania's picture was sold at the inaugural banquet held on the eve of the opening of the spring exhibition.

In some aspects the Spanish Exhibition, held at Burlington House in the autumn, was the most important event of the year. It was divided into two sections, the first including examples of Spanish painting from the fourteenth century to the death of Goya (1828); and the second pictures by Spanish artists from 1828 to the present day. For the first, and the only really important of the sections, rumour had promised great things, but those who expected to see half the treasures of the Prado at Burlington House were disappointed. Velasquez, the supreme artist of

the Peninsula, was by no means well represented among the contributions sent from Spain. The most perfect example of his craft, the superb portrait of his Moorish servant, Juan de Pareja, came not from Madrid but from Lord Radnor's collection at Longford Castle. Of the Spanish contributions the most valuable were the pictures by El Greco and Goya. The modern work, collectively, was respectable but no more.

At Christie's the spring and summer seasons were not remarkable, though there appeared to be plenty of money about when any important works of art came under the hammer. But it was not a year for great sales, and the autumn season, though of unexampled interest in 1919, was dull in 1920. In the summer, eighteenth-century British masters maintained their popularity, but the highest price paid for a Sir Joshua was 11,340*l.*; for the full-length portraits on one canvas of the Earl and Countess of Ely, painted walking in a landscape, from the collection of M. Zygomalis. This was sold on July 2, and on the same day Raeburn's group of the three Macdonald boys (formerly at Redleaf, Penshurst), on a canvas less than five feet by four, fetched 20,000 guineas. Many other portraits by the Scottish artist were sold during the season for excellent prices; one of them, that of Lady Belhaven, for 9,975*l.* A well-known group by Romney, the full length of Sir Christopher and Lady Sykes, disappointed the expectations of the crowd at Christie's when the hammer fell on a last bid of 28,350*l.* Another Romney, the portrait group of the Kent children, realised 9,660*l.*

The immense price of £2,152 10*s.* was given for a mezzotint of Reynolds' group of the three Ladies Waldegrave, by Valentine Green. It is curious to think that it was Green who declared that he lost money over the engraving of many of Sir Joshua's portraits—that the contemporary sale of the prints did not cover the cost of preparing the plates.

At Sotheby's the year witnessed the sale of many treasures from two ancient country seats, Wilton House and Parham; and of the large and interesting collection of drawings and miniatures formed by Mr. Francis Wellesley. The most important, however, of all the sales was that of a further instalment of the famous collection of illuminated manuscripts formed by Mr. Yates Thompson, of which the first portion was disposed of in 1919 when one item, the "Hours of Jeanne II. of Navarre," realised 11,800 guineas. This price was not approached at the dispersal of the second portion, but the sum total was higher, and half a dozen of the manuscripts found purchasers at prices ranging from 5,000*l.* to nearly 9,000*l.* each.

Exhibitions were held at all the galleries with the exception of the Grosvenor, the continued closing of which prevented the International Society from showing the work of its members. The newly founded Society of Wood Engravers held its first exhibition at the Chenil Gallery; and at Knightsbridge the first exhibition of Modern Crafts and Manufactures, arranged under the joint authority of the Board of Trade and the Board of Education, was open from June to September. In the spring the portraits shown by Mr. Augustus John at the Alpine Gallery caused considerable discussion, and differences of opinion among critics; and other "one man" exhibitions included those of Mr. Sert,



Mr. Harrington Mann, and Mrs. Clare Sheridan at Agnews'; Mrs. Laura Knight, and Mr. Edmond Dulac at the Leicester Galleries; Mr. Roger Fry at the Independent Gallery; M. Forain at Colnaghi's; Mr. A. J. Munnings at Messrs. James Connell's; and Miss Anna Airy, and Mr. Tom Mostyn at the Fine Art Society's, where also memorial exhibitions were held of the work of the late Arthur Hacker and Andrew C. Gow. At the Goupil Gallery the "Salon" was revived after an interval of several years. The autumn exhibition at Messrs. Agnews, in Old Bond Street, was composed as usual of British Old Masters, and included a curious, and very large painting by Gainsborough of a visionary mother looking down from Heaven at her daughters on earth.

At the public galleries and museums considerable progress was made towards the restoration of pre-war conditions. More rooms were opened at the National Gallery, where the new pictures placed on view included "The Agony in the Garden," by El Greco; a capital example of the art of George Stubbs, R.A., "Lady and Gentleman in a Curricule," presented by Miss H. S. Hope; and a full length, by Daniel Mytens, of James, Marquis of Hamilton, presented by Mr. Colin Agnew and Mr. C. Romer Williams. The National Portrait Gallery, painfully overcrowded, was opened in the summer; as well as part of the National Gallery of British Art, where a new departure was made. Before the war none but modern, or relatively modern, works were shown at this gallery; but now portraits or pictures by Hogarth, Reynolds, Gainsborough and Romney hang among those of the artists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Late in the autumn Hertford House was re-opened, and with the exception of the pictures in three or four of the galleries, the Wallace Collection was once more accessible to the public.

WILLIAM T. WHITLEY.

## II. DRAMA.

If it still left considerable room for improvement, yet the state of the Drama during 1920 was, on the whole, decidedly healthier, artistically speaking, than it had been in the previous year, when the London theatres, or many of them, at any rate, were still suffering from an aftermath of the flimsy and frivolous products with which, for all too long, a war-weary community had been satisfied. There was no lack, certainly, of "musical glasses," but Shakespeare did not knock in vain at the doors of our theatre managers, while not a few of the latter listened sympathetically to the voice of the "serious" dramatist, as distinct from the mere purveyor of light-hearted entertainment. Let us glance, for a moment, at some of the year's Shakespearean revivals. First in the field in this connexion was Henry Ainley, with a version, at the St. James's, of "Julius Cæsar," which, while hardly epoch-making, yet contained features that dwell pleasantly in the memory—not least his own finely vigorous, yet not wholly satisfying, Mark Antony. Basil Gill's Brutus was notably impressive, and, viewed as a "production," this revival of the play was singularly effective and artistic. The autumn

season introduced us, at the Aldwych, to the Macbeth of James K. Hackett, a well-known American actor, whose reading of the part was undeniably that of a thoughtful and finely-endowed player; while at a renovated and redecorated Court Theatre J. M. Fagan gave Shakespeare-lovers a well-nigh wholly delightful revival of "A Midsummer Night's Dream," distinguished for almost all-round excellence on the part of a company which included, as a youthful and promising débutante, Elizabeth Irving (a granddaughter of the famous actor), who appeared as Titania.

Turning to modern plays of a serious complexion, it is significant that one of the most successful productions of the year should have been a piece by John Galsworthy, "The Skin Game" (St. Martin's, April 21), which, as one naturally expected of a work from that author, proved to be quite outside the category of the conventional, more or less machine-made play. True, it had in it a certain element of theatricality; but the theme unfolded, the vitality shown in its handling as in the dialogue, and the cleverness of the character-drawing, made the piece a notable addition to the list of those running. In the leading parts admirable performances were given by Edmund Gwenn (as a rough, over-bearing type of the *nouveau riche*), Athole Stewart, Maggie Albanesi, and Helen Haye. The little Ambassadors', next door, also achieved a well-deserved success with H. M. Harwood's semi-political play, curiously entitled "The Grain of Mustard Seed," the comedy scenes in which carried an agreeable flavour of the ironic. The principal characters were in the excellent keeping of Norman McKinnel, Fred. Kerr, Jack Hobbs, Grace Lane, and Cathleen Nesbitt. The week that saw the production of these two novelties was notable, also, for the coming of a new Barrie play—the much-discussed "Mary Rose," which for several months filled the Haymarket, partly, no doubt, because of the pure "Barrie charm" of the play's lighter scenes, but in larger measure because of an element of the supernatural that gave to his story—based upon an old Scottish legend—a touch of the eerie, the nature of which reflected current thoughts and controversies in the domain of the psychical. The extraordinarily beautiful performance by Fay Compton in the title-part made a profound appeal; while other prominent rôles were assigned to Robert Lorraine (whose part was afterwards taken up by Leon Quartermaine), Mary Jerrold, Norman Forbes, and Arthur Whitby.

A feature to note in relation to the year's crop of more serious plays was a growing tendency on the part of dramatists to deal with subjects engaging contemporary thought and discussion. The psychic element in Barrie's work has been mentioned. But the tendency referred to was illustrated still more forcibly and frankly in "The Crossing," a play by Algernon Blackwood and Bertram Forsyth (Comedy, Sept. 29), in which an attempt was made to bring the "life hereafter" within the range of stage themes. But the play was too much lacking in dramatic substance to hold an audience's attention, and it was withdrawn after a few nights. Nor was success achieved with another play, an adaptation from a drama by the Hungarian author, Franz Molnar, in which the mysteries of the "Beyond" formed part of the dramatist's scheme. The English version, called "The Daisy," a title by no means suggestive of the solemn

underlying idea upon which the story was based, obtained only a short run at the Kingsway. A greater measure of approval was extended to Somerset Maugham's "The Unknown" (Aldwych, Aug. 9), wherein questions of religious belief were discussed with a freedom that might easily have disconcerted playgoers of an earlier generation. The piece, which was well acted by C. N. France, Basil Rathbone, Clarence Blakiston, Lady Tree, Haidee Wright and others, excited an amount of controversy disproportionate to its actual dramatic value. Considered as drama, a far more satisfying piece of work, which was topical in relation to a very different phase of public discussion, namely, the prevalent strife in the industrial world, was "The Right to Strike," a play by Ernest Hutchison, which on its production at the Garrick, on September 28, created at one moment almost an uproar in a house "divided against itself" in its sympathies with the point of view expounded by the author. But the play did not secure a long career, despite its strong situations and some very effective acting in prominent parts by Holman Clark, Charles Kenyon, Lauderdale Maitland, and Leon M. Lion (as a strike agitator).

#### DRAMAS AND COMEDIES.

Lovers of melodramatic fare were more than adequately provided for during the year, and among plays in the category implied that achieved success mention may be made of an American importation, "The Man Who Came Back," in which an actress from the States, Mary Nash, created a strong impression at the Oxford; and A. E. W. Mason's "At the Villa Rose," a murder-mystery play founded by the author upon one of his novels, and staged at the Strand, with Arthur Bouchier and Kyrle Bellew in the chief parts. Drury Lane rose above its ordinary melodramatic level in "The Garden of Allah," an adaptation by Robert Hichens and Mary Anderson from the former's widely-known novel, and affording opportunities for a picturesque Oriental setting of which full advantage was taken on the big stage of our "National" theatre. Godfrey Tearle, ably supported by Madge Titheradge and Basil Gill, added considerably to his reputation by his fine acting as the conscience-harassed priest, and the piece obtained such a firm hold of the public that its run was continued over Xmas, and the projected Drury Lane pantomime staged at Covent Garden—an unprecedented break with tradition. To a picturesque order of theatrical production belonged two other notable successes—a dramatisation, by Norman MacOwan and Charlton Mann, of De Vere Stacpoole's charming "Blue Lagoon" at the Prince of Wales'; and a version by Temple Thurston of "The Wandering Jew," at the New, this piece enabling Matheson Lang, as the protagonist, to make effective display of his powers. As a play of more or less serious interest one may add to the foregoing list Rudolf Bensier and May Edginton's "The Prude's Fall" (Wyndham's, Sept. 1), which, as acted by Gerald du Maurier, Franklin Dyall, Gilbert Hare, Emily Brooke, Lilian Braithwaite, and Nina Boucicault, proved one of the notable hits of the autumn season.

From A. A. Milne we had two of the pleasantest of the year's light

comedies—"Mr. Pim Passes By" and "The Romantic Age." The former, produced by Dion Boucicault and Irene Vanbrugh at the New, in January, was evolved from a whimsically diverting idea, and its author's characteristic light touch and delicate vein of humour made it a delightful thing. Although hardly up to the same level, "The Romantic Age" was a happy mingling of charm and laughter, unconventional both in idea and treatment, and started Arthur Wontner auspiciously on his career as an actor-manager. Another very agreeable comedy of the lightest texture was Gertrude E. Jennings's, "The Young Person in Pink," which found more than one home and was exceedingly well played by Donald Calthrop, Miss Ellis Jeffreys, and Miss Sydney Fairbrother; while a newcomer to the ranks of dramatists, Reginald Berkeley, scored a decided success with a very amusing comedy, "French Leave," which, despite its war background, was wholly innocent of any serious element. Great popularity was achieved also by a comedy entitled "Paddy the Next Best Thing" (Savoy, April 5), and by its chief exponent, Peggy O'Neill, a clever Irish-American actress. In the way of farcical pieces America sent us "His Lady Friends," wherein Charles Hawtrey found a congenial rôle at the St. James's, and "Wedding Bells," which was seen at the Playhouse, with Owen Nares and Gladys Cooper in the two chief parts.

Among the year's revivals that call for passing mention were those of Barrie's "The Admirable Crichton" and Knoblock and Arnold Bennett's "Milestones"—both at the Royalty; and also of two Sardou plays—"Tosca," with Ethel Irving in the name part, and "Fédora," with Marie Löhr as the heroine, but both these revivals, apart from skilful acting of the emotional type on the part of the players mentioned, only served to show how old-fashioned and mechanical the ingenious methods of the famous French dramatist now seem.

#### MUSICAL PRODUCTIONS AND REVUES.

The most notable theatrical event of the year in the musical line was a quaintly-charming revival of Gay's two-century-old "Beggar's Opera," in a version which proved sufficiently attractive to draw "all London" to the Lyric, Hammersmith, for several months. Of notable excellence were the performances of Frederick Ranalow and Sylvia Nelis, as Macbeath and Polly respectively. Among native musical plays the best of the year's novelties was "A Southern Maid" (Daly's, May 15), written by Dion Clayton Calthrop and Harry Graham, and composed by H. Fraser-Simon, whose music, however, hardly reached quite the same melodious level throughout as that which helped to win such longevity for the same composer's "Maid of the Mountains." In the leading rôle José Collins sang with all her accustomed skill. A bright American musical comedy, "Irene," owed not a little of its popularity at the Empire to the engaging vivacity of its chief exponent, Edith Day, who had created the title-part in New York, and to the humours of Robert Hale. Founded on a French farce, "A Night Out" (music by Willie Redstone) brought success to the Winter Gardens, and further triumphs for that nimble comedian, Leslie Henson; while a French operetta,

called in the adaptation, "The Naughty Princess," was sumptuously staged at the Adelphi. It contained some very pretty music by Charles Cuvillier, and effective parts for Lily St. John and W. H. Berry. From Germany—albeit the fact was not disclosed—came "A Little Dutch Girl," produced at the Lyric, but its music, by Emmerich Kalman, though tuneful enough, was hardly worthy of so charming a singer as Maggie Teyte, who took the principal rôle. At the Gaiety there was a bright and lavish revival, in a new version, of "The Shop Girl," with Alfred Lester as leading comedian, while at the Alhambra George Robey was the chief star in a nondescript piece called "Johnny Jones," with music by Cuvillier. An attractive revue was Arthur Wimperis and Herman Darewski's "London, Paris, and New York," at the London Pavilion, Nelson Keys appearing therein very successfully as the principal, and highly versatile, comedian, while the two collaborators named furnished the Vaudeville with a cheery little revue of the more intimate type, entitled "Just Fancy." It had a jolly successor towards the end of the year in "Jumble Sale," by J. Hastings Turner and Philip Braham. For the benefit of the future theatrical historian it may be added that at His Majesty's, on December 29, "Chu Chin Chow" beat all the records of stageland by achieving its 2000th performance.

ERNEST KUHE.

### III. MUSIC.

Yet once again, as in 1919, so 1920 was in music an operatic year in London. Opera on a large scale began as early as February when "Parsifal" was revived, but now in English. Albert Coates was the conductor as when that drama was first produced here in the spring of 1914, and it is worthy of record, so important was this English production regarded as being, that Walter Hyde was Parsifal, Norman Allin, Gurnemanz, and Gladys Ancrum, Kundry. A few weeks later in the same season Wagner's "Mastersingers" was given once again in English also, Sir Thomas Beecham conducting—all this at Covent Garden. Frederick Rinalow was Hans Sachs, Webster Millar Walter, Edmund Burke Pagner, Herbert Langley a most excellent Beckmesser, Miriam Licette was Eva, and the performances were magnificent. Further, Delius's curiously interesting opera, "A Village Romeo and Juliet," which had failed to hold its position when originally given in 1910, was repeated with Walter Hyde and Miriam Licette in the name parts. Isidore de Lara's "Nail" was given again with much the same cast of principals as in the preceding year, while among other operas in the repertory in this particular season were Bizet's "Djamileh" and "The Fair Maid of Perth," "The Magic Flute" and "Seraglio," "Tristan and Isolde" with Agnes Nicholls and Frank Mullings in the name parts, "Tannhäuser," and "Faust." This season came to an end early in April. On it there followed in May (till July 31) an international season in the same theatre which disappointed in most ways. The repertory was very limited, and far too many of the operas given showed in performance insufficient rehearsal. In point of fact it is hardly saying too much to add that had it not been for the performances of the Russian Ballet under Diaghileff's management in the

later part of the season, that season would have been almost entirely unworthy of more than barest record. Still, we did hear for the first time the Triptych, as it was quite wrongly called, the three operas of Puccini, "Il Tabarro," "Suor Angelica," and "Gianni Schicchi" which had been first seen and much discussed at New York some two years previously. Of the three it seems probable that the last-named alone is likely to survive, and that in virtue of its capital humour; but as the humour is very Italian, even this may be denied to an opera that has a certain relationship, however thin the blood, to the "Falstaff" of Verdi. Record should be made of the practical debut on the opera stage of Dame Clara Butt, who had appeared there only once before in her student days but in the same opera, "Orfeo." An admirable revival was that of "Pelléas et Mélisande," with Edvina and Maguenat, but beyond this there is little to recount. Of the new singers Badini made an excellent impression in "Gianni Schicchi," and in other days there is no doubt that Graziella Pareto would have been made more of than circumstances permitted last year, for she was a richly gifted soprano. Marie Kouznetzova sang Mimi in "La Bohème" quite early in the season, and looked the part better than most prima donnas, but disappeared after a week or two. A fine impression was made by Joseph Hislop, a Scottish tenor who had been engaged for some years at Stockholm. Anseau, the Belgian tenor, Riccardo Martin, Thomas Burke, and Lappas all appeared with success.

Of course the Russian Ballet reproduced many of their old successes, but also they produced several new things that had a distinct flavour of their own in the opera-ballets "Le Astuzie Femminili" by Cimarosa, and Pergolesi's "Pulcinella," as revised by Stravinski, two remarkable survivals of a long-gone age. Nevertheless they were most interesting.

Further, a choreographic version of Stravinski's "Le Chant du Rossignol" was given. The operatic repertory otherwise was very much as usual in other years; Karsavina and Miassin were the outstanding dancers of the Ballet, and the conductors of the season were Beecham, Bavagnoli, Coates, Pitt, and Ansermet, who hailed from Geneva. London was visited also by Mme Pavlova, who began a lengthy season at Drury Lane in April which she afterwards continued at the Prince's Theatre, when Drury Lane was required for another production.

But besides this operatic activity there was much elsewhere. For example, the old Surrey Theatre was re-opened by a new company organised by Messrs. Fairbairn & Miln. Here the repertory was very wide, extending as it did from "Faust" to "The Valkyrie" with "Orfeo" and "Don Giovanni," and in addition J. E. Barkworth's "Romeo and Juliet," a simple, frankly melodious affair, and Nicholas Gatty's "The Tempest" were given for the first time on any stage. The Royal Carl Rosa Co. produced a new English opera during their summer season at the Lyceum in Alec. Maclean's "Quentin Durward," and they also added to their repertory Wolf-Ferrari's very popular opera "The Jewels of the Madonna." A long promise had been given by Sir Thomas Beecham for a season of opera in English at Covent Garden during the autumn, but adverse circumstances prevented the fulfilling of the promise. Wherefore the Carl Rosa Co. stepped into the breach and gave a month's season.

But the most astounding operatic success of the year, if it may be described as operatic, was that which befel Gay's "The Beggar's Opera" at the Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith. The opera, though two hundred years of age, was revived on June 5 and at the moment of writing this, seven months later, was still filling the theatre nightly. Moreover, a second company had taken it to New York where the success appeared to be similar to that obtained here. Not the least interesting feature of the production was its entire difference from any art form of to-day. It was extremely well played and sung by a number of singers who had served their apprenticeship with Sir Thomas Beecham's Opera Co. Their names should be recorded: Sylvia Nelis, Frederick Ranalow, Alfred Heather, and Frederick Austin. Opera was continued during the usual six months of the winter at the Royal Victoria Hall, better known as the Old Vic., an institution which has become a good deal of a National Theatre.

In the concert room the activity was certainly equally great with that of the various opera houses. The Royal Philharmonic Society gave its 108th season with Albert Coates, Geoffrey Toye, Adrian C. Boult, and Landon Ronald as orchestral conductors, and Charles Kennedy Scott as conductor of the newly-formed Philharmonic Choir. Two new works of native origin were given a first hearing, namely, Gustav Holst's "Hymn of Jesus" and Delius's "Song of the High Hills"; the former decidedly added to the credit of the composer, whose later work "The Planets," created subsequently something of a furor. Debussy's *Fantasie for piano and orchestra* and Malipiero's "Le pause del Silenzio" were two foreign productions. New works also by Rimsky-Korsakoff, Holbrooke, Stryabin and Percy Grainger—new to the Philharmonic, that is, were given at these concerts, and among the soloists who appeared were Olga Haley, Nielka, Carmen Hill, singers, and Murdoch, Sammons, Cortot, Suggia, instrumentalists. The Queen's Hall symphony concerts began the second half of their season in January, and though nothing absolutely new in the way of a symphony was produced, yet Strauss's "Don Juan" was restored to its old place in the repertory for the first time since the war. Delius's violoncello concerto, Bantock's "Sea Reivers," and Julius Harrison's "Worcestershire Pieces" were novelties in the smaller forms by native composers, Debussy's "Berceuse Héroïque," and Roger Ducasse's *Suite for a small orchestra* were new foreign works. The Promenade Concerts began in August under the direction, as always before, of Sir Henry Wood, and the London Symphony Orchestra gave a number of interesting concerts under the direction of Beecham, Coates, and Boult: Landon Ronald conducted the Albert Hall Sunday concerts. In the summer there was what was described as an American Invasion. Of this the chief part was that of the New York Symphony Orchestra under the direction of Walter Damrosch. It gave some performances of splendid efficiency, but fault was more or less generally found with the playing because it was thought to be efficient and marvellously accurate in detail, but deficient in the more moving characteristics of orchestral playing. This, too, was generally felt to be the defect of the singing of many American singers

who visited us in the same period, as of the violin playing of Heifetz, an amazing executant, and of Josef Hofmann, another.

The Handel Festival was revived in June, Sir Frederic Cowen conducting. The soloists were Agnes Nicholls, Carrie Tubb, Esta D'Argo, Phyllis Lett, Kirkby Lunn, Ben Davies, Frank Mullings, Walter Hyde, Ranalow, Radford, and Norman Allin. Sir Frederick Bridge still continued to direct the concerts of the Royal Choral Society at the Albert Hall which never left the beaten path as to their programmes. The most interesting choral concerts were those given by travelling societies such as the Ukrainian Choir, Guldberg's Academic Choir from Norway. Arthur Fagge revived the London Choral Society, and Vincent Thomas did well with the recently founded Westminster Choral Society. Chamber music was prolific. In its performance pride of place belongs to the London String Quartet, who, during the year, spent some time in travelling and playing on the Continent and in the U.S.A. The London Chamber Music Society, the British String Quartet, the Henkel and Robinson Quartets also played, and the South Place Institute Sunday concerts were a greater success than ever. The Bohemian Quartet visited us again, but there is no doubt that they have lost some of their primitive lustre. On the other hand, the American Flonzaley Quartet were magnificent. Concerts of various sorts were given by Melba, Tetrassini, Anna Case, Mabel Garrison, Sophie Braslau, Reinald Werrenrath, Marcia van Dresser, Calvé, D'Alvarez, Clara Butt, who was created during the year a Dame B.E., Gina Sadere, a delightful folk-song singer, Gervase Elwes, whose death by railway accident when on a visit to the U.S.A. early in January, 1921, cast a heavy cloud over the whole musical world. Among pianists were Lamond, Busoni, Siloti, Murdoch, E. S. Mitchell; among violinists were the D'Aranyi sisters, Sammons, Isolde Menges, Sybil Eaton, Murray Lambert, Rivarde.

ROBIN H. LEGGE.



## FINANCE AND COMMERCE IN 1920.

IN finance and commerce 1920 was much more remarkable than 1919 ; indeed its events distinguished it greatly from any of recent years. It opened with sentiment in trade and commerce extraordinarily bullish, and it closed in the midst of a great depression. In the early part of the year prices of commodities rose to extraordinary heights ; there seemed no limit to buying power, despite the fall in the value of foreign currencies ; the activity and strength of markets was not confined to trade and industry ; it spread to those for securities which became exceptionally active. Then, very gradually, in the early spring, it began to dawn upon the business world that there was something unreal and ghostly about this six-year-old boom, and that it rested upon insecure foundations. The continued depreciation in foreign currencies seemed ominous, and it gradually became apparent to people that the thousands of millions in which they had been thinking since 1914 were difficult to account for. The prosperity of the war and post-war periods seemed like an Arabian Night's entertainment, pretty, wonderful, and unreal. But in a night almost the whole thing came to an end ; confidence vanished, it seemed as if the business world had seen a vision, and in that vision had learned that Europe in five years of war had destroyed a very large part of that which really constituted her wealth. Her factories were destroyed or damaged in great part ; her raw materials were exhausted, and her people's morale gravely weakened. The constant changes in the unit of value resulting from the use of the printing press disturbed labour and made it discontented. Reports from starving Austria and devastated Russia, and other areas of great population persistently referred to the privations of great masses of the people. The vision was confirmed. Everybody began to talk of Europe's grave impoverishment ; they realised that the cause of " war prosperity " was that Europe had been, and was still printing, huge masses of small pieces of money, and making them legal tender of the same nominal amount as the gold coin they had replaced. This paper money it was perceived was issued not against production of wealth, but against Government debt, and as the year progressed the consequences of monetary inflation became more and more manifest.

The definite break of the long boom was the outstanding feature of the year. Late in the spring orders began to fall off from abroad, owing to the steady rise in sterling prices, and the gradually rising cost of sterling itself in foreign currencies. As the summer progressed the slackening of business became more and more obvious, and though prices were fairly well maintained there were indications that a sharp reaction

was in sight. In the autumn this became a certainty; certain difficulties which had shown themselves in the canned goods, produce, and fur trades were intensified, and compulsory liquidation broke out in various directions. But it was not until November that a really big break in prices occurred. This was due to the fact that the holders of commodities hung on to them in the hope of a recovery enabling them to realise without loss, but as retailers refused to reduce prices, and consumers refused to buy, wholesalers could not move their goods, and when the loans with which the commodities were financed fell due, forced liquidation became inevitable. Casualties in the business world increased rapidly to pre-war numbers, but the sums involved in the failures were larger than in pre-war years. The fall in prices continued without interruption until the end of the year. The decline brought the average level of prices down to the armistice level, and in the case of some commodities, notably that of rubber, prices fell below the pre-war level. The course of wholesale prices during the past two years are shown in *The Times* index number subjoined:—

	Food.		Materials.		Total.	
	1920.	1919.	1920.	1919.	1920.	1919.
January - -	291.9	257.4	335.0	209.0	313.4	232.2
February - -	294.2	256.9	356.0	205.4	325.1	231.1
March - - -	309.3	255.5	348.7	193.0	329.0	224.3
April - - -	318.5	256.0	339.9	199.2	329.2	227.6
May - - -	329.1	254.2	317.6	227.2	323.4	240.7
June - - -	324.1	254.8	290.5	234.6	307.4	244.7
July - - -	316.5	255.8	295.2	247.5	305.8	252.0
August - - -	304.7	260.8	293.1	252.1	298.9	256.5
September - -	310.1	266.5	280.1	247.3	295.1	256.9
October - - -	309.8	291.0	270.4	263.7	290.1	277.4
November - -	286.6	286.0	228.9	278.0	257.7	282.0
December - -	272.9	286.1	207.8	307.8	240.3	296.9
Average -	359.8	265.1	296.9	238.7	301.3	252.0

The basis of the calculation is the prices ruling on December 31, 1913, which are taken as 100.

At the end of November, 1918, just after the armistice, prices were 140 per cent. above December 31, 1913, level. The rise in prices by April 1920, had undoubtedly taxed severely the purchasing power in existence, with the result that a general restriction of purchases developed, and at the end of 1920 the prices of American cotton, crossbred wood, hides, and copper were not much above pre-war prices. It is important to note, however, that the fall in prices in the United States preceded the fall in this country by about a month.

National finance was an absorbing and contentious subject throughout the year. In the year ended March 31, 1920, the National Debt had been increased from 7,435,000,000*l.* to 7,829,000,000*l.*, and the States' total capital liabilities from 7,481,000,000*l.* to 7,876,000,000*l.*, the annual service of which was estimated at 345,000,000*l.* for the year ending March 31,

1921. In the year ended March 31, 1920, the amount of revenue exceeded the previous year's total by 450,550,556*l.*, the aggregate receipts being 1,339,571,381*l.* As expenditure decreased by 913,428,260*l.* to 1,665,772,928*l.*, the year's deficit was reduced from 1,690,280,363*l.* to 326,201,547*l.* Income tax yielded 359,099,000*l.*, an increase of 67,913,000*l.*; Excess Profits Duty 290,045,000*l.*, an increase of 5,017,000*l.*; Customs 149,360,000*l.*, an increase of 46,580,000*l.*; Excise 133,663,000*l.*, an increase of 74,223,000*l.*, and miscellaneous receipts amounted to 280,829,459*l.*, an increase of no less than 228,526,562*l.* This exceptional increase in miscellaneous receipts was due to sales of surplus war stores, etc. On the expenditure side of the accounts, the debt charge was 332,033,708*l.* against 269,964,650*l.*, the interest on War Debt being 308,260,656*l.* against 246,326,557*l.* Supply services absorbed 1,317,568,000*l.* against 2,579,301,188*l.*

The year's deficit was covered by receipts from the Funding Loan and Victory Bond issue of 1919, and on March 31, 1920, the floating debt amounted to 1,312,205,000*l.* against 1,412,228,000*l.* on March 31, 1919.

In his Budget speech in April, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer, estimated the total revenue at 1,418,300,000*l.*, of which 1,035,150,000*l.* would be tax revenue, and 383,100,000*l.* non-tax revenue. Expenditure was estimated at 1,233,642,000*l.* (including supplementary estimates), leaving a balance of 184,658,000*l.* available for debt redemption against an original estimate of 234,198,000*l.* Debt service was estimated to require 345,000,000*l.* and supply services 857,440,000*l.* Thus the Budget provided not only for the restoration of an equilibrium of income and expenditure but also for a substantial repayment of debt. This was a noteworthy achievement, for Great Britain was the only ex-belligerent to attempt an equation of its Budget in 1920. Indeed of twelve European countries, Great Britain was the only one to make its accounts balance on the right side. The increase in revenue was provided for by increased taxation and by budgeting for a receipt of no less than 302,000,000*l.* from the sale of surplus stores.

The Excess Profits Duty was raised from 40 to 60 per cent. and a new tax was imposed, called the Corporation tax. This was at the rate of 5 per cent. and applied not to private partnerships but only to limited liability companies. Very strong opposition was offered to the increase in Excess Profits Duty, but no reduction was made. Beer and spirit duties were further increased, and made staggering in their proportions to the price of both commodities, and the minimum letter postage was raised to 2*d.* with a maximum weight of three ounces. The Finance Act, 1920, adopted certain recommendations of the Royal Commission on Income Tax. This brought into operation a radical alteration of the method of granting relief in favour of earned income, and of the method of graduating the burden of the tax. Exemption from tax was granted to single persons up to 135*l.* (and up to 150*l.* in the case of earned income), and to married persons (without children) to 225*l.* (and up to 250*l.* if wholly earned).

In calculating the assessable income, a person was allowed to deduct one-tenth of his earned income, with a limit of 200*l.* On the first 225*l.* of taxable income (arrived at after deducting the various allowances

provided for) tax was imposed at 3s. in the £, and at 6s. on each £ in excess of 225 $\text{\textit{l}}$ . Thus the various rates of tax previously in use were abandoned, and two rates of tax only put in their place, namely, the standard rate (6s.) and half the standard rate (3s.). Super-tax was stiffened and regraduated, and the limit of income exempt from it reduced to 2,000 $\text{\textit{l}}$ . As the depression in trade developed the agitation, begun in 1919, for reduction of expenditure grew in volume, and on several occasions attempts were made to force the Government to economise, but no revision of expenditure was made.

The Money Market was again dominated largely by the needs of Government finance, for although the British Government established an equilibrium between income and expenditure, with a big margin for debt redemption, the existence of a floating debt exceeding 1,000,000,000 $\text{\textit{l}}$ . had the effect of putting the Government under the necessity of constantly renewing large amounts of Treasury Bills. During the year the demand for credit was insistent, and in the early part of the year the demand was so great that the Treasury found it difficult to renew Treasury Bills, and was constantly compelled to borrow on Ways and Means advances from the Bank of England, which involved the further inflation of the cash position and the basis of credit expansion. Hence the Bank of England on April 15 raised its discount rate to 7 per cent. ; and at the same time Treasury Bill rates were raised to 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Bankers raised their deposit rate to 5 per cent. In the subjoined table are shown the average of money rates in 1920, comparison being made with the previous six years :—

1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.	1919.	1920.
BANK RATE.						
£ s. d. 4 0 9	£ s. d. 5 0 0	£ s. d. 5 9 3	£ s. d. 5 3 0	£ s. d. 5 0 0	£ s. d. 5 3 0	£ s. d. 6 14 3
DISCOUNT RATE (3 MONTHS' BILLS).						
2 17 8	3 14 1	5 4 3	4 16 2	3 11 9	3 18 10	6 8 0
BANKS' DEPOSIT RATE.						
2 2 4	2 12 0	3 14 4	4 0 0	3 1 3	3 3 10	4 14 3
SHORT LOAN RATE.						
2 4 3	2 18 4	4 12 8	4 8 3	3 5 6	3 9 7	4 10 0

At the time of the raising of Bank Rate there were loud protestations against the action of the banks in restricting credit ; but as a matter of fact there had been no restriction, but undue expansion, and many dangerous speculative positions had in consequence been erected. The reaction in trade and industry was popularly ascribed to deflation ; this was an entire illusion, for in fact no monetary deflation was effected during the year ; on December 31 deposits in the banks were larger than they had ever been, and the floating debt amounted to 1,408,081,000 $\text{\textit{l}}$ . against 1,349,324,000 $\text{\textit{l}}$ . on December 31, 1919. Profit margins in banking

were very satisfactory, and as the demand for credit was enormous the banks made very large profits. But the expansion in profits was of no direct use to them, as high money rates had contributed to the depreciation of investments. The following amalgamations and affiliations in banking took place during the year: The British Linen Bank, the Union Bank of Manchester, and the Anglo-Egyptian Bank became affiliated to Barclay's Bank, which purchased control. Barclay's Bank also absorbed Messrs. Tubbs Bank of Bicester. The London Joint City and Midland Bank purchased control of the Clydesdale Bank, and the National Provincial absorbed the Northamptonshire Union Bank, Richards & Co., and Shilson, Coode & Co. The London County, Westminster, and Parr's Bank absorbed Beckett & Co.'s Bank of Leeds and York, leaving only one English bank of issue in existence, Messrs. Fox, Fowler & Co.

In December Farrow's Bank, an institution with 4,000,000*l.* of deposits mostly obtained from persons of small means, suspended payment, and the depositors were not expected to get more than 3*s.* in the pound. This position was not due to general credit conditions, but to other causes.

The turnover of money in the shape of cheques, bills, etc., was enormous, and greatly exceeded all previous records. The statement of the London Bankers' Clearing House showed that the total of bills, cheques, etc., cleared in 1920 was 39,018,903,000*l.*, an increase of 10,603,521,000*l.* on 1919. The total for 1920 actually exceeded that for 1913 by no less than 22,500,000,000*l.* The great expansion in the turnover at the Bankers' Clearing House commenced in the latter half of 1919 and progressed during 1920, especially during the first half of the year. Several factors operated to account for this enormous development, among which may be cited the continual maturing and renewal of large amounts of Treasury Bills, the very large increase in industrial issues, the continuous increase from the beginning of the year to April in the price of all commodities and services, the activity of industry during the first six months of the year, and also the great development of foreign exchange transactions during the period under review. The rapid expansion of the foreign exchange business was one of the chief features of British banking in 1920. Industrial unrest without doubt made its sinister influence felt on the figures, especially during the fourth quarter of the year. The following was an abstract of records of the London Bankers' Clearing House to date: Record day—Friday, December 31, 1920, 229,396,000*l.*; Record week—week ended May 5, 1920, 900,374,000*l.*; Record month—March, 1920, 3,661,969,000*l.*; Record year—1920, 39,018,903,000*l.*

The turnover of the New York Clearing House for the twelve months ended November 30, 1920 (the dollar being taken at 4*s.* for comparison's sake), was approximately 48,895,067,000*l.*, showing an increase of 3,298,699,000*l.*, as compared with the year ended November 30, 1919.

The legal maximum for 1920 of the fiduciary issue of currency notes was fixed at 320,600,000*l.* The highest figure actually attained was 317,555,200*l.* in the week ended December 22, and this is the legal maximum for the current year. In the table subjoined the currency position is shown as existing at the end of the past three years:—

Currency Notes.	End December, 1920.	End December, 1919.	End December, 1918.
	£	£	£
Issued total . . . .	364,924,800	356,152,000	323,240,500
Reserve :—			
Gold . . . . .	23,500,000	28,500,000	28,500,000
Bank of England notes . . . .	19,450,000	4,000,000	nil.
Reserve ratio . . . . .	13·1 per cent.	9·1 per cent.	8·8 per cent.
Fiduciary issue . . . . .	316,974,800	323,652,000	294,740,500

During the year the gold held by the joint stock banks, estimated at 40,000,000*l.*, was transferred to the Bank of England. The policy of strengthening the gold and Bank of England note cover of the currency note issue, by raising the ratio from 9·1 per cent. to 13·1 per cent. had the effect of weakening the Bank of England's reserve position as is shown in the following table. The increase in the note circulation was chiefly due to the transfer of Bank of England notes to the currency note redemption account.

Bank of England.	December, 1920.	December, 1919.	December, 1918.
	£	£	£
Coin and bullion . . . . .	128,267,000	91,342,200	79,110,800
Note circulation . . . . .	132,851,100	91,350,000	70,306,000
Public deposits . . . . .	14,304,800	19,213,200	23,642,700
Other deposits . . . . .	175,554,600	180,637,900	149,037,000
Reserve (Notes and Coin) . . . .	13,866,500	18,442,200	27,253,800
Ratio . . . . .	7·3 per cent.	9·2 per cent.	15·8 per cent.
Government securities . . . . .	107,864,806	92,469,200	71,105,700
Other securities . . . . .	86,028,200	106,777,600	92,140,100

At one period the Bank of England's ratio of reserve to liabilities fell to 7½ per cent., the lowest proportion on record.

The chaotic condition of the foreign exchanges was one of the dominating features of the year. The value of European currencies fluctuated in the most extraordinary manner; at times the market was completely demoralised. Austrian kronen, for instance, moved 400 points in four days; and the extraordinary character of the fluctuations had the effect of reducing international commerce to a gamble in paper currencies. Generally speaking, the value of European currencies, expressed in gold and sterling, continued to decline throughout the year, and the closing quotations of the year were very little above the lowest points touched during the year. In the early part of the year the pound fell steadily until on February 4 the American Exchange touched \$3·20½; it recovered to \$4·02½ in April, largely as a result of the British Government's declaration that it would repay the American Loan of 50,000,000*l.*, issued in New York, in 1915, in the following October. With the approach of the harvest period the rate fell to \$3·33½ (in November), but it rallied to \$3·54½ against \$3·76 at the close of 1919. In relation to all other currencies, however, the pound sterling was of higher value at the end of the year. This recovery in the pound was the outstanding feature, for it showed that national finance is chiefly responsible for the movement of exchange.

Great Britain was the only European country of importance to equate its Budget in 1920, and stop the use of the printing press. The extraordinary condition of the Exchanges, reflecting the disorganisation of Europe, led to the holding of a conference of financial experts of thirty-nine nations at Brussels in December. This conference was a notable event; it was the first of its kind, and established a precedent of great importance in the history of nations. The conference was a great success in that it helped to clear the atmosphere in which national finance had been discussed. It laid down certain principles of guidance; but its only practical result was the adoption of a scheme for giving credit to distressed countries, on certain conditions which provided for the mortgage of assets in the importing country. This scheme was put forward by M. Ter Meulen, a Dutch banker, but at the end of the year it was not in operation. The following table is reproduced from *The Times' Annual Financial Review* :—

	Parity.	Dec. 31, 1920.	Dec. 31, 1919.	During 1920.	
				Highest.	Lowest.
New York -	\$4·86½	3·54½	3·75½	4·02½	3·20½
Montreal -	\$4·86½	4·10½	4·13	4·59	3·65
Paris -	25f. 22½c.	59·70	41·09	68·80	40·75
Brussels -	25f. 22½c.	56·85	40·40	63·65	40·40
Rome -	25lr. 22½c.	101·50	50·12½	106·00	50·00
Bukarest -	25lei. 22½c.	283·50	—	325·00	120·00
Belgrade -	25d. 22½c.	127·50	—	—	—
Madrid -	25p. 22½c.	26·48	19·68	28·90	18·98
Berne -	25f. 22½c.	28·16	21·12	23·33	19·40
Athens -	25dr. 22½c.	48·12½	25·62½	49·50	25·40
Helsingfors -	25m. 22½pf.	116·50	126·50	108·00	59·00
Petrograd -	93r. 87½	—	—	405 <sup>1</sup>	110 <sup>1</sup>
Lisbon -	53½d.	6½	20	20	5½
Amsterdam -	12fl. 10c.	11·26	10·13	11·50	8·65
Berlin -	20m. 43pf.	258·00	187·50	365·00	120·00
Vienna -	24kr. 02c.	1,525	655	1,600	480
Prague -	24kr. 02c.	307·50	—	450	130
Warsaw -	20m. 43pf.	2,250	—	2,300	370
Christiania -	18kr. 16	23·65	19·80	26·78	18·57
Stockholm -	18kr. 16	17·69	18·60	18·51	17·07
Copenhagen -	18kr. 16	23·12	17·60	25·91	19·60
Alexandria -	87½p.	97·7½	97½	—	—
Bombay -	2s.	1/5½	2/4½	2/9½	1/4½
Calcutta -	2s.	1/5½	2/4½	2/9½	1/4½
Madras -	2s.	1/5½	2/4½	2/9½	1/4½
Hongkong -	—	3/2½	4/10½	—	—
Yokohama -	24½d.	2/8½	2/8½	3/0½	2/4
Shanghai -	—	4/1½	8/1	9/6	3/10½
Singapore -	—	2/3½	2/4½	2/4½	2/3½
Manila -	24·06d.	2/6	—	2/7½	2/3½
Rio de Janeiro -	27d.	9½	17½	18½	9½
Buenos Aires -	47·58d.	51½	62½	78½	50½
Valparaiso -	18d.	9½	12	16½	9½
Montevideo -	51d.	50	65½	78	49½
Lima -	Par.	17½% dis.	7½% dis.	30½% dis.	14½% dis.
Mexico -	24·58d.	34½	—	36½	29½

<sup>1</sup> During the war.

The year 1920 witnessed an extraordinarily large output of new capital. The emission of new capital reached its climax in March (at the top of the trade boom); during the summer the output was steady but of less volume, but towards the end of the year it began to increase in volume once more. In part it was but a reflection of the enormous demand for credit by traders. Bankers pressed traders and manufacturers for the repayment of overdrafts, and they obtained the money to do so from the public. Heavy tax payments were also made by means of a new issue of capital. Excluding British Government loans the total for 1920 was greater than in any previous year. The figure was 367,549,600*l.* against 211,424,100*l.* in 1919. A remarkable feature of the year's flotations was that the bulk of the money was intended for employment in the United Kingdom, and not as before the war outside these islands. The destination of the new capital was as follows:—

	1920.	1919.	1918.	1917.
	£	£	£	£.
United Kingdom - -	328,021,400	35,951,200	45,335,300	26,145,900
British Possessions - -	31,639,800	76,137,200	72,642,400	64,994,800
• Foreign countries - -	7,888,400	84,448,600	92,872,300	100,618,700
Total - -	367,549,600	196,537,000	210,850,000	191,759,400

At the beginning of the year Stock Exchange markets were booming; and extraordinary activity marked the industrial and speculative sections. The oil market roared ceaselessly, and other markets with the same speculative attractions roared in sympathy. Membership nominations rose in price to 650*l.*, and there was a great congestion of work in brokers' offices which were nightly kept open until late in the evening. The introduction of the Budget, with its unpleasant reminder of the burden of taxation, administered the first check to the buoyancy of markets; the collapse of the foreign exchanges later caused a steady stream of liquidation, which was increased when the heavy fall in wholesale prices and the unsaleability of many commodities forced traders to realise securities in a steadily growing volume. The pressure for money to pay excess profits duty, and to finance production and distribution also caused a steady stream of liquidation in the gilt-edged market, and British Government securities fell to a level giving a return of well over 6 per cent. per annum. In the third week of December some of the leading gilt-edged stocks touched the lowest points on record; Consols marked down to 43½, the Five Per Cent. War Loan to 81½, Victory Bonds to 70½, and Funding Loan to 65½. The *Bankers' Magazine* calculations showed that 387 representative securities decreased in value during 1920 by nearly 315,000,000*l.*, namely, from 2,634,484,000*l.* to 2,319,777,000*l.* This decrease of 315,000,000*l.* followed a decrease of 166,500,000*l.* in 1919, and is the heaviest fall ever recorded in one year. British and Indian funds fell in value, during 1920 by 11·9 per cent.; foreign Government stocks by 18·8 per cent., Home Railway stocks by



17·3 per cent., and Foreign Railway stocks by 23·5 per cent. Commercial and industrial securities declined in value by no less than 40·9 per cent., against a rise in 1919 of 12·1 per cent. Iron and Steel shares suffered a depreciation of 33·7 per cent., shipping securities of 21·7 per cent., and South African mining shares of 39·2 per cent. The year closed with a slight recovery in some markets, but on the whole it was a disappointing year for members and a disastrous period for the investing public. Indeed the losses of the investor caused him to lose all interest in speculative stocks and to turn once more to gilt-edged stocks.

Despite the great slackening of trade in the last part of the period, 1920 witnessed a large increase in British Overseas trade, which, in fact, established a new "record" in value. The increase in the value of trade has indeed been described as marvellous. Exports of home produce and manufactures increased in much greater ratio than imports. The total value of the year's trade was 3,494,717,000*l.*, an increase of 905,176,000*l.* over 1919, which held the previous highest record. Imports were valued at 1,936,742,000*l.*, an increase of 310,586,000*l.*; and British exports at 1,335,569,000*l.*, an increase of 536,931,000*l.* Re-exports rose by 57,660,000*l.* to 222,456,000*l.* Thus the total of exports increased by 61½ per cent. against an increase of 19 per cent. in imports. Higher prices accounted for large part of the increase, but the weight of trade, though only about 80 per cent. of the 1913 total, was much larger than in 1919. The apparent adverse balance of trade was 387,750,000*l.* against 662,750,000*l.* in 1919. But as our invisible exports were estimated at about 400,000,000*l.*, the year 1920 witnessed the restoration as far as this country is concerned, of a favourable trade balance.

The world's production of new shipping diminished considerably in 1920 as compared with 1919. The tonnage decreased from 7,144,500 tons to 5,861,600 tons. Nevertheless the latter total shows an increase of more than 2,500,000 tons on the output for 1913, which was the highest pre-war figure. But in spite of the decrease in the world's total the output of ships in the United Kingdom was higher than in 1919, the total being 2,055,600 tons, an increase of 435,000 tons. This total exceeded the 1913 output by 142,300 tons, or 26 per cent. The bulk of the decrease in the world's production—92 per cent. in fact—was accounted for by a decrease in the output of American yards. The decrease in the United States was no less than 1,599,100 tons, the total being 2,746,200 tons, which exceeded the British figure by 420,600 tons. The United States output was nine times greater than in 1913, and represented 42 per cent. of the world's combined output for 1920. At the close of the year the outlook in industry was by no means favourable. Many contracts had been cancelled owing to high costs, and the fall in freights.

Production of pig iron fell off considerably on account of a strike of coal-miners in the autumn. The year's output was approximately 8,000,000 tons against 7,398,000 tons in 1919, and 10,260,000 tons in 1913. Production of steel ingots and castings, however, eclipsed the 1913 record; the tonnage was 9,000,000 tons of steel against 7,894,000 tons in 1919, and 7,665,000 tons in 1913. The history of the coal trade was described as a record of industrial, commercial, financial, and administrative

chaos. The outstanding feature was the decline in output, which presented a grave problem in the first part of the year. In 1913 the output was 287,500,000 tons; in 1918, 227,750,000, in 1919, 229,500,000, and in 1920, 228,911,141 tons. On October 16 a strike began and lasted until November 4, when work was resumed on the basis of an immediate concession of 2s. per week up to December 31, wages being adjusted after that date according to output, miners continuing to receive the extra 2s. on a production ranging from 246,000,000 to 250,000,000 tons per annum. But though the wages were liable to increase with a rise in output, no reduction was provided for if the price of coal fell, and this makes certain a deadlock sooner or later, which will compel a fresh adjustment of wages to prices and output. The inland price of coal was kept below the net cost of production and the revenue was really obtained from export and bunkering coal, the f.o.b. price of which ranged from 68s. 8d. per ton up to 89s. 9d. per ton.

The insurance industry enjoyed a big increase in business owing to the rise in prices, but the cotton and woollen industries after a period of great activity relapsed into a state of almost complete stagnation. The year 1920 closed amidst a state of great depression with the majority of merchants in difficulties owing to the fall in prices. But the fall was like the previous rise, overdone, and it was obvious that though the number of unemployed had reached 1,250,000, the period of depression would be relatively short. At the same time it was obvious, also, that costs of production would have to be reduced to enable the country to maintain its foreign trade in competition with other countries. The period of acute shortage had passed, and competition was reviving and giving promise of progress towards more stable conditions.

## PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

### TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN FRANCE, RUSSIA, GREAT BRITAIN, AND ITALY, SIGNED AT LONDON ON APRIL 26, 1915, ON THE EVE OF THE ENTRANCE OF ITALY INTO THE WAR.

THE text is as follows :—

By Order of his Government the Marquis Imperiali, Ambassador of His Majesty the King of Italy, has the honour to communicate to the Rt. Hon. Sir Edward Grey, His Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and to their Excellencies M. Paul Cambon, Ambassador of the French Republic, and to Count de Benckendorff, Ambassador of His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, the following memorandum :—

ARTICLE 1.—A military convention shall be immediately concluded between the General Staffs of France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia. This convention shall settle the minimum number of military forces to be employed by Russia against Austria-Hungary in order to prevent that Power from concentrating all its strength against Italy, in the event of Russia deciding to direct her principal effort against Germany.

This military convention shall settle question of armistices, which necessarily comes within the scope of the Commanders-in-chief of the Armies.

ARTICLE 2.—On her part, Italy undertakes to use her entire resources for the purpose of waging war jointly with France, Great Britain, and Russia against all their enemies.

ARTICLE 3.—The French and British fleets shall render active and permanent assistance to Italy until such time as the Austro-Hungarian fleet shall have been destroyed or until peace shall have been concluded.

A naval convention shall be immediately concluded to this effect between France, Great Britain, and Italy.

ARTICLE 4.—Under the Treaty of Peace, Italy shall obtain the Trentino, Cisalpine Tyrol with its geographical and natural frontier (the Brenner frontier), as well as Trieste, the counties of Gorizia and Gradioca, all Istria as far as the Quarnero and including Volosca and the Istrian Islands of Cherso and Lussin, as well as the small islands of Plavnik, Unie, Canidole, Palazzuoli, San Pietro di Nembi, Asinello, Gruica, and the neighbouring islets.

NOTE.—The frontier required to ensure execution of Article 4 hereof shall be traced as follows :—

From the Piz Umbrail as far as north of the Stelvio, it shall follow the crest of the Rhetian Alps up to the sources of the Adige and the Eisach, then following the Reschen and Brenner mountains and the Oetz and Ziller heights. The frontier shall then bend towards the south, cross Mt. Toblach and join the present frontier of the Carnic Alps. It shall follow this frontier line as far as Mt. Tarvis and from Mt. Tarvis the watershed of the Julian Alps by the Predil Pass, Mt. Mangart, the Tricorno (Terglu), and the watersheds of the Podberdo, Podlaniscam, and Idria passes. From this point the frontier shall follow a south-easterly direction towards the Schneeberg, leaving the entire basin of the Save and its tributaries outside Italian territory. From the Schneeberg, the frontier shall come down to the coast in such a way as to include Castua, Mattuglia and Volosca within Italian territory.

ARTICLE 5.—Italy shall also be given the province of Dalmatia within its present administrative boundaries, including to the north Lisarica and Tribania; to the south as far as a line starting from Cape Planka on the coast and following eastwards the crests of the heights forming the watershed, in such a way as to leave within Italian territory all the valleys and streams flowing towards Sebenico—such as the Cicola, Kerka, Butisnica, and their tributaries. She shall also obtain all the islands situate to the north and west of Dalmatia, from Premuda, Selve, Ulbo, Scherda, Maon, Pago, and Patadura to the north, up to Meleda to the south including Sant' Andrea, Busi, Lissa, Lesina, Tercola, Curzola, Cazza, and Lagosta, as well as the neighbouring rocks and islets and Pelagosa, with the exception of Greater and Lesser Zirona, Bua, Solta, and Brazza.

To be neutralised :—

(1) The entire coast from Cape Planka on the north to the southern base of the peninsula of Sabbioncello in the south, so as to include the whole of that peninsula; (2) the portion of the coast which begins in the north at a point situated 10 kilometres south of the headland of Ragusa Vecchia extending southward as far as the River Voïussa, in such a way as to include the gulf and ports of Cattaro, Antivari, Dulcigno, St. Jean de Medua, and Durazzo, without prejudice to the rights of Montenegro consequent on the declarations exchanged between the Powers in April and May, 1909. As these rights only apply to the present Montenegrin territory, they cannot be extended to any territory or ports which may be assigned to Montenegro. Consequently neutralisation shall not apply to any part of the coast now belonging to Montenegro. There shall be maintained all restrictions concerning the port of Antivari which were accepted by Montenegro in 1909; (3) finally, all the islands not given to Italy.

NOTE.—The following Adriatic territory shall be assigned by the four Allied Powers to Croatia, Serbia, and Montenegro :—

In the Upper Adriatic, the whole coast from the bay of Volosca on the borders of Istria as far as the northern frontier of Dalmatia, including the coast which is at present Hungarian and all the coast of Croatia, with the port of Fiume and the small ports of Novi and Carlopago, as well as the islands of Veglia, Pervichio, Gregorio, Goli, and Arbe. And, in the Lower Adriatic (in the region interesting Serbia and Montenegro)

the whole coast from Cape Planka as far as the River Drin, with the important harbours of Spalato, Ragusa, Cattaro, Antivari, Dulcigno, and St. Jean de Medua and the islands of Greater and Lesser Zirona, Bua, Solta, Brazza, Jaclian, and Calamotta. The port of Durazzo to be assigned to the independent Moslem State of Albania.

ARTICLE 6.—Italy shall receive full sovereignty over Valona, the island of Saseno, and surrounding territory of sufficient extent to assure defence of these points (from the Voiussa to the north and east approximately to the northern boundary of the district of Chimara on the south).

ARTICLE 7.—Should Italy obtain the Trentino and Istria in accordance with the provisions of Article 4, together with Dalmatia and the Adriatic islands within the limits specified in Article 5, and the Bay of Valona (Article 6), and if the central portion of Albania is reserved for the establishment of a small autonomous neutralised State, Italy shall not oppose the division of Northern and Southern Albania between Montenegro, Serbia, and Greece, should France, Great Britain, and Russia so desire. The coast from the southern boundary of the Italian territory of Valona (see Article 6) up to Cape Stylos shall be neutralised.

Italy shall be charged with the representation of the State of Albania in its relations with foreign Powers.

Italy agrees, moreover, to leave sufficient territory in any event to the east of Albania to ensure the existence of a frontier line between Greece and Serbia to the west of Lake Ochrida.

ARTICLE 8.—Italy shall receive entire sovereignty over the Dodecanese Islands which she is at present occupying.

ARTICLE 9.—Generally speaking, France, Great Britain, and Russia recognise that Italy is interested in the maintenance of the balance of power in the Mediterranean and that, in the event of the total or partial partition of Turkey in Asia, she ought to obtain a just share of the Mediterranean region adjacent to the province of Adalia, where Italy has already acquired rights and interests which formed the subject of an Italo-British convention. The zone which shall eventually be allotted to Italy shall be delimited, at the proper time, due account being taken of the existing interests of France and Great Britain.

The interests of Italy shall also be taken into consideration in the event of the territorial integrity of the Turkish Empire being maintained and of alterations being made in the zones of interest of the Powers.

If France, Great Britain, and Russia occupy any territories in Turkey in Asia during the course of the war, the Mediterranean region bordering on the Province of Adalia within the limits indicated above shall be reserved to Italy, who shall be entitled to occupy it.

ARTICLE 10.—All rights and privileges in Libya at present belonging to the Sultan by virtue of the Treaty of Lausanne are transferred to Italy.

ARTICLE 11.—Italy shall receive a share of any eventual war indemnity corresponding to her efforts and her sacrifices.

ARTICLE 12.—Italy declares that she associates herself in the declaration made by France, Great Britain, and Russia to the effect that

Arabia and the Moslem Holy Places in Arabia shall be left under the authority of an independent Moslem Power.

ARTICLE 13.—In the event of France and Great Britain increasing their colonial territories in Africa at the expense of Germany, those two Powers agree in principle that Italy may claim some equitable compensation, particularly as regards the settlement in her favour of the questions relative to the frontiers of the Italian colonies of Eritrea, Somaliland, and Libya and the neighbouring colonies belonging to France and Great Britain.

ARTICLE 14.—Great Britain undertakes to facilitate the immediate conclusion, under equitable conditions, of a loan of at least 50,000,000*l.* to be issued on the London market.

ARTICLE 15.—France, Great Britain, and Russia shall support such opposition as Italy may make to any proposal in the direction of introducing a representative of the Holy See in any peace negotiations or negotiations for the settlement of questions raised by the present war.

ARTICLE 16.—The present arrangement shall be held secret. The adherence of Italy to the Declaration of September 5, 1914, shall alone be made public, immediately upon declaration of war by or against Italy.

After having taken act of the foregoing memorandum, the representatives of France, Great Britain, and Russia, duly authorised to that effect, have concluded the following agreement with the representative of Italy, also duly authorised by his Government :—

France, Great Britain, and Russia gave their full assent to the memorandum presented by the Italian Government.

With reference to Articles 1, 2, and 3 of the memorandum which provide for military and naval co-operation between the four Powers, Italy declares that she will take the field at the earliest possible date and within a period not exceeding one month from the signature of these presents.

In faith whereof the undersigned have signed the present agreement and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done at London, in quadruplicate, the 26th day of April, 1915.

(L.S.)	E. GREY.
(L.S.)	IMPERIALI.
(L.S.)	BENCKENDORFF.
(L.S.)	PAUL CAMBON.

TEXT OF THE DECLARATION OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF  
THE PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS  
OF THE WORLD.

(APPROVED BY THE COUNCIL ON MARCH 8.)

THE Supreme Council of the Peace Conference has taken into consideration the causes which combine to produce the present high cost of living, and now thinks it desirable to publish the following declaration :—

1. The war which the democracies of Western Europe were forced to undertake in defence of their liberties and which they have carried to a triumphant conclusion has necessarily entailed the disorganisation of the whole economic position of Europe.

This disorganisation is reflected in the rise of prices which is at present the source of universal discontent among the peoples, belligerent and neutral alike. History shows that high prices are the invariable result of war, and in comparison with most wars the present situation is far from abnormal. In the Napoleonic wars prices in England rose 75 per cent., and took eight years to become normal again. In the American Civil War American prices rose 100 per cent. and took twelve years or more to become normal. As the result of this war, the most gigantic of all in the history of the world, general wholesale prices (as distinct from the cost of living) have advanced since 1913 approximately as follows:—

The United States	-	-	-	-	-	-	120 per cent.
Great Britain	-	-	-	-	-	-	170 „
France	-	-	-	-	-	-	300 „
Italy	-	-	-	-	-	-	300 „
Belgium	-	-	-	-	-	-	300 „

Many causes contribute to this rise in prices, but they may all be regarded as directly or indirectly the consequences of war. For nearly five years the energies of the people have been diverted from the work of production to the work of destruction; for nearly five years the creation of new resources has been stopped, and the resources of past generations consumed or destroyed. To feed and equip the nations engaged in this struggle, their Governments had to mortgage the prospective wealth of their countries in the form of credits or paper money. The excessive creation of these tokens of prospective wealth, as compared with the volume of real wealth, is indicated by the rise in prices.

Nothing but the hard necessities of war could have justified or excused this procedure. Its dangers are obvious. Public appreciation of the necessity of maintaining a strict balance between normal revenue and expenditure is weakened, and the ordinary individual is misled by the illusion of prosperity to believe that there is an increase in *real* wealth and an abundance of available supplies, and is encouraged in habits of extravagance.

Government action may mitigate or disguise some of the effects of the rise in prices, but it cannot remove the root cause, which is the destruction of wealth. This loss of wealth is, after all, but a small matter compared with the sacrifice of life which was freely given during the war to overthrow militarism and re-establish national liberty in Europe. But its effects can only be healed by the passage of time, and the people of Europe, if they wish to expedite the process, must contribute to the works of peace the same ardour and devotion as they gave to the prosecution of the war. In the subjoined review of the position the Conference indicates the lines on which it considers that a solution of the problem can best be found; but it is vain to expect that the results of the war can be eliminated by a stroke of the pen.

2. At present Europe is far from having returned to the conditions of complete peace. Russia is stated to have in the field armies of 1,500,000 men or more, and the disbandment of these armies is, of course, a primary condition of European peace. But many also of the countries which have been created or enlarged as the outcome of the war have still the appearance of armed camps; and not fewer than 1,000,000 men are still under arms in Poland, Rumania, and the new States created out of Austria-Hungary. Moreover, although armed conflict has ceased, the mutual rivalries and antipathies which are the natural legacy of war still dominate many of the nations of Europe, and are leading to the erection of artificial economic barriers which must seriously hamper, if they do not entirely prevent, the restoration of the common prosperity.

The first step to the reconstruction of Europe is to complete the process of demobilisation in all countries, to resume the full employment in peaceful pursuits of the whole of the able-bodied population, and to encourage by every means the normal interchange of their products. Until peaceful conditions have thus been resumed in every branch of life, Europe, which has suffered so terribly during the past years of strife, will continue to suffer from the restlessness and lack of confidence which is the natural consequence of the upheaval through which she has passed.

3. Liberty has, indeed, been preserved to Europe, and the threat of military domination is gone. This great achievement has, however, left victors and vanquished alike impoverished and enfeebled. Death or disablement has removed from the work of production millions of men in the prime of life; and millions more have had their efficiency impaired by sufferings on the field of battle, or through pestilence, or privations at home. Instead of having the assistance of these sons, each country has to provide, in the most generous measure possible, for the maintenance of the maimed, and for the families of the fallen, and this must for many years to come be the first charge on the national income. Meanwhile, those who remain have not yet recovered the former habit of industry, and have not yet re-adjusted their standard of output to compensate for the reduction of hours which public opinion in all countries has demanded and is securing. At the same time, of the machinery which might have made good these deficiencies much has been destroyed, and more has been worn out, no adequate renewals being possible during the war. In particular, all means of transport have been disorganised, and the efficiency of the railway systems has been universally impaired.

To these general losses must be added the special disturbances of production in each country. For example, a large portion of the most fertile territory, more especially in France and in the North of Italy, has been devastated; while in France also industrial centres and mining areas, of vital importance to her industries, have been completely destroyed, and will not be able to resume production for years to come. In Belgium, similarly, the national industries suffered greatly during the period of occupation. Germany, on the other hand, has its industrial establishments intact but is paralysed by lack of capital and



credit and by the disorganisation bred of defeat ; while in the case of Austria these conditions have led to the complete breakdown of her economic life. Russia has passed through all the throes of civil strife, and is still the victim of confusion and anarchy. Each country suffers from a different difficulty, but each contributes its share to the common deficit.

In agriculture, Russia, which before the war was the most important granary of Europe, and of whose products Europe is in such need, either has not been producing at all or has not been able to exchange with her neighbours such products as she has. Rumania, which before the war exported annually over 6,000,000 quarters of wheat, has altered her system of land tenure and is now ceasing to produce more than suffices for the immediate needs of her own population ; indeed, on December 1 last it was stated that only 530,000 hectares had been sown, as compared with an annual average before the war of 1,900,000 hectares, though some improvement has since taken place. Other countries again, such as France and Germany, which were largely self-supporting, are unable at the present moment, owing to the devastation of the land, the destruction of buildings and machinery, or the lack of capital and fertilisers, to produce more than a fraction of what is required for their own needs, and have been increasingly driven to compete in the world market for the limited supplies now available.

Again, in regard to coal, production in every country has been decreased, the approximate figures of output in metric tons for 1913 and 1919 respectively being as follows :—

	1913.	1919.
United Kingdom - - - - -	292,000,000	234,000,000
France (including Lorraine) - - -	44,000,000	22,000,000
Germany <sup>1</sup> (excluding Saar and Lorraine) -	173,000,000	109,000,000
United States - - - - -	517,000,000	495,000,000

Although detailed statistics are not available, such information as we have goes to show that the output of factories and manufacturing industries throughout the world is below the standard which prevailed before the war, and far below the demands now made upon them. The net result of under-production arising from these various causes is an acute shortage of the essential supplies on which the economic life of Europe depends.

This situation requires to be met with the same courage as was displayed on both sides during the war. The energy which was then thrown into the production of food-stuffs must be revived and re-doubled in order to restore the situation. It must be made a point of honour with the tillers of the soil in every country to show that peace can extract from nature more than war. Europe must take measures to provide herself more largely with the food she requires in order that she may resume her full activities, and much can be effected if the necessary preparations are made without delay.

In regard to industry generally, each Government must take steps to impress on its people that the limitation of production directly assists the upward movement of prices, and that it is by increasing production

<sup>1</sup> Exclusive of lignite.

that they can best help to solve the problem. Every proposal which may assist in this direction deserves the closest attention.

Governments must co-operate in the reconstruction of the common economic life in Europe, which is vitally inter-related, by facilitating the regular interchange of their products and by avoiding arbitrary obstruction of the natural flow of European trade.

The Powers represented at the Conference reaffirm their determination to collaborate with a view to the execution of these aims.

4. Meanwhile, instead of restricting the standard of consumption, in view of this shortage of supplies, there is a general tendency to make heavier and heavier demands for the limited quantities of goods that are available. The increase of consumption takes the form of an intensified demand for commodities of every description. The demand not only for food-stuffs, but for clothing, boots, and other manufactured articles is in most countries far in excess of the supply, while luxuries of every kind command a readier sale than at almost any previous period.

The general extravagance now observable throughout the world is a phenomenon which has almost invariably followed in the footsteps of every great human catastrophe. It is well known to those who have lived in a district which has suffered from earthquake, and the history of the great plagues of Europe amply illustrates it; and the results have always been economically disastrous for the populations affected. It must be one of the first aims of each Government to take such measures as appear appropriate to the circumstances of its own people to bring home to every citizen the fact that for the time being, until supplies are increased, it is by diminished consumption and unselfish denial that they are best able to help themselves and the world, and that extravagance increases the national difficulties and perils.

5. The immense increase in the spending power of Europe which is reflected in this extravagance has been brought about by credit and currency inflation during the war. Broadly speaking, the general level of prices may be said to be the expression of the ratio between spending power on the one hand and the volume of purchasable goods and services on the other. In order to prosecute the war, particularly in European countries, every Government found it necessary to increase the amount of currency in circulation. Unable to raise sufficient funds by taxation and by loans from real savings, they were compelled to resort to borrowing from the banks and the use of the printing press. Additional spending power was thus placed in the hands of the public at a time when the volume of purchasable goods was being reduced. For example, the note circulation has grown approximately as follows:—

In the United Kingdom from 30,000,000*l.* in 1913 to nearly 450,000,000*l.* at the end of 1919.

(About 120,000,000*l.* of the latter figure takes the place of gold coins in circulation in 1913.)

In France<sup>1</sup> from 230,000,000*l.* in 1913 to 1,500,000,000*l.* in 1919.

In Italy<sup>1</sup> from 110,000,000*l.* in 1913 to 700,000,000*l.* in 1919.

In Belgium<sup>1</sup> from 40,000,000*l.* in 1913 to 200,000,000*l.* in 1920.

<sup>1</sup> The national currencies have in each case been converted into sterling at approximately par of exchange.

While the war debts (which are closely connected with inflation) amount, in the case of the United Kingdom, to over 7,000,000,000*l*.

In France<sup>1</sup> to 6,750,000,000*l*.

In Italy<sup>1</sup> to 2,750,000,000*l*.

In Germany<sup>1</sup> (apart from liabilities for reparation) to 9,500,000,000*l*.

In the United States<sup>1</sup> to 5,000,000,000*l*.

The total war debt of the world is approximately 40,000,000,000*l*.

Throughout Europe prices at present are with few exceptions paper prices. But gold prices have also risen, that is to say, gold has a lower purchasing power than it had before the war. This is the inevitable result of the many economies which have been effected in the use of gold for monetary purposes and, on the other hand, of the dispersal of stocks of gold previously held in Europe and their excessive accumulation in other countries. Thus, in the United States, although the gold standard remains effective, prices have advanced 120 per cent. over the pre-war level. As the purchasing power of gold is ultimately the measure of price, it must be obvious that this change is itself responsible for much of the increase in the price of commodities, when expressed in terms of the currencies of all countries.

A considerable part of the rise in prices in Europe is due to this depreciation of gold, but there is an additional depreciation due to excessive issues of paper currency. The continual expansion of paper issues, with its necessary consequence of continuously depreciating exchange, prevents the grant of the commercial credits required by the situation and thus fatally hampers the resumption of international commerce.

It is essential to the recovery of Europe that the manufacture of additional paper money and Government credits should be brought to an end and this must be effected as soon as the war expenditure has been terminated.

6. Excessive profit-making, commonly known as profiteering, has resulted from the scarcity of goods. Deflation and a check upon the continuous rise of prices will do much in itself to end the conditions that make profiteering possible. But it is essential, in order to obtain the co-operation of all classes in the increase of production, that each Government should take such steps as are appropriate to the circumstances of its own people to assure and guarantee to the workers that the burdens that they are called upon by their efforts to remedy are not aggravated by those who would exploit the economic difficulties of Europe for their own personal ends.

7. Demobilisation has been effected by the Powers represented at the Conference at a far speedier rate than could have been anticipated, but heavy abnormal expenditure resulting from the war still requires to be met (particularly in connexion with the restoration of the devastated areas). Such charges must be regarded as part of the war burden, but in order to stop the process of inflation and to start the process of deflation the necessary measures must be initiated by every country to balance recurrent Government expenditure with national income and to

<sup>1</sup> The national currencies have in each case been converted into sterling at approximately par of exchange.

begin at the earliest possible moment the reduction of the floating debts. The best remedy of all is that debts should be reduced out of revenue, but in so far as this is not possible, floating debts should be consolidated by means of long term loans raised out of the savings of the people, and it is out of the savings of the people that any fresh capital expenditure must be provided. The Governments here represented have undertaken the consideration of the measures required for this purpose.

8. But private economy is not less urgent than economy in Government expenditure. It is only by means of frugal living on the part of all classes of the nation that the capital can be saved which is urgently required for the repair of war damage, and for restoring efficiency to the equipment of industry upon which future production depends. It is of the utmost importance that it should be brought home to every citizen in each country that just as in the war their private savings made available for the Government goods and services urgently needed for the prosecution of hostilities, so in the period of reconstruction economy by individuals will reduce the cost of essential articles both for themselves and for their fellows, and will set free capital for the reconstruction of their country and the restoration of the machinery of industry throughout the world.

9. Commercial intercourse, on the resumption of which the recovery of the world depends, is governed by the foreign exchanges, and most of the foreign exchanges have been to a greater or less extent disorganised during the past year. The discount of European currencies on New York approximately stands as follows :—

Pound Sterling	-	-	-	-	-	-	30 per cent.
Franc (Paris)	-	-	-	-	-	-	64 "
Franc (Brussels)	-	-	-	-	-	-	62 "
Lira	-	-	-	-	-	-	72 "
Mark	-	-	-	-	-	-	96 "

The state of the exchanges does not reflect the true financial situation of the countries concerned, provided their industrial life can be resumed. It is in part the result of depreciation in the purchasing power of the several currencies, but in part it results from the failure of exports. Many countries are temporarily dependent on the importation of food, raw material, and other necessities, and are not in a position to export nearly sufficient to furnish the requisite means of payment. The result has been severe competition for the very limited supply of bills of exchange, which has forced down the rate of exchange beyond the point which properly represents the purchasing power of currencies in the buying and selling countries. In the degree in which rates of exchange are so forced down, the prices of imports are forced up, and the prices of food and raw material increased. The ultimate cure is to raise exports to the requisite amount, and this should be impressed on the trading communities affected, but it is not immediately possible to increase exports sufficiently, and unless steps are taken to furnish a substitute the situation will rapidly become worse. It is therefore urgent to obtain a temporary balance of trade by means of commercial credits

accompanied by the reduction of all non-essential imports to an absolute minimum.

10. Attempts to manipulate the exchanges by Government action will only retard ultimate recovery. Meanwhile means must be found to prevent the breakdown of trading operations. At the present moment, the Governments of Europe are not in a position to furnish more Government loans except to a very limited extent for the purpose of relieving extreme distress, and State aid in this matter would be at the best entirely inadequate. It is from the resumption of commercial credits that the necessary means must be found for securing the interchange of the resources of the world, and the Conference is assured that such credits will be forthcoming as soon as Governments have taken steps to strengthen confidence in their commercial and financial policy.

The Powers represented at the Conference recognise, however, the necessity of continued collaboration in this matter, and they will continue to consult together regarding the provision and distribution of the necessary raw materials and food-stuffs with a view to the early resumption of normal conditions.

They recognise further the special position of the devastated countries, and particularly of France, having regard to the widespread devastation which her territory has suffered, the consequent diminution of her immediate resources, and the heavy capital expenditure which she must incur in restoring the damaged areas. The restoration of the devastated areas is of primary importance to the reconstruction of Europe.

They have also had under consideration the special position of Germany, where enterprise is at present paralysed and the possibility of obtaining commercial credit closed, by reason of the fact that her obligations for reparation are still totally unknown. It is most desirable, therefore, in the interests of the Allied countries, no less than in that of Germany, that at the earliest possible moment the total of the reparation payments to be made by Germany under the Treaty of Versailles should be fixed, and that in accordance with the terms of the Treaty and the reply of the Allied and Associated Powers to the German delegates, dated June 16, 1919, she should be enabled to obtain essential food-stuffs and raw materials, and, if necessary, in the opinion of the Reparation Commission, should be allowed to raise abroad a loan to meet her immediate needs, of such amount and with such priority as the Reparation Commission may deem essential. In the case of Austria, the Powers here represented recognise that even more active assistance may require to be given.

11. The Review which the Conference has made of the situation indicates that the process of recovery of Europe must necessarily be a slow one, which cannot be expedited by short cuts of any description. It can, however, be most seriously hampered by the dislocation of production by strikes, lockouts, and interruptions of work of all kinds. The civilisation of Europe has indeed been shaken and set back, but it is far from being irretrievably ruined by the tremendous struggle through which she has passed. The restoration of her vitality now depends on the whole-hearted co-operation of all her children, who have it in their own power to delay or to accelerate the process of reconstruction. It is

the hope of every Government that improved conditions of livelihood and of employment may be assured to the workers. To secure this result, each individual must contribute his best efforts to the restoration of his country. Taking the Allied countries as a whole, the recovery of industry has been remarkable. Nearly eighteen months have passed since hostilities terminated ; and the reaction which necessarily followed the tense strain of the war is gradually passing. The citizens of every country are once again resuming the normal occupations of home life, and in their renewed labours the Conference sees a clear sign of renewed prosperity.

12. In view of the above considerations, the Supreme Council, after a careful survey of this vitally urgent problem in all its aspects, agree upon the following recommendations, with a view to the amelioration of the present economic difficulties of Europe :—

(1) It is of paramount importance that peace conditions should be fully and completely restored at the earliest possible moment throughout the world. In order to achieve this object, it is desirable—

(a) That peace and normal economic relations should be re-established as soon as possible throughout Eastern Europe.

(b) That armies should everywhere be reduced to a peace footing, that armaments should be limited to the lowest possible figure compatible with national security, and that the League of Nations should be invited to consider, as soon as possible, proposals to this end.

(c) That the States which have been created or enlarged as the result of the war should at once re-establish full and friendly co-operation, and arrange for the unrestricted interchange of commodities, in order that the essential unity of European economic life may not be impaired by the erection of artificial economic barriers.

(2) Not only the Government of each country, but all those engaged in the task of production in every land, should give immediate attention to the execution of all measures which will contribute to the full resumption of peaceful industry, to the encouragement of better output on the part of the workers in every country, to the improvement of machinery and means of transportation, and the removal of such disturbing factors as profiteering.

(3) Each Government should at once consider means for urging upon its nationals in every rank of life the vital necessity of suppressing extravagance and reducing expenditure, so as to bridge the gap which must for some years exist between the demand for and the supply of essential commodities.

(4) It is essential that early steps be taken to secure the deflation of credit and currency—

(a) By the reduction of recurrent Government expenditure within the limits of revenue.

(b) By the imposition of such additional taxation as is necessary to secure this result.

(c) By the funding of short-term obligations by means of loans subscribed out of the savings of the people, and

(d) By the immediate limitation and gradual curtailment of the note circulation.

(5) The provision of raw materials being essential to the restoration of industry, means should be found by which the countries which are in present conditions of international exchange unable to purchase in the world markets, and so are unable to restart their economic life, can obtain commercial credits. It will be possible to achieve this when the countries have made the reforms indicated in the foregoing paragraphs.

(6) The Powers represented at the Conference recognise the necessity for continued co-operation between the Allies and for removing obstacles to the easy interchange of essential commodities. They will continue to consult together regarding the provision and distribution of necessary raw materials and food-stuffs with a view to the early restoration of normal conditions.

(7) The Powers represented at the Conference have given careful attention to the special case of the devastated regions, and more particularly of Northern France. The restoration of these areas is of primary importance for the re-establishment of the economic equilibrium of Europe and the resumption of normal trade conditions. It is evident that the large sums required for this purpose cannot be provided out of current revenue, nor can the work of restoration be postponed until the reparation due from Germany under the Treaty of Peace has been received. Under these circumstances the Powers represented at the Conference recognise that the capital sums required for this restoration may properly be raised by market loans in anticipation of the reparation payments provided by the Treaty, and that the restrictions which they desire to see placed on new borrowing do not apply to loans and credits raised for the purpose of meeting this abnormal capital expenditure.

(8) The Powers represented at the Conference have taken under consideration Article 235 and cognate articles of the Treaty of Versailles, and the passages in the letter addressed on June 16, 1919, by the Supreme Council to the German Peace Delegates which contemplate that Germany shall make proposals for fixing the total of the payments to be made by her by way of reparation, and that facilities may be given her to obtain necessary food-stuffs and raw materials in advance of payments being made by way of reparation. The Powers are agreed that it is desirable in the interest alike of Germany and of her creditors that the total to be paid by her for reparation should be fixed at an early date. They observe that under the Protocol to the Treaty a period of four months from the signature of the Treaty was provided during which Germany should have the right to make proposals of the kind referred to, and they are agreed that in the circumstances as they exist to-day such period should be extended.

TEXT OF DRAFT TRADE AGREEMENT BETWEEN HIS BRITANNIC  
MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT AND THE RUSSIAN SOVIET  
GOVERNMENT.

(PUBLISHED OCTOBER 5.)

WHEREAS it is desirable in the interest both of Russia and of the United Kingdom that peaceful trade and commerce should be resumed

forthwith between these countries, and whereas for this purpose it is necessary pending the conclusion of a formal treaty between the Governments of these countries, by which their permanent economic and political relations shall be regulated, that a preliminary agreement should be arrived at between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Russian Soviet Government.

The aforesaid parties have accordingly entered into the following agreement, without prejudice to the view which either of them may hold as to the legal status of the other, and subject always to the fulfilment of the conditions specified in the British Note dated June 30, 1920, and accepted in the telegram from the Russian Soviet Government, dated July 7, 1920, with regard to the mutual cessation of hostilities and propaganda directed against the institutions or interests of the other party, and the repatriation of prisoners.

1. Both parties agree to remove forthwith all obstacles hitherto placed in the way of the resumption of trade between the United Kingdom and Russia in any commodities (other than arms and ammunition) which may be legally exported from or imported into their respective territories to or from any foreign country, and not to exercise any discrimination against such trade as compared with that carried on with any other foreign country.

Nothing in this provision shall be construed as over-riding the provisions of any international convention which is binding on either party, by which the trade in any particular article is regulated.

2. British and Russian merchant ships, their masters, crews, and cargoes shall in ports of Russia and of the United Kingdom respectively, receive in all respects the treatment, privileges, facilities, immunities, and protection which are usually accorded by the established practice of commercial nations to foreign merchant ships, their masters, crews, and cargoes, visiting their ports.

Provided that nothing in this Article shall impair the right of either party to take such precautions as are authorised by their respective laws with regard to the admission of aliens into their territories.

3. Each party may nominate such number of its nationals as may be agreed from time to time as being reasonably necessary to enable proper effect to be given to this agreement, having regard to the conditions under which trade is carried on in its territories, and the other party shall permit such persons to enter its territories, and to reside and carry on trade there, provided that either party may restrict the admittance of any such persons into any specified areas, and may refuse admittance to or sojourn in its territories to any individual who is *persona non grata* to itself, or who does not comply with this agreement, or with the conditions precedent thereto.

Persons admitted in pursuance of this Article into the territories of either party shall, while residing therein for purposes of trade, be exempted from all compulsory service whatsoever, whether civil, naval, military, or other, and from any contributions, whether pecuniary or in kind, imposed as an equivalent for personal service, and shall have right of egress.

Persons admitted into Russia under this arrangement shall be per-



mitted freely to import commodities destined solely for their household use or consumption.

4. Either party may appoint one or more official agents to reside and exercise their functions in the territories of the other, who shall enjoy all the rights and the privileges set forth in the preceding article, and also immunity from arrest, provided that either party may refuse to admit any individual as an official agent who is *persona non grata* to itself, or may require the other party to withdraw him should it find it necessary to do so on grounds of public interest or security. Such agents shall have access to the authorities of the country in which they reside for the purpose of facilitating the carrying out of this agreement and of protecting the interests of their nationals.

Official agents shall be at liberty to receive and despatch couriers with sealed bags subject to a limitation of three kilogrammes per week, which shall be exempt from examination.

The Official Agents shall be the competent authorities to visa the passports of persons seeking admission, in pursuance of the preceding Article, into the territories of the parties.

5. Each party undertakes to ensure generally that persons admitted into its territories under the last two Articles shall enjoy all protection, rights, and facilities which are necessary to enable them to carry on trade.

They shall be at liberty to communicate freely by post, telegraph, and wireless telegraphy, and to use telegraph codes and ciphers, under the conditions and subject to the regulations laid down in the International Telegraph Convention of S. Petersburg 1875 (Lisbon Revision of 1908).

Each party undertakes to account for and to pay all balances due to the other in respect of terminal and transit telegrams in accordance with the provisions of the said International Telegraph Convention and Regulations.

6. Passports, documents of identity, Powers of Attorney, and similar documents issued or certified by the competent authorities in either country for the purpose of enabling trade to be carried on in pursuance of this Agreement, shall be treated in the other country as if they were issued or certified by the authorities of a recognised foreign Government.

7. The preceding Articles shall continue in force until the expiration of six months from the date on which either party shall have given notice to the other of its intention to terminate them. The parties mutually undertake even in the event of such notice having expired, to continue to afford all the necessary facilities for the completion or winding-up of any transactions entered into in pursuance of such Articles.

8. The Russian Soviet Government hereby declares that it recognises its liability to pay compensation to British subjects in respect of goods supplied or services rendered to it or to the former Government of Russia, or to Russian citizens, for which payment has not been made owing to the Russian Revolution. The detailed mode of discharging this liability, together with all other questions with regard to the liability of each of the parties towards the other party or its nationals, shall be regulated by the Treaty referred to in the preamble.

The British Government makes a corresponding declaration.

9. In consideration of the declaration in the preceding Article the British Government hereby declare that they will not take or encourage any steps with a view to attach or to take possession of any gold, securities, or commodities (not being articles identifiable as the property of the British or of any Allied Government) which may be exported by Russia in payment for imports or as security for such payment, on the ground of any claim against Russian citizens, or against the Russian Soviet Government, or against the former Governments of Russia.

10. The Russian Soviet Government undertakes to make no claim to dispose in any way of the funds of the late Russian Government in London. The British Government gives a corresponding undertaking as regards British Government funds in Petrograd. This Article is not to prejudice the inclusion in the formal Treaty referred to in the preamble of any provision dealing with the subject-matter of this Article.

TEXT OF THE MEMORANDUM ON THE FUTURE OF EGYPT, RESULTING FROM CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN LORD MILNER'S MISSION AND ZAGHLUL PASHA AND HIS COLLEAGUES.

(PUBLISHED NOVEMBER 6.)

1. In order to establish the independence of Egypt on a secure and lasting basis, it is necessary that the relations between Great Britain and Egypt should be precisely defined, and the privileges and immunities now enjoyed in Egypt by the capitulatory Powers should be modified and rendered less injurious to the interests of the country.

2. These ends cannot be achieved without further negotiations between accredited representatives of the British and Egyptian Governments respectively in the one case, and between the British Government and the Governments of the capitulatory Powers in the other case. Such negotiations will be directed to arriving at definite agreement on the following lines :—

3. (I.) As between Egypt and Great Britain a Treaty will be entered into, under which Great Britain will recognise the independence of Egypt as a constitutional monarchy, with representative institutions, and Egypt will confer upon Great Britain such rights as are necessary to safeguard her special interests, and to enable her to furnish the guarantees which must be given to foreign Powers to secure the relinquishment of their capitulatory rights.

(II.) By the same Treaty, an Alliance will be concluded between Great Britain and Egypt, by which Great Britain will undertake to support Egypt in defending the integrity of her territory, and Egypt will undertake, in case of war, even when the integrity of Egypt is not affected, to render to Great Britain all the assistance in her power within her own borders, including the use of her harbours, aerodromes, and means of communication for military purposes.

4. This Treaty will embody stipulations to the following effect :—

(I.) Egypt will enjoy the right to representation in foreign countries. In the absence of any duly accredited Egyptian representative, the

Egyptian Government will confide its interests to the care of the British representative. Egypt will undertake not to adopt in foreign countries an attitude which is inconsistent with the Alliance, or will create difficulties for Great Britain, and will also undertake not to enter into any agreement with a foreign Power which is prejudicial to British interests.

(II.) Egypt will confer on Great Britain the right to maintain a military force on Egyptian soil for the protection of her Imperial communications. The Treaty will fix the place where the force shall be quartered, and will regulate any subsidiary matters which require to be arranged. The presence of this force shall not constitute in any manner a military occupation of the country, or prejudice the rights of the Government of Egypt.

(III.) Egypt will appoint, in concurrence with his Majesty's Government, a Financial Adviser, to whom shall be entrusted in due course the powers at present exercised by the Commissioners of the Debt, and who will be at the disposal of the Egyptian Government for all other matters on which they may desire to consult him.

(IV.) Egypt will appoint, in concurrence with his Majesty's Government, an official in the Ministry of Justice, who shall enjoy the right of access to the Minister. He shall be kept fully informed on all matters connected with the administration of the law as affecting foreigners, and will also be at the disposal of the Egyptian Government for consultation on any matter connected with the efficient maintenance of law and order.

(V.) In view of the contemplated transfer to his Majesty's Government of the rights hitherto exercised under the *régime* of the Capitulations by the various foreign Governments, Egypt recognises the right of Great Britain to intervene, through her representative in Egypt, to prevent the application to foreigners of any Egyptian law now requiring foreign consent, and Great Britain on her side undertakes not to exercise this right except in the case of laws operating inequitably against foreigners.

#### **Alternative :**

In view of the contemplated transfer to his Majesty's Government of the right hitherto exercised under the *régime* of the Capitulations by the various foreign Governments, Egypt recognises the right of Great Britain to intervene through her representative in Egypt, to prevent the application to foreigners of any Egyptian law now requiring foreign consent, and Great Britain on her side undertakes not to exercise this right except in the case of laws inequitably discriminating against foreigners in the matter of taxation, or inconsistent with the principles of legislation common to all the capitulatory Powers.

(VI.) On account of the special relations between Great Britain and Egypt created by the Alliance, the British representative will be accorded an exceptional position in Egypt and will be entitled to precedence over all other representatives.

(VII.) The engagements of British and other foreign officers and administrative officials who entered into the service of the Egyptian Government before the coming into force of the Treaty, may be terminated, at the instance of either the officials themselves or the Egyptian Government, at any time within two years after the coming into force of the Treaty. The pension or compensation to be accorded to officials retiring

under this provision, in addition to that provided by the existing law, shall be determined by the Treaty. In cases where no advantage is taken of this arrangement, existing terms of service will remain unaffected.

5. This Treaty will be submitted to the approval of a Constituent Assembly, but it will not come into force until after the agreements with foreign Powers for the closing of their Consular Courts and the decrees for the reorganisation of the Mixed Tribunals have come into operation.

6. This constituent Assembly will also be charged with the duty of framing a new Organic Statute, in accordance with the provisions of which the Government of India will in future be conducted. The Statute will embody provisions for the Ministers being responsible to the Legislature. It will also provide for religious toleration for all persons and for the due protection of the rights of foreigners.

7. The necessary modifications in the *régime* of the Capitulations will be secured by agreements to be concluded by Great Britain with the various capitulatory Powers. These agreements will provide for the closing of the foreign Consular Courts, so as to render possible the reorganisation and extension of the jurisdiction of the Mixed Tribunals and the application to all foreigners in Egypt of the legislation (including legislation imposing taxation) enacted by the Egyptian Legislature.

8. These agreements will provide for the transfer to his Majesty's Government of the rights previously exercised under the *régime* of the Capitulations by the various foreign Governments. They will also contain stipulations to the following effect:—

(a) No attempt will be made to discriminate against the nationals of a Power which agrees to close its Consular Courts, and such nationals shall enjoy in Egypt the same treatment as British subjects.

(b) The Egyptian Nationality Law will be founded on the *jus sanguinis*, so that the children born in Egypt of a foreigner will enjoy the nationality of their father and will not be claimed as Egyptian subjects.

(c) Consular officers of the foreign Powers shall be accorded by Egypt the same status as foreign Consuls enjoy in England.

(d) Existing Treaties and Conventions to which Egypt is a party on matters of commerce and navigation, including postal and telegraphic Conventions, will remain in force. Pending the conclusion of special agreements to which she is a party, Egypt will apply the Treaties in force between Great Britain and the foreign Powers concerned on questions affected by the closing of the Consular Courts, such as extradition Treaties, Treaties for the surrender of seamen deserters, etc., as also Treaties of a political nature, whether multilateral or bilateral, e.g., arbitration Conventions and the various Conventions relating to the conduct of hostilities.

(e) The liberty to maintain schools and to teach the language of the foreign country concerned will be guaranteed, provided that such schools are subject in all respects to the laws applicable generally to European schools in Egypt.

(f) The liberty to maintain or organise religious and charitable foundations, such as hospitals, etc., will also be guaranteed.

The Treaties will also provide for the necessary changes in the

Commission of the Debt and the elimination of the international element in the Alexandria Board of Health.

9. The legislation rendered necessary by the aforesaid agreements between Great Britain and the foreign Powers, will be effected by decrees to be issued by the Egyptian Government.

A decree shall be enacted at the same time, validating all measures, legislative, administrative, or judicial, taken under Martial Law.

10. The decrees for the reorganisation of the Mixed Tribunals will provide for conferring upon these Tribunals all jurisdiction hitherto exercised by the foreign Consular Courts, while leaving the jurisdiction of the Native Courts untouched.

11. After the coming into force of the Treaty referred to in Article 3, Great Britain will communicate its terms to foreign Powers and will support an application by Egypt for admission as a member of the League of Nations.

SUMMARY OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE INCOME-TAX, PRESIDED OVER BY LORD COLWYN [CMD. 615].

(PUBLISHED MARCH 17.)

NON-TRADE INCOME ARISING ABROAD.

IN regard to income from an employment exercised abroad by a British resident under a British employer, if the employee's absence from this country does not extend over a continuous period of twelve months, or if his employment cannot be shown to be in the nature of a permanent employment abroad, he should be deemed to be exercising his employment in the United Kingdom, whether or not he technically maintains a residence in this country, and liability to tax should extend to the whole of his remuneration. If, on the other hand, the employee is abroad for a continuous period of more than twelve months, or if his employment can be shown from the first to be permanently abroad, only that portion of his remuneration which is remitted to this country should be liable to taxation here.

Income from an employment exercised abroad under a foreign employer should be liable to tax only to the extent that remittances are made to this country.

The full income arising abroad from all foreign and colonial securities or possessions (not being trading undertakings) should be assessable except when they belong to a person domiciled abroad or to a British subject not ordinarily resident in the United Kingdom.

All remittances from a husband abroad to his wife in this country, whether they are made from earned or unearned income, should be chargeable; and, as regards all other remittances of a regular character (whether regular in amount or not), made to, or on behalf of, a resident in the United Kingdom (whether of full age or not), the sums remitted from abroad, from whatever source they may be derived, should be treated as the income of the recipient and be chargeable to income tax.

The remittances in question should be directly taxable only to the extent to which they are made from funds not already taxed in this country.

#### TRADE INCOME ARISING ABROAD.

Except for the specific reliefs proposed under the sections headed Double Income-Tax there should be no change in the present law which renders British resident persons or companies liable to be assessed on the whole of their trading profits irrespective of what proportion of their profits arises abroad, and irrespective (in the case of companies) of the nationality or residence of their shareholders. If we had felt that there was any necessity to recommend a change, then out of the forms of relief that might possibly be adopted we should have inclined to choose as the one to which recourse should first be had that British-controlled companies should be taxed at a lower rate on that portion of their profits (whether earned in England or abroad) which is distributed to non-resident foreign shareholders.

The present well-established doctrine in regard to control should not be weakened. Even where the trading operations of British-registered companies are carried on abroad by a foreign board of directors or by means of a subsidiary company abroad, the company (and its subsidiary) should still be deemed to be controlled from within the United Kingdom, if the majority of the voting power of the company can be exercised in this country. In other words, no distinction should be drawn between provable active control and complete potential control.

There is at present some diversity of practice in assessing the income of a British resident who is a sleeping partner in a foreign firm controlled and carrying on business entirely abroad. No distinction should be drawn between a sleeping partner in these circumstances and a British shareholder in a foreign company, and the partner should pay tax upon the full amount of his share in his firm's profits. If the law does not impose liability to this extent the necessary alteration should be made.

Where, in default of any other method of calculating profits, it is necessary to make an estimate of profits based on turnover, the percentage adopted should be fixed by reference to the results shown by British resident traders in the same class of business.

The existing law with regard to regular resident agents should be extended so as not to exclude the case of a broker who is really acting as a regular agent.

We desire to restrict the application of our recommendations so as to ensure that the entrepôt trade of the United Kingdom is not endangered.

Where a British resident agent purchases goods in this country for a foreign principal and exports those goods to his principal abroad in the condition in which they were purchased, no taxable profit should be deemed to have arisen from the transaction of mere purchase conducted in this country.

Where a British resident agent having purchased goods in this

country subjects those goods to processes akin to the processes of manufacture, or substantially alters the condition of the goods from the state in which they were purchased, a taxable profit should be deemed to have arisen.

Where the conditions are as in the preceding paragraph, but the resident agent has not himself subjected the purchased goods to any processes akin to the processes of manufacture, but has sent the goods to a British resident, or to a number of British residents, for the purpose of such processes, a taxable profit has arisen. The foreign principal should be taxed in the name of his agent on the basis of the profits which might reasonably be expected to have been earned by a British resident who supervised and directed the particular processes which have been applied to those goods between the stages of first purchase and export.

#### NON-RESIDENTS' RELIEF.

Foreigners resident abroad should continue to be liable on their British income at the full standard rate without allowances or reliefs.

Any relief that would be granted to a British subject resident in the United Kingdom should equally be granted to a British subject residing abroad.

#### DOUBLE INCOME-TAX.

In respect of income taxed both in the United Kingdom and in a Dominion, in substitution for the existing partial reliefs there should be deducted from the appropriate rate of the United Kingdom income-tax (including super-tax) the whole of the rate of the Dominion income-tax charged in respect of the same income, subject to the limitation that in no case should the maximum rate of relief given by the United Kingdom exceed one-half of the rate of the United Kingdom income-tax (including super-tax) to which the individual taxpayer might be liable; and any further relief necessary in order to confer on the taxpayer relief amounting in all to the lower of the two taxes (United Kingdom and Dominion), should be given by the Dominion concerned.

In the present circumstances we cannot recommend any change in the existing situation as to double taxation of the same income by the United Kingdom Government and by the Government of a foreign State.

#### CASUAL PROFIT.

Any profit made on a transaction recognisable as a business transaction—*i.e.*, a transaction in which the subject-matter was acquired with a view to profit-seeking—should be brought within the scope of the income-tax, and should not be treated as an accretion of capital. Any such chargeability should extend to the profits of joint ventures. Profit arising by way of remuneration or consideration for services rendered or to be rendered should be made liable in all cases, and employers and other persons should be required to make a return of any such payments.

For the purpose of deciding principles and of obtaining uniformity in decisions, a board of referees should undertake certain additional duties,

should be entrusted with the power of determining whether particular classes of transactions should be excluded from the scope of the tax as so enlarged.

Future profits arising from the sale of assets, such as plant or machinery, in respect of which the vendor has received income-tax allowances for depreciation, and profits arising under a contract of insurance or indemnity should, where the asset sold or insured is replaced, be taken into account in determining capital values for the purpose of calculating future income-tax allowances for depreciation.

#### MISCELLANEOUS RECEIPTS.

On a consideration of both Easter offerings and overtime payments, we are satisfied that any attempt to measure taxable capacity by a system that is not based upon the amount of the income—by a system that looks to the way in which an income is earned, to the circumstances in which it is received, to the hours of labour, or to the conditions under which the work is performed—would cause great injustice as between one taxpayer and another and would lead to indefensible results.

#### RECEIPTS NOT IN MONEY.

An attempt should be made to charge income-tax on the true remuneration of employment, including subsidiary benefits arising out of the employment, although these may not be capable of being turned into money.

The provisions at present in force for the taxation of income from foreign and colonial dividends should be made expressly applicable to dividends paid in any form other than cash, and the paying agent should be required either to transfer the appropriate proportion of distributable securities to the Revenue or, at his option, to make a cash payment based on a valuation of the securities distributed ; further, he should, if required by the Revenue, and in any case if the foregoing options are impracticable, furnish a list of the names and addresses of the recipients.

#### INCIDENCE OF THE TAX.

The present differentiation against small unearned incomes is too great, and should be materially diminished. There is good reason for diminishing the present differentiation in the case of larger incomes, though not to so great an extent.

Earned income should be diminished by one-tenth for the purposes of assessment, and the income so diminished should be charged at the rate of tax applicable to unearned income.

However large the earned income, not more than 2,000*l.* earned income should rank for differential relief ; and the relief should apply, with that limitation, to incomes of all sizes, but for the purposes of income-tax only—not for super-tax. The maximum deduction for differential relief would therefore be 200*l.*



The following examples illustrate the effect of the proposals :—  
X (single) earns 5*l.* per week and has no other income.

X's actual income is	-	-	-	-	-	-	260 <i>l.</i>
Deduct 1/10th because it is earned	-	-	-	-	-	-	26 <i>l.</i>
							<hr/>
Income for taxation purposes	-	-	-	-	-	-	234 <i>l.</i>
The personal allowance is 150 <i>l.</i> of earned income	-	-	-	-	-	-	150 <i>l.</i>
Deduct 1/10th of 150 <i>l.</i> because the income is reduced by 1/10th	-	-	-	-	-	-	15 <i>l.</i>
							<hr/>
Tax is chargeable on	-	-	-	-	-	-	99 <i>l.</i>

Y is assessed on 300*l.* in respect of his business and on 100*l.* in respect of his investment income. He is a married man without children.

Y's total income is	-	-	-	-	-	-	400 <i>l.</i>
Deduct 1/10th of 300 <i>l.</i> because the 300 <i>l.</i> is earned	-	-	-	-	-	-	30 <i>l.</i>
							<hr/>
Income for taxation purposes	-	-	-	-	-	-	370 <i>l.</i>
The allowance for a married couple is 250 <i>l.</i> of earned income	-	-	-	-	-	-	250 <i>l.</i>
Deduct 1/10th of 250 because the earned income is reduced by 1/10th	-	-	-	-	-	-	25 <i>l.</i>
							<hr/>
Tax is chargeable on	-	-	-	-	-	-	145 <i>l.</i>

Z is employed at a remuneration of 3,000*l.* per annum. He receives also 1,000*l.* per annum from dividends on investments. He is a single man.

Z's actual income is	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,000 <i>l.</i>
Deduct 200 <i>l.</i> , being 1/10th of 2000 <i>l.</i> , the maximum differential allowance	-	-	-	-	-	-	200 <i>l.</i>
							<hr/>
Income for income-tax purposes	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,800 <i>l.</i>
Personal allowance of 150 <i>l.</i> of earned income	-	-	-	-	-	-	150 <i>l.</i>
Deduct 1/10th of 150 <i>l.</i> because the 150 <i>l.</i> is expressed in terms of earned income	-	-	-	-	-	-	15 <i>l.</i>
							<hr/>
Income-tax is chargeable on	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,665 <i>l.</i>

#### GRADUATION.

From all incomes (for the purposes of income-tax as distinct from super-tax) there should be deducted a personal abatement equal to the exemption limit, and graduation by reference to the size of an income should be effected solely by a variation of the real effective rate of tax chargeable on that income.

In all ranges of income some regard should be had to the taxpayer's marital and family responsibilities.

From the assessable income (which is the actual investment income, formerly called "unearned" income, or the earned income reduced by

one-tenth) should be deducted the allowances for the taxpayer himself, his wife, children, dependent relatives, etc., in order to arrive at the taxable income. This taxable income, where it does not exceed 225*l.* should be charged at half the standard rate of tax. If the taxable income exceeds 225*l.*, the first 225*l.* should be charged at half the standard rate of tax and the excess over 225*l.* at the full standard rate of tax.

Owing to the deductions made for earned income, and for personal, marital, and family allowances, 225*l.* of taxable income is equivalent to 400*l.* of earned income in the case of a bachelor, to 500*l.* of earned income in the case of a married couple without children, and to 600*l.* of earned income in the case of a married couple with three children.

A statement of real effective rates of tax and of tax payable on specified incomes in various circumstances should form part of, or accompany, all income-tax notices, including notices to pay.

Graduation on incomes over 2,000*l.* can best be effected by means of super-tax in addition to the ordinary income-tax, which should continue in its present form, a tax graduated solely by reference to the amount of the income without other considerations.

#### TAXATION AT THE SOURCE.

Subject to certain considerations, all British Government and municipal loans should in future be made subject to deduction of income-tax on payment of the interest.

The "accruing rate" should apply to all payments which have a known period of accrual; and the "time of payment rate" only when the accruing period is unknown.

Income taxed by deduction should, for the purposes of any statement of total income, be treated as the income of the year in which it is receivable.

All dividend warrants should show (a) the gross amount of the distribution; (b) the income-tax applicable thereto; and (c) the net amount payable by the company to the shareholder.

Where a fee or remuneration is paid "free of tax," the income-tax assessment should be based on the gross sum represented by the net payment actually made. All exemptions from income-tax other than those conferred by Income-Tax Acts should be abolished without prejudice to claims for compensation for existing rights.

#### WASTING ASSETS.

No allowance should be made where the life of the wasting asset is estimated to be thirty-five years or longer. Assets with a shorter life should receive an allowance dependent on the time by which their life falls short of thirty-five years. As regards wastage of capital the allowance should be the sinking fund payment necessary to amortise the capital cost of the asset over its agreed life, less that sinking fund payment which would be necessary to amortise the capital cost if the life of the asset were thirty-five years.

Subject to certain exceptions no allowance should be granted to any asset other than an inherently wasting material asset which has been

created by the expenditure of capital. The allowance must not be granted in respect of a right to the income derived from any asset ; it is the asset itself and not the fact of its possession by any particular proprietor that should be considered when the allowance is in question.

No allowance should be granted to incomes arising from wasting assets which consist of the proprietorship of natural resources in this country.

Subject always to the limitation that their life falls short of thirty-five years an allowance should be given in respect of all inherently wasting material assets created by the expenditure of capital, such as buildings and foundations, surface works, permanent way and equipment of railways and tramways, docks, and shaft-sinkings, and initial work on development.

#### DEPRECIATION.

Depreciation should continue to be allowed on the written-down value of plant and machinery, subject to the taxpayer's right, if he has the necessary records, to have his depreciation calculated by the reference to the original cost of the asset. The allowance should no longer be restricted to traders.

The obsolescence allowance should be given in the case of machinery or plant disused for any reason, whether replaced or not, except where the disuse is the result of the discontinuance of a business. In future any ordinary depreciation allowance and any obsolescence allowance should be regarded as trade expenses of the year whose profits are being calculated. If they are so treated, the necessity for carrying forward unexhausted depreciation allowances will no longer exist.

The allowance for renewals should be calculated by reference to the cost of price of machinery replaced.

The allowance for depreciation of mills and factories should not be extended to other classes of buildings ; it should be subject to the general conditions governing all allowances for wasting assets, and should not be a fixed percentage of the annual value.

#### REPAIRS TO PROPERTY.

The present allowances of one-sixth and one-eighth of the annual value should be retained as the normal flat rates.

The present restrictions as to value (70% in the Metropolis, 60% in Scotland, and 52% elsewhere) should be removed, subject to a provision that improvements should not be treated as repairs or maintenance.

For a period of five years an allowance of one-fourth should be made for houses not exceeding 20% in annual value, and one-fifth for houses not exceeding 40% in annual value, such increased allowances to be withheld if it is proved to the satisfaction of the Commissioners that proper repairs have not been effected. These increased allowances should be granted only for a limited number of years.

As soon as conditions as to rental and cost of repairs have become stabilised, a Departmental inquiry should be made with the object of

finding what are the appropriate flat rates which should be granted in equity for different classes of property.

#### EXPENSES AND DEDUCTIONS (FOR SCHEDULE D PURPOSES).

The cost of removing plant as well as stock should be allowed as a trade expense.

Property-owning companies should be granted an allowance for their management expenses to the same extent as financial companies.

The owner of minerals or mineral rights should be allowed the expenses of management or supervision.

Allowance for the annual value of business premises used partly for residence. The general limitation to a sum not exceeding two-thirds of the annual value or rent should be retained, but the Commissioners should be empowered to grant a larger allowance in special circumstances of hardship.

#### ALLOWANCES FOR EXPENSES (SCHEDULE E).

*Teachers.*—Allowances should be made (a) to the extent of the tax on 10*l.* (as a maximum) for scholastic agents' fees paid; and (b) to the extent of the tax on 20*l.* (as a maximum) for the cost of necessary books.

*Clergymen.*—The annual instalments repayable to Queen Anne's Bounty in respect of loans granted to an incumbent's predecessor for the purpose of the repair or the restoration of the incumbent's dwelling-house should be allowed. Payments made to lay assistants and certified by the Bishop of the diocese as necessarily incurred by an incumbent in carrying out the duties of his office should be allowed as deductions.

*Travelling Expenses.*—Travelling expenses incurred by a taxpayer in going from his place of residence to his business should not be allowed.

*Bishops.*—The expenses of Bishops on necessary hospitality, organisation, charity, etc., should not be allowed as a deduction in arriving at assessable income, but the income of a Bishop should be so divided that that part of it which is necessarily and customarily applied to the expenses of the office is clearly indicated, and the amount paid to the Bishops in respect of expenses determined by statute.

#### THE EXEMPTION LIMIT.

The exemption limit for the bachelor should be 150*l.*, and for a married couple without children 250*l.* These limits should be maintained until there is a substantial change in the cost of living, and should be altered only at considerable intervals.

The aggregation of the incomes of wife and husband should continue to be the rule.

Family allowances should be treated as deductions from the gross income, so as to reduce that income for all purposes, and the rate of tax should be determined by reference to the amount of income left after those allowances have been made. Family allowances should apply to all incomes, of whatever amount, but should be calculated by reference to the ordinary income-tax rate, excluding the super-tax rate.

The wife allowance, under that name, will disappear, and be merged in the married couple's exemption allowance.

For the first child the allowance should be 40*l.*, and for each younger child 30*l.*

A taxpayer maintaining his widowed mother should receive the "dependent relative's" allowance, even if the mother be not aged or infirm; and the 800*l.* limitation should be abolished.

#### LIFE INSURANCE ALLOWANCES.

The following changes only should be made in the life insurance allowances authorised by the Income Tax Act of 1918 :—

(a) In respect of policies effected since June 22, 1916, the allowance for life insurance premiums should be made at one-half the standard rate of tax ;

(b) In respect of policies effected on or before June 22, 1916, the allowance should be made (i) for incomes not exceeding 1,000*l.*, at half the standard rate ; (ii) for incomes exceeding 1,000*l.*, but not exceeding 2,000*l.*, at three-fourths of the standard rate ; (iii) for incomes exceeding 2,000*l.*, at the standard rate. This recommendation is dependent upon the recommendations on graduation, and if the graduation scheme proposed should not be adopted, or should be varied, this question should be reconsidered.

(c) Subject to the conditions governing other allowances for life insurance, an allowance should be made for premiums paid by a wife out of her separate income in respect of an insurance on the life of her husband.

(d) Subject to all the restrictions imposed on annual premiums, an allowance should be made for single premium payments.

#### FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

The existing exemption of registered friendly societies should remain ; that of unregistered friendly societies should be withdrawn.

#### CHARITIES.

"Charities" should be specially re-defined by Parliament. Meanwhile premises owned and occupied by a charitable body should be exempt from tax under Schedule A, and profits of a trade carried on mainly by and for the benefit of the inmates or beneficiaries of a charity should not be assessable to income-tax.

#### PROVIDENT FUNDS.

When an employer makes an irrecoverable contribution to a recognised fund for the benefit of his workpeople his contribution should be allowed as a deduction in computing his profits. The contributions of the employee which are made to secure a future pension should be allowed as a deduction from income. The income arising from the investments of the funds should also be exempted from tax. All pensions

should be regarded as income and assessed in the hands of the recipients.

The employers' (non-returnable), but not the employees' (returnable with interest), contributions towards provident and thrift funds, should be exempted.

#### ADMINISTRATION.

Inspectors of Taxes should in future be appointed by the Board of Inland Revenue, not by the Treasury.

The General Commissioners' functions should be practically confined to hearing appeals.

The Additional Commissioners should be retained as an advisory body which may be consulted by the inspector in the case of any Schedule D assessment, and as the authority for making Schedule D assessments in cases where the inspector proposes an assessment greater than (i) the amount returned for assessment (ii) the profits shown by the taxpayer's accounts, and (iii) the amount of the assessment for the preceding year ; otherwise the power of making assessments under Schedule D should be transferred to the inspectors of taxes ; there should be twelve Additional Commissioners for each division ; and future appointments should be made by the Treasury.

The Special Commissioners should become practically an appellate body and little else.

A Central Assessing Authority should be set up, composed of senior Revenue officials nominated by the Board of Inland Revenue. This body should take over the assessing duties of the Special Commissioners. Any appeal from an assessment made by the Central Assessing Authority should be heard by the Special Commissioners.

The right to appeal to the Special Commissioners should extend to assessments under all schedules except Schedule A.

The clerical duties now performed by the Clerk to the Commissioners should be transferred to the Inspector of Taxes.

The office of assessor should be abolished and his duties should devolve on the Inspector of Taxes, subject to the delegation to the collector of minor functions.

All collectors throughout the United Kingdom should be appointed by the Board of Inland Revenue ; the general management of the collection of the tax should be placed under the control of the Board ; in suitable areas, and as soon as possible, collectors of taxes should become wholetime Civil Servants.

The areas of income-tax divisions should be re-arranged. The areas of administration should be made completely independent of those of the old Land Tax ; and all powers relating to the transfer, union, grouping, division, and assigning of areas should be vested in the Board of Inland Revenue.

Steps should be taken to prepare a Bill containing the whole law on income-tax in the most modern form.

## CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

Any part of the net proceeds of a distributive co-operative society which is not actually returned to members as "dividend" or "discount" is a profit chargeable to income-tax. The income derived from invested reserves should be subject to tax, irrespective of the mode of investment. In effect a society should be treated exactly as a limited liability company trading in similar circumstances and under similar conditions, and the law should be amended in so far as it confers special exemption on co-operative societies. Wholesale and productive societies should be treated on the same basis as distributive societies.

Agricultural co-operative societies should not continue to have special treatment under the income-tax law, and no regard should be had to the fact that they are registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts.

There will probably be very little difference between the liability of co-operative societies under these proposals and under the existing legal position which has given rise to so great an amount of feeling.

## SUPER-TAX.

The present basis of liability to super-tax should remain unchanged. Assessing authorities should be empowered to require super-tax returns from husband and wife separately and to make separate assessments.

## APPEALS.

All Commissioners' decisions involving a point of law should be subject to appeal to the High Court.

## PREVENTING EVASION.

The existing time limit of three years within which proceedings may be taken to recover penalties should be extended to six years; the penalties recoverable in the High Court should be increased.

The penalty for a false return by a limited company should be recoverable from the company itself or from its directors or secretary, and the penalty for a false return by a firm should be recoverable either from the partnership as a whole or from the precedent acting partner or any partner who in fact made the return; provided that no penalty shall be recoverable personally from a person who is proved to have had no knowledge of the falsity of the return.

The offence of making an incorrect return should not be capable of being purged by the belated rendering of a correct return if the taxpayer is not able to show that the error in the original return was due to a *bona-fide* mistake.

The penalty for aiding and abetting should be made more severe.

OFFICIAL DESPATCHES ON THE BATTLE OF JUTLAND. [CMD.  
1068.]

(PUBLISHED DECEMBER 17.)

## DESPATCH FROM ADMIRAL JELlicoe.

"IRON DUKE,"

June 18, 1916.

SIR,—Be pleased to inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that in accordance with the instructions contained in their Lordships' telegram No. 434 of May 30, Code time 1740, the Grand Flëet proceeded to sea on May 30, 1916.

2. The instructions given to those portions of the fleet that were not in company with my flag at Scapa Flow were as follows :—

To Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas Jerram, with Second Battle Squadron at Invergordon: "Leave as soon as ready. Pass through Lat. 58° 15' N., Long. 2° 0' E., meet me 2.0 P.M. to-morrow 31st, Lat. 57° 45', Long. 4° 15' E. Several enemy submarines known to be in North Sea. Acknowledge. 1930 (Code time)."

To Vice-Admiral Sir David Beatty, Commanding the Battle-cruiser Fleet at Rosyth, with the Fifth Battle Squadron, Rear-Admiral Hugh Evan-Thomas in company :—

"Urgent, Priority. Admiralty telegram 1,740. Available vessels, Battle-cruiser Fleet, Fifth Battle Squadron and T.B.D.'s including Harwich T.B.D.'s proceed to approximate position Lat. 56° 40' N., Long. 5° 0' E. Desirable to economise T.B.D.'s fuel. Presume you will be there about 2.0 P.M. to-morrow 31st. I shall be in about Lat. 57° 45' N., Long. 4° 15' E. by 2.0 P.M. unless delayed by fog. Third Battle-cruiser Squadron, *Chester* and *Canterbury* will leave with me. I will send them on to your rendezvous. If no news by 2.0 P.M. stand towards me to get in visual touch. I will steer for Horn Reef from position Lat. 57° 45' N., Long. 4° 15' E. Repeat back rendezvous. 1937 (Code time)."

3. I felt no anxiety in regard to the advanced position of the force under Sir David Beatty, supported as it was by four ships of the Fifth Battle Squadron, as this force was far superior in gun power to the First Scouting Group, and the speed of the slowest ships was such as to enable it to keep out of range of superior enemy forces.

4. The operation, however, showed that the ships of the Third Squadron of the High Sea Fleet possess an unexpected turn of speed for at any rate a short period. The *Queen Elizabeth* class are nominally 25 knot vessels. The official Quarterly Return of British and Foreign War Vessels gives the König and Kaiser classes a designed speed of 20.5 knots. I have always expected that they might reach 22 knots for a short distance, but the fact that the Fifth Battle Squadron was unable to increase its distance from the German ships when steaming at their utmost speed comes as an unpleasant surprise and will have considerable effect on the conduct of future operations. It is quite evident that all



German ships possess a speed much in excess of that for which they are nominally designed.

5. When Sir David Beatty sighted the enemy battle-cruisers he adopted the correct and only possible course in engaging and endeavouring to keep between the enemy and his base. Whether the First Scouting Group was supported or not, his duty would be to engage and keep touch with the enemy vessels of similar class to his own, so long as he was not in manifestly inferior force. In this case he had a great superiority, and there could be no question as to his action.

6. The disturbing feature of the battle-cruiser action is the fact that five German battle-cruisers engaging six British vessels of this class, supported after the first twenty minutes, although at great range, by the fire of four battleships of the *Queen Elizabeth* class, were yet able to sink the *Queen Mary* and *Indefatigable*. It is true that the enemy suffered very heavily later, and that one vessel, the *Lützow*, was undoubtedly destroyed, but even so the result cannot be other than unpalatable.

The facts which contributed to the British losses were, *first*, the indifferent armour protection of our battle-cruisers, particularly as regards turret armour and deck plating, and, *second*, the disadvantage under which our vessels laboured in regard to the light. Of this there can be no question.

But it is also undoubted that the gunnery of the German battle-cruisers in the early stages was of a very high standard. They appeared to get on to their target, and establish hitting within two or three minutes of opening fire in almost every case, and this at very long ranges of 18,000 yards. The German vessels appear to use some such system of fire as the Petravic method, as the guns do not go off exactly together and it unquestionably gives excellent results. The "spread" for both direction and elevation is very small and the rapidity of fire very great.

7. Once we commence hitting the German gunnery falls off, but—as shown by the rapidity with which the *Invincible* was sunk at a later stage—their ships are still able to fire with great accuracy even when they have received severe punishment.

8. The fact that the gunnery of the German battle-fleet when engaged with our battle-fleet did not show the same accuracy must not, I think, be taken as showing that the standard is not so high as with their battle-cruisers, as I am inclined to the opinion that we then had some advantage in the way of light, although it was very bad for both sides.

9. The German organisation at night is very good. Their system of recognition signals is excellent. Ours is practically nil. Their search-lights are superior to ours, and they use them with great effect. Finally, their method of firing at night gives excellent results. I am reluctantly compelled to the opinion that under night conditions we have a good deal to learn from them.

10. The German tactics during the action were those which have always been anticipated, and for which provision has been made so far as is possible in my Battle Orders. The "turn away" of the enemy under cover of torpedo-boat destroyer attacks is a move most difficult to counter, but which has been closely investigated on the Tactical Board. Vice-Admiral Sir Doveton Sturdee has rendered me much assistance in

the study of this particular movement, and in devising a counter to it. There is no real counter. Nothing but ample time and superior speed can be an answer, and this means that unless the meeting of the fleets takes place fairly early in the day it is most difficult, if not impossible, to fight the action to a finish. In this particular case, thanks to the fact that the enemy did not, as far as can be seen, expect to find our whole fleet present, there was no time for him to lay a prepared mine area, and not much time to place his submarines, although many submarines were present. It is unlikely that in future operations we shall be so favoured in this respect, and the element of time will therefore be still more important. I foreshadowed in my letter of October 30, 1914, No. 339/HF/0034, in which their Lordships expressed concurrence, A.L. of November 7, 1914, M.03177/14, the possibility of it being actually necessary purposely to delay bringing the Fleet to close action for some time on account of the possibilities which the mine and submarine give for preparing a trap on a large scale, and it should be understood that this possibility still exists and will be increased as the enemy gets stronger in submarines.

11. It was unnecessary for me to give any special orders to the flag officers during the action. Events followed the course that was expected. All squadrons and flotillas took up their stations as directed in the Battle Orders with most commendable accuracy under very difficult circumstances. The torpedo attacks launched by the enemy were countered in the manner previously intended, and practised, during exercises, and the fleet was manœuvred to close again after these attacks by the method which had been adopted for this purpose. The handling of the large fleet was immensely facilitated by the close co-operation and support afforded me by the flag officers.

12. One of the features of the action was the large number of torpedoes that crossed our line without taking effect on any ship except the *Marlborough*. Sir Cecil Burney estimates that at least twenty-one torpedoes were seen to cross the line of his squadron. All were avoided by skilful handling, except that single one, and it is notable that the *Marlborough* herself evaded seven. Similarly the Fifth Battle Squadron, in rear of the First Battle Squadron, avoided a considerable number, and other squadrons had similar experiences.

It is of supreme importance to keep from the knowledge of the enemy the fact that ships were able to avoid torpedoes by seeing the track, as it would not be beyond the ingenuity of the Germans to devise a means of preventing any track being left.

13. The experience and results of the action, particularly the knowledge we now have of the speed of the enemy's Third Squadron, must exercise considerable influence on our future dispositions and tactics. It will, for instance, not be advisable in future to place our Fifth Squadron in a position removed from support. I have these questions under consideration and will submit my conclusions to their Lordships.

14. A narrative of the action is enclosed.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

J. R. JELlicoe, Admiral.

The Secretary of the Admiralty.

REPORT OF CAPTAIN DREYER, OF THE "IRON DUKE," TO THE  
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

The attached notes on the action by the following officers are forwarded as they are of interest, not only in describing events, but also any difficulties they had to cope with: Commander (G) Geoffrey Blake, R.N. (in Gun Control Tower—Principal Control Officer); Lieut.-Commander Thomas F. P. Calvert, R.N. (in "B" Turret); Lieutenant Richard Shelley, R.N. (in 13.5 in. Transmitting Station—In Charge); Mr. Herbert D. Jehan, Gunner, R.N. (in 6 in. Control Top, aloft, 6 in. Control Officer); Mr. Francis W. Potter, Gunner, R.N. (in 13.5 in. Director Tower, aloft—13.5 in. Director-Gunner).

All times given are G.M.T. All courses magnetic. I was in the conning tower with Captain Oliver E. Leggett, Master of the Fleet, and Lieut.-Commander (T) Edward W. MacKichan, R.N., throughout the action, and had a very good view of the whole situation. The communications worked very well. The navyphones were noticeably better than voicepipes, the former requiring no shouting, but it is fully realised that voicepipes possess the great advantage of reliability—in fact, they have to be blown away before being out of action. The light was bad, the weather being misty, the visibility varying during the actual firing from 10,000 to about 16,000 yards.

At 4.0 P.M.—"Action" was sounded, the hands having had tea, and the decks having been cleared up. All preparations for immediate action were then made.

At 6.0 P.M.—Course was S.E.—20 knots.

At 6.2 P.M.—Altered course by 9 pendant to S.—18 knots.

At 6.5 P.M.—Altered course by 9 pendant to S.E.

At 6.14 P.M.—Formed line of battle to port by equal speed pendant. Co. S.E. by E. *Iron Duke* being "straddled" at this time by two enemy's heavy projectiles, with large "spread."

Our battle-cruisers, which had shortly before come in sight on a southerly bearing, firing to south-westward, rapidly cleared the battle line, disclosing a German 3-funnelled cruiser somewhat like the Kolberg Class, but with larger funnels; she was apparently stopped and on fire.

6.23 P.M.—Opened fire with the turrets on the 3-funnelled cruiser. Bearing about 80 green. Range, 11,000. Fall of shot very easy to observe. The 3rd salvo "straddled." After the 4th salvo—ceased fire.

6.25 P.M.—Speed 15 knots.

6.30½ P.M.—Opened fire on a battleship of König class. Bearing 70 green. Range, 12,000. The 2nd, 3rd, and 4th salvos hitting her, with a total of at least 6 hits. Enemy steaming in the same direction as *Iron Duke* on a slightly converging course.

6.33 P.M.—Course S. 71° E. 17 knots. The bearing of the enemy was now S. 14° W. The bearing of the sun was N. 54° W. The enemy was lit up by the sun, whereas *Iron Duke* was probably invisible to them in the mist. However that may be, the König battleship did not return *Iron Duke's* fire, although heavily hit. 9 salvos, comprising total of 43 rounds, were fired at her in 4 minutes 50 seconds.

At 6.40 P.M.—Course S. 56° E.

At 6.44 P.M.—Course S. 46° E.

At 6.51 P.M.—Course S. 8° E.

At 7.05 P.M.—Course S.W. by S.

At 7.07 P.M.—Course S.

7.11 P.M.—6-in. Opened fire on enemy T.B.D.'s attacking the battle-fleet. Green, 63°. About 10,000 yards, and sank one enemy T.B.D., and fired on another.

7.13 P.M.—Opened fire with turrets on enemy battleship, green, 74. Range, 15,400 yards. Enemy steaming nearly directly away. 4 salvoes fired, no hits were observed.

7.18 P.M.—Ceased fire, as enemy was hidden by a very good smoke screen made by his destroyers.

7.20 P.M.—Trained turrets on enemy battle-cruiser bearing 99 green, but before fire could be opened she also was hidden by a smoke screen made by attending enemy's T.B.D.'s.

At 7.23 P.M.—Course S. 19° E.

At 7.24 P.M.—6-in. Opened fire on enemy's T.B.D.'s attacking battle-fleet. Green, 115. Range, 10,000.

At 7.27 P.M.—Turrets opened fire. Green, 110. Range, 9,600 yards, on enemy's T.B.D.'s which were attacking the battle-fleet. 1 salvo fired, which the director-gunner states blew up an enemy T.B.D.

At 7.31 P.M.—Ceased firing.

Total ammunition fired—13.5 in.—90 rounds ; 6 in.—50 rounds.

H.M.S. *Oak* reports that "at about 7.35 P.M. the track of a torpedo was observed to cross the track of our ships, about 200 yards ahead of *Iron Duke*. Torpedo was travelling slowly. Track finished about 2,000 yards on the port side of the line, and the torpedo sank. Direction of the track was S.E."

Another torpedo was also reported by *Benbow*, which was 4th ship astern of *Iron Duke*, at 8.31 P.M. "It is believed that the torpedo passed ahead of *Iron Duke*," but this was not seen by *Iron Duke*, although two signalmen were specially stationed under a signal officer aloft, to look out for torpedoes. It is quite possible that this is due to the difficult light conditions rendering the track invisible from *Iron Duke*.

During the night, in view of the proximity of heavy enemy's ships, the hands remained at action stations, the gun's crews at their guns, but being allowed to sleep in turn. The corned beef and biscuits provided at the quarters were served out. Cocoa was provided from 9.30 P.M. onwards, and breakfast brought to the quarters at 7.30 A.M.

The turrets were fired throughout by director, which system possesses enormous advantages over any other in action.

The close study which has been made of the silhouettes of German ships enabled those sighted to be recognised, except a battle-cruiser with very large square funnels, which might have been the *Lützow*. The range-finders obtained very good results, notwithstanding the bad light, and were of the greatest assistance in keeping the range. The range-takers reported that the enemy's pole masts were easier to range on than those of our own ships.

No torpedoes were fired as the large number of our own ships which

from time to time crossed the space between the battle-fleets rendered it inadvisable to fire the slow E.R. torpedoes and the enemy were out of range for the 30-knot setting. The engine room department experienced no difficulties during the action.

FRED C. DREYER, Captain.

The notes of the four officers mentioned by Captain Dreyer are reproduced in the report. They are mostly of a highly technical nature. Mr. Jehan's notes conclude with the following observations :—

When, eventually, the remaining destroyers turned away and formed a smoke screen, range was increased the same way, and check fire was ordered when extreme gun range was reached. Transmitting station reported that range went as low as 7,600 to extreme 12,000.

During the first attack spotting was fairly easy, but during the second it was most difficult.

No submarines were sighted, although on several occasions the wash from the light cruisers and destroyers looked like the feather of a submarine.

REPORT OF SIR CECIL BURNEY, VICE-ADMIRAL COMMANDING THE  
FIRST BATTLE SQUADRON, TO THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, GRAND FLEET.

"ROYAL OAK,"  
June 10, 1916.

SIR,—I have the honour to report that the First Battle Squadron and *Bellona* left the northern base in accordance with your orders at 9.30 P.M., May 30, 1916, my flag being in *Marlborough*, and proceeded in company with your flag to the south-eastward.

2. The first intimation of the enemy being at sea was received in *Marlborough* about 2.30 P.M., May 31, a signal being intercepted from *Galatea* to senior officer, Battle-cruiser Fleet, reporting enemy cruisers bearing E.S.E. Further enemy reports were received from various units of the Battle-cruiser Fleet, and at 3.55 a signal was made by senior officer, Battle-cruiser Fleet, that he was engaging the enemy.

At 4 P.M. senior officer, 2nd Light-cruiser Squadron, reported enemy battle-fleet in sight steering east, and at 5 P.M. that they had altered course to north. The situation as it developed was reported by visual signal from time to time to the ships under my command.

At 5.30 P.M. heavy gun firing was heard on the starboard bow, and a little later flashes were clearly seen. At 5.45 P.M. *Lion*, *Princess Royal*, *Tiger*, and *New Zealand* were sighted on starboard bow heavily engaged with the enemy, whose flashes could now be seen to the southward, this being reported to flag at 6 P.M. at which time our battle-cruisers were bearing S.S.W. 3 to 4 miles steering east, *Lion* the leading ship. The 5th Battle Squadron then came in sight bearing S.W., also heavily engaged.

3. At 6.2 P.M. *Marlborough's* position was Lat. 57°04' N., Long. 5°29' E., course being altered by 9 pendant to south, speed 18 knots, and at 6.6 P.M. course was again altered to S.E. by 9 pendant. 6.15 P.M., signal was received to form line of battle S.E. by E. by equal speed pendant, enemy bearing E.S.E. from *Barham*.

4. About this time the battle-cruisers, who appeared to be ahead of the leading division, turned to starboard as if to cross the enemy's T.

5. One of our armoured cruisers, probably *Warrior*, was observed passing down the engaged side, making for her position in rear of the line. When near the end of the line she turned up parallel to it and engaged the enemy at short range. Heavy enemy salvoes were observed to fall all round her; she then turned about 14 points to port, a salvo struck her and a large flame was seen to burst from her quarter deck and she then passed astern.

6. A salvo of five shots fell ahead of the *Hercules* about 6.15 P.M. As the battle-cruisers drew ahead and their smoke cleared, the German line could be more easily seen and four Kaisers and four Heligolands could be dimly made out. *Marlborough* opened fire at 6.17 P.M. at a battleship of the Kaiser class. Range, 13,000 yards, about green 110. *Marlborough* fired seven salvoes and hits were observed in fifth and seventh salvoes, the remainder of the squadron opening fire as a target became visible.

7. At 6.20 P.M., speed of 14 knots was ordered by general signal. Shortly after this there was much bunching up of ships in the rear of the line. *Marlborough* and other ships had to reduce to 8 knots and *St. Vincent* had to stop for a short time. Owing to haze and the enemy's smoke organised distribution of fire was out of the question; individual ships selected their own targets.

8. As the action developed and disabled ships of both sides passed down between the lines, great difficulty was experienced in distinguishing the enemy's from our own ships.

9. *Marlborough* now shifted fire to a three-funnelled ship, and at 6.34 P.M. formed up astern of the line and opened fire on a battleship of the Kaiser class.

10. At 6.45 P.M. *Marlborough* altered course to avoid a torpedo. At 6.54 P.M. a heavy explosion was experienced under the fore bridge, the ship taking up a list of 8 degrees to starboard. The torpedo had struck the ship abreast of No. 1 dynamo room and hydraulic room, both of which were flooded, the two men stationed in the former being killed. Water was also reported up to the floor plates in "A" boiler room and it was considered necessary to draw the fires in that boiler room, but as a speed of 17 knots could be maintained I decided that *Marlborough* should maintain her position in the line and continue to lead her division. The list remained steady and it was reported in less than an hour that the water was being kept under.

11. Shortly after being struck, *Marlborough* opened fire on an enemy cruiser passing down the line which was suspected of having fired the torpedo. The third and fourth salvoes both hit and appeared to open up her side, as a deep red flame could be seen inside her hull. A torpedo was fired at her at 7.10 P.M. During this time the *Acasta* was passed disabled on the port side, and *Marlborough* avoided three more torpedoes by the use of the helm.

12. *Marlborough* then engaged a ship of the König class, firing fourteen salvoes. Distinct hits were seen in four salvoes. (The gunnery difficulties experienced by the ship after she was torpedoed are reported in the ship's

gunnery report.) This ship finally turned out of the line, very low in the water aft, and was apparently sinking. A destroyer was observed to place herself on her engaged side, and make a dense smoke in order to screen her.

13. Shortly after this a heavy smoke screen was observed at what appeared to be the head of the enemy battle-fleet, and it was soon apparent that the destroyers were attacking under its cover. I immediately hoisted the signal "NM," informing our flotillas astern that the enemy flotillas were making an attack. At the same time the preparative was hoisted, and I turned my division away. As far as I could judge the whole squadron opened fire on the attacking destroyers with the whole of the secondary and some of the main armament, and the attack was checked and they turned away, but not before they were able to fire some of their torpedoes, which, however, were avoided. Two of the enemy's destroyers were observed to be hit by *Marlborough's* 6-inch gunfire alone, and there must have been others as the fire was so intense.

14. As the destroyer attack developed the enemy battle-fleet in sight were observed to turn at least eight points until their sterns were towards our line. They ceased fire, declined further action, and disappeared into the mist. Our destroyers in rear of the line proceeded out to attack the enemy destroyers and sink any disabled craft.

15. During the action at one period the enemy appeared to be firing steady, well drilled salvoes, by some form of director such as the Petravic system, but their range-finding and range-keeping appear to have been at fault when they were hit, although the firing on our armoured cruisers was remarkable for its accuracy. Many of their salvoes were seen to fall over, and it was not till late in the action that they apparently found the range when the *Colossus* was straddled by four successive salvoes, correct for elevation.

16. As the action progressed their fire became more feeble. A certain number of shell of 4-inch or 6-inch calibre were seen to burst on the water just short of *Marlborough* and other ships of the First Battle Squadron, some leaving a cloud of light green vapour, and others a heavy grey vapour which spread over the surface of the water.

17. During the action many reports of submarines were made, some being undoubtedly authentic and course was altered to attack them and avoid their torpedoes. Shortly before *Marlborough* was torpedoed a heavy shock was felt on board *Revenge* in the transmitting room and other places, and two independent officer witnesses saw quantities of oil float to the surface and wreckage come up astern.

18. The tracks of torpedoes approaching the ship were clearly seen from the top and reported in good time so that they were avoided, with the exception of the one which struck the ship, and therefore it is considered to be probable that it came from a submarine.

19. It is estimated that at least twenty-one torpedoes passed through the First Battle Squadron, only one taking effect.

20. Before, during, and after the action the wireless telegraphy communication throughout the squadron was entirely satisfactory and invaluable for manœuvring and action signals, especially in the case of the repeating ship (*Bellona*), who was often unable to distinguish the flag

signals. No damage to aerials or instruments was sustained except in *Marlborough*, whose auxiliary aerial was partially shot away, and an intermittent earth on the main aerial feeder, which could not be traced for three-quarters of an hour, interrupted the reception of distant signals. In *Colossus* the internal buzzer communication between main office and signal tower was shot away. No enemy signalling was heard on auxiliary, and though they continually attempted to jamb the main installation signals from ships in company were easily overread.

21. After the enemy disappeared in the haze the First Battle Squadron conformed to the movements of your flag, but though *Marlborough* went the revolutions for 17 knots, I estimate the speed over the ground was only approximately 15·8 owing to the damage. Consequently the 6th division fell some way astern during the night.

22. Four night attacks were observed during the night, the first on the starboard beam, the others taking place in succession towards the stern. Several explosions were heard and two very large ones with flames shooting up into the sky were seen ; star shells were seen.

23. About midnight, smoke was observed ahead of *Marlborough*, which crossed from starboard to port and back again from port to starboard, and then came down the starboard side. It appeared to be a large ship and was challenged by *Revenge*, who was answered by two letters, though they were not the correct ones. She then disappeared.

24. At 2.30 A.M., June 1, it was reported to me that the bulkhead in "A" boiler room of *Marlborough* would not stand the speed, namely, revolutions for 17 knots, and that it was advisable to reduce to 10 or 12 knots. In consequence of this *Marlborough* was hauled out of line and the remainder of the division continued. I signalled *Fearless*, who was observed to be astern of *Agincourt*, to come alongside *Marlborough*, and I and my staff transferred to *Revenge*, in her, and then sent her back to escort *Marlborough*, who was subsequently ordered to Rosyth, via "M" Channel.

25. Shortly after arriving in *Revenge* a zeppelin was sighted, evidently scouting. Fire was opened on her, which caused her to dip, and she quickly disappeared. She looked a remarkably easy target if shrapnel had been available.

26. At daylight, owing to the very low visibility and to the fact that the division had dropped so far astern during the night (as explained above) and also to the transfer of my flag to *Revenge*, the remainder of the fleet was out of sight. I shaped course as necessary to effect a junction.

At 3.40 A.M. *Faulknor* with *Obedient* and *Marvel* joined my flag and reported the 12th Flotilla had attacked a division of the German Battle-fleet during the night, and that one battleship had been blown up.

27. At 5.15 A.M. *Revenge* passed through the wreckage of a German battleship or battle-cruiser, judging from the size of the floating powder cases.

At 6.30 A.M. what appeared to be the wreckage of the *Black Prince* was passed through, and a little later two rafts were observed with three men on them. I ordered *Obedient* to take them off, but she reported on rejoining that before she got there they had been taken off by a Dutch



steamer, whose captain protested against their being taken off his steamer, and so the captain of *Obedient* left them.

28. At 8.35 A.M. passed *Sparrowhawk* abandoned with *Marksman* close to. *Marksman* reported she was unable to tow her. She had attempted to do so, but the hawsers had parted. I, therefore, ordered her to sink her. She did so and then joined my flag. Nothing else of interest occurred and I rejoined your flag that evening.

29. The following ammunition was fired by the First Battle Squadron :—

—	Main Armament.	Secondary Armament.	Torpedoes.
<i>Marlborough</i> - - - -	162	60	2
<i>Revenge</i> - - - -	102	87	1
<i>Hercules</i> - - - -	98	—	—
<i>Agincourt</i> - - - -	144	111	—
<i>Colossus</i> - - - -	93	16	—
<i>Collingwood</i> - - - -	84	35	—
<i>Neptune</i> - - - -	48	48	—
<i>St. Vincent</i> - - - -	98	—	—
	829	357	3

30. I would like to bring to your notice the conduct of the crew of the *Acasta*, as mentioned in the report from the captain of *Hercules*; although badly damaged and apparently in a hopeless state, they cheered the *Hercules* as the latter passed.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

CECIL BURNEY,

Vice-Admiral Commanding First Battle Squadron.

#### REPORT OF SIR T. H. M. JERRAM, VICE-ADMIRAL COMMANDING THE SECOND BATTLE SQUADRON.

" KING GEORGE V.,"

June 5, 1916.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward herewith a summary of the events occurring during the recent action, compiled from reports made by ships of the Second Battle Squadron, accompanied by plans sent in by *King George V.*, *Erin*, *Orion*, *Monarch*, and *Thunderer*, and a diary of events before, during, and after the action, kept on board *King George V.*

2. I am unable to supply much detail from personal observation, as it was impossible to gather any general idea of the action, only momentary glimpses of the enemy being obtained. As leading ship, in addition to the hazy atmosphere, I was much hampered by what I imagine to have been cordite fumes from the battle-cruisers after they passed us, and from other cruisers engaged on the bow; also by funnel gases from small craft ahead, and, for a considerable time, by dense smoke from *Duke of Edinburgh*, who was unable to draw clear.

3. There is some evidence that submarines were close; *Duke of Edinburgh* three times made the signal of their presence, and my flag lieut.-

commander is certain that he saw the two periscopes of one vessel. On the other hand, it was obvious to me that a good deal of *Duke of Edinburgh's* fire was directed, not at a submarine, but at the wake of vessels ahead. The right gunlayer and trainer of "Y" turret in *King George V.* state that they saw a torpedo break surface 400 yards short of *King George V.*

4. I should like to mention specially that about 9 P.M. I negatived an attack with Whitehead torpedoes ordered by *Caroline* as I was certain that the vessels seen on our starboard beam were our own battle-cruisers. The navigating officer of my flagship, who has just come from the Battle-cruiser Fleet, was also certain that they were ours, and saw them sufficiently clearly to give their approximate course, which I reported to you. Shortly afterwards, I told *Caroline* to attack if he was quite certain they were enemy ships, as he was in a better position to see them than I was, but I do not know whether an attack was made. If they were enemy ships and no attack was made, the fault is mine, and not that of *Caroline*.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

T. H. M. JERRAM,

Vice-Admiral, Commanding Second Battle Squadron.

REPORT OF CAPTAIN SIR ALFRED CHATFIELD, CAPTAIN IN LORD  
BEATTY'S FLAGSHIP, "THE LION."

H.M.S. "LION,"  
June 4, 1916.

SIR,—I have the honour to report that on May 31, 1916, H.M. Ship under my command, flying your flag, was in action with the enemy under the following circumstances:—

At 3.25 P.M., G.M.T. enemy ships were reported on the starboard bow, bearing E. by N.

At 3.30 P.M. enemy ships were in sight from *Lion* and a range of 23,000 yards obtained.

At 3.44 P.M. the enemy, who were rapidly closing, were identified as 5 German battle-cruisers.

2. Enemy opened fire at 3.47 P.M., *Lion* replying half a minute later, the range being 18,500, course E.S.E. *Lion* was twice hit by heavy shell at 3.51 P.M. At 4.0 P.M. a shell disabled "Q" turret, and shortly afterwards *Indefatigable* was seen to be blown up, evidently by a magazine explosion.

3. At 4.2 P.M. the range was 14,600 and as the enemy appeared to have our range, course was altered on two or three occasions to 1 point to throw him out. The enemy appeared to be hit several times by our shell. *Lion* was firing at the leading ship, which was either *Lützow* or *Derfflinger*.

4. At 4.12 P.M. our course was S.S.E. and range 21,000 and course was altered to S.E. to close the enemy. At this period more than one enemy ship was firing at *Lion* and she was hit several times, but no important damage was done, though several fires were started, and there was a large number of killed and wounded, chiefly from a shell that exploded on the mess deck in the canteen flat.

5. At 4.26 P.M. a very great explosion was seen in the *Queen Mary* and she entirely disappeared.

6. At 4.38 P.M. the enemy battle-fleet was sighted ahead, and course was altered 16 points to north, enemy battle-cruisers responding so as to take station ahead of their battle-fleet.

7. *Lion* reopened fire at 4.38 P.M., re-engaging enemy leading ship (*Von Der Tann* ?); shortly after we passed wreckage of *Queen Mary*, with survivors in water, and a destroyer. The ship was now hit several times, the range being 15,000 yards. The ship had fires in several places, including a cordite case in the starboard 4-in. battery, which I ordered the 4-in. crews to extinguish, but this could not immediately be done owing to their extent and to the pressure on the fire mains being lost from perforations. All fires were eventually got under.

8. About this time a fire, which had been smouldering in "Q" turret ignited the charges still in the trunks: this killed all the magazine and shell-room parties and reached to the mess deck, where it burnt some of the ship's company. The magazine doors being shut, however, saved a more serious explosion. A fire was also reported in "X" magazine, but this proved to be an error due to smoke penetrating down from a heavy shell burst in the Sick Bay, which killed a large number of men in the vicinity.

9. At 5.1 P.M. fire was shifted to Lützow class again, range, 15,000 yards. *Lion* was hit twice by big shell, one of which wrecked the ship's galley compartment. At 5.12 P.M. *Lion* ceased fire owing to enemy being obscured, and did not reopen until 5.41 P.M. The visibility at this time was decreasing, and when fire was reopened on a ship that appeared to be of the König class battleship, the range was 14,000 yards, the enemy being just visible. Ship's course was now N.E. by N.

10. At 5.46 P.M. the range was 14,000 yards and the enemy was observed to be hit by two salvoes causing him to alter course to starboard and to cease fire.

11. At 5.56 P.M. the battle-fleet was in sight on the port bow. Altered course to N.E. by E., and at 6.4 P.M. to east, the enemy battle-cruisers bearing S.E.

12. *Defence* and *Warrior* now crossed *Lion's* bow and were engaging a light German cruiser, who was seriously injured by them. This caused *Lion* to cease fire and to lose touch with the enemy.

13. At 6.21 P.M. the Third Battle-cruiser Squadron was sighted, and took station ahead, and *Lion* reopened at distant ships on the starboard beam (König class ?). At 6.29 P.M. course was E. and S. and at 6.32 P.M. enemy heavy ships again came into view and opened fire on the 3rd B.C.S. At 6.36 P.M. *Invincible* blew up.

14. Course was continued to be altered to starboard to close the enemy, and at 6.37 P.M. was altered to E.S.E.; at 6.44 to S.E., and 6.48 P.M. to S.S.E. At 6.53 P.M. speed was reduced to 18 knots to keep station on the battle-fleet, who were leading away to port owing to a destroyer attack. *Lion* continued to engage the leading ship of enemy, occasionally ceasing fire when he became invisible. Very few hits were made on the ship subsequent to this, the enemy's fire appreciably slackening.

15. The ship continued to circle to starboard. At 7.3 P.M. our course

was altered to S.S.E., and at 7.6 P.M. to south ; at 7.9 P.M. to S.S.W., and at 7.11 P.M. to S.W. by S.

16. Fire was reopened on the leading ship of the enemy at 15,000 yards at 7.15 P.M. and speed was increased to 22 knots ; at 7.25 P.M. to 24 knots.

At 7.19 P.M. the enemy's leading destroyers made a heavy screen of black smoke to protect their ships from our gunfire.

At 7.32 P.M. course was S.W., and 7.50 P.M. W.S.W. The enemy was still not sufficiently visible to open fire, and this continued until 8.21 P.M. when the flashes of his guns were again seen on our starboard beam.

At 8.23 P.M. *Lion* opened fire with rapid salvos on his leading ship, either Lützow or König class. Our shooting appeared to be very effective, and the enemy appeared on fire at 8.27 P.M.

17. The enemy now turned away more to starboard, and the light was failing. *Lion* ceased fire at 8.30 P.M. our course then being N. 35° W.

18. At 8.40 P.M. a heavy bump was felt on the starboard side. This appeared to me like a heavy hit on the water-line, but this was not the case, and it has not yet been ascertained what was the cause. It is possible *Lion* may have run over a sunken ship, and divers are examining her bottom.

Shortly afterwards, *Indomitable* hauled out of line and reported she had been torpedoed, which was subsequently negated, which seems to imply that she had the same experience as *Lion*.

19. The enemy was not sighted again.

#### DAMAGE.

20. The damage to the ship is not serious, except that "Q" turret is wrecked, but is repairable. The ship was hit altogether twelve times by enemy heavy shell, but the damage, which I have already reported to you separately, does not seriously affect our seaworthiness or fighting efficiency, and the ship is now ready for sea.

#### CONDUCT OF OFFICERS AND MEN.

21. The conduct of the officers and ship's company was in every detail magnificent. The ship has been in commission for so long, and the men are so highly trained, and have such a fine spirit, that even in action they can do almost anything without their officers.

The unnerving sights that occurred, with the heavy casualties, which amounted to ninety-five killed and forty-nine wounded, mostly in the first two hours of the action, were a tremendous strain on the strongest discipline, yet there was never the least sign of wavering in the least degree from their duty.

On visiting the mess deck twice during the action while the ship was temporarily disengaged, I observed nothing but cheerful determination, zeal to succour the wounded, and thoughtfulness for the good safety of the ship to keep her efficient.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

A. E. M. CHATFIELD, Captain.

REPORT OF MIDSHIPMAN J. L. STOREY, SENIOR UNINJURED SURVIVOR  
OF THE "QUEEN MARY."

SIR,—I deeply regret to report that H.M.S. *Queen Mary*, commanded by Captain C. I. Prowse, R.N., was completely destroyed when in action with the German Fleet at 5.25 P.M. on Wednesday, May 31. The total number of officers and men saved was eighteen.<sup>1</sup>

The circumstances of the loss of the ship are, as far as I know, as follows: At 4.20 P.M. the *Queen Mary* was third ship in the line of the 1st B.C.S., and action was sounded, and at 4.45 the order was given "load all guns." At 4.53 fire was opened on the third ship of the enemy's line, the range being about 17,000 yards.

The fire was maintained with great rapidity till 5.20, and during this time we were only slightly damaged by the enemy's fire. At 5.20 a big shell hit "Q" turret and put the right gun out of action, but the left gun continued firing. At 5.24 a terrific explosion took place which smashed up "Q" turret and started a big fire in worknig chamber, and the gun house was filled with smoke and gas. The officer on the turret, Lieutenant-Commander Street, gave the order to evacuate the turret. All the unwounded in the gun house got clear and, as they did so, another terrific explosion took place and all were thrown into the water. On coming to the surface nothing was visible except wreckage, but thirty persons appeared to be floating in the water.

At 5.55 H.M.S. *Laurel* saw the survivors in the water and lowered a whaler and rescued seventeen. When this number had been picked up, H.M.S. *Laurel* received orders to proceed at full speed, being in grave danger of the enemy's ships. All officers and men were treated with the greatest kindness by the officers and men of H.M.S. *Laurel*, and were landed at Rosyth at about 8 P.M., June 1.<sup>2</sup>

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. L. STOREY, Midshipman, R.N.

REPORT FROM COMMANDER H. E. DANNREUTHER, SENIOR SURVIVING  
OFFICER OF THE "INVINCIBLE."

H.M.S. "CRESCENT,"

June 2, 1916.

SIR,—I deeply regret to report that H.M.S. *Invincible*, commanded by Captain A. L. Cay, R.N., and flying the flag of Rear-Admiral the Hon. Horace L. Hood, Rear-Admiral commanding the Third Battle-cruiser Squadron, was blown up and completely destroyed when in action with the enemy at 6.34 P.M. on Wednesday, May 31.

The total number of officers and men on board at the time was 1,031. Of these only six survived. The names of the survivors are as follows: Commander H. E. Dannreuther, R.N., Lieutenant C. S. Sanford, R.N.,

<sup>1</sup> Part omitted here, referring solely to *personnel* recommendations—i.e., in no way bearing on the course of the action.

<sup>2</sup> It will be noted that the above times are "Summer time" and not G.M.T.

Chief P.O. (P.T.I.) Thompson, Yeo. Signals Pratt (Walter Maclean), 216963, Able Seaman Dandridge (Ernest George), 239478, Gunner Gasson, R.M.A.

Of the above, all are free from injury with the exception of Gunner Gasson, who was severely burnt about the head and arms. They are now accommodated in this ship except Gunner Gasson, who is in the hospital ship *Plassey*.

The circumstances of the destruction of the ship are briefly as follows :—

The *Invincible* was leading the 3rd B.C.S. and at about 5.45 P.M. first came into action with an enemy light cruiser on the port bow. Several torpedoes were seen coming towards the ship, but were avoided by turning away from them. *Invincible's* fire was effective on the light cruiser engaged, and a heavy explosion was observed. A dense cloud of smoke and steam from this explosion appeared to be in the same position some minutes later.

*Invincible* then turned and came into action at about 6.15 P.M. with the leading enemy battle-cruiser, which was thought to be the *Derfflinger*. Fire was opened at the enemy at about 8,000 yards, and several hits were observed.

A few moments before the *Invincible* blew up Admiral Hood hailed the control officer in the control top from the fore bridge : “ Your firing is very good ; keep at it as quickly as you can, every shot is telling.” This was the last order heard from the admiral or captain, who were both on the bridge at the end.

The ship had been hit several times by heavy shell, but no appreciable damage had been done when at 6.34 P.M. a heavy shell struck “ Q ” turret and, bursting inside, blew the roof off. This was observed from the control top. Almost immediately following there was a tremendous explosion amidships, indicating that “ Q ” magazine had blown up. The ship broke in two and sank in 10 or 15 seconds.

The survivors on coming to the surface saw the bow and stern of the ship only, both of which were vertical and about 50 ft. clear of the water. The survivors were stationed as follows prior to the sinking of the ship : Commander Dannreuther (Gun Control Officer), C.P.O. Thompson and A.B. Danbridge, Fore Control Top ; Yeo. Signals Pratt, Director-Tower platform ; Lieutenant (T.) Sanford, Fore Conning Tower (hatch of which was open) ; Gunner Gasson, “ Q ” turret at the range-finder.

There was very little wreckage ; the six survivors were supported by a target raft and floating timber till picked up by H.M.S. *Badger* shortly after 7 P.M. Only one man besides those rescued was seen to come to the surface, after the explosion, and he sank before he could reach the target raft. The *Badger* was brought alongside the raft in a most expeditious and seamanlike manner, and the survivors were treated with the utmost kindness and consideration by the officers and men.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

H. E. DANNREUTHER, Commander.

## DESPATCH FROM ADMIRAL JELlicoe TO THE SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY.

"IRON DUKE,"

October 30, 1914.

SIR,—The experience gained of German methods since the commencement of the war makes it possible and very desirable to consider the manner in which these methods are likely to be made use of tactically in a fleet action.

2. The Germans have shown that they rely to a very great extent on submarines, mines, and torpedoes, and there can be no doubt whatever that they will endeavour to make the fullest use of these weapons in a fleet action, especially since they possess an actual superiority over us in these particular directions.

3. It therefore becomes necessary to consider our own tactical methods in relation to these forms of attack.

4. In the first place, it is evident that the Germans cannot rely with certainty upon having their full complement of submarines and mine-layers present in a fleet action unless the battle is fought in waters selected by them, and in the southern area of the North Sea. Aircraft, also, could only be brought into action in this locality.

5. My object will therefore be to fight the fleet action in the northern portion of the North Sea, which position is incidentally nearer our own bases, giving our wounded ships a chance of reaching them, whilst it ensures the final destruction or capture of enemy wounded vessels, and greatly handicaps a night destroyer attack before or after a fleet action. The northern area is also favourable to a concentration of our cruisers and torpedo craft with the battle-fleet: such concentration on the part of the enemy being always possible since he will choose a time for coming out when all his ships are coaled and ready in all respects to fight.

6. Owing to the necessity that exists for keeping our cruisers at sea, it is probable that many will be short of coal when the opportunity for a fleet action arises, and they might be unable to move far to the southward for this reason.

7. The presence of a large force of cruisers is most necessary, for observation and for screening the battle-fleet, so that the latter may be manœuvred into any desired position behind the cruiser screen. This is a strong additional reason for fighting in the northern area.

8. Secondly, it is necessary to consider what may be termed the tactics of the actual battle-field.

The German submarines, if worked as is expected with the battle-fleet, can be used in one of two ways:—

(a) With the cruisers, or possibly with destroyers.

(b) With the battle-fleet.

In the first case, the submarines would probably be led by the cruisers to a position favourable for attacking our battle-fleet as it advanced to deploy, and in the second case they might be kept in a position in rear, or to the flank, of the enemy's battle-fleet, which would move in the direction required to draw our own fleet into contact with the submarines.

9. The first move at (a) should be defeated by our own cruisers, provided we have a sufficient number present, as they should be able to force the enemy's cruisers to action at a speed which would interfere with submarine tactics.

The cruisers must, however, have destroyers in company to assist in dealing with the submarines, and should be well in advance of the battle-fleet ; hence the necessity for numbers.

10. The second move at (b) can be countered by judicious handling of our battle-fleet, but may, and probably will, involve a refusal to comply with the enemy's tactics by moving in the invited direction. If, for instance, the enemy battle-fleet were to turn away from an advancing fleet, I should assume that the intention was to lead us over mines and submarines, *and should decline to be so drawn.*

11. I desire particularly to draw the attention of their Lordships to this point, since it may be deemed a refusal of battle, and, indeed, might possibly result in failure to bring the enemy to action as soon as is expected and hoped.

12. Such a result would be absolutely repugnant to the feelings of all British Naval Officers and men, but with new and untried methods of warfare new tactics must be devised to meet them.

I feel that such tactics, if not understood, may bring odium upon me, but so long as I have the confidence of their Lordships I intend to pursue what is, in my considered opinion, the proper course to defeat and annihilate the enemy's battle-fleet, without regard to uninstructed opinion or criticism.

13. The situation is a difficult one. It is quite within the bounds of possibility that half of our battle-fleet might be disabled by under-water attack before the guns opened fire at all, if a false move is made, and I feel that I must constantly bear in mind the great probability of such attack and be prepared tactically to prevent its success.

14. The safeguard against submarines will consist in moving the battle-fleet at very high speed to a flank before deployment takes place or the gun action commences.

This will take us off the ground on which the enemy desires to fight, but it may, of course, result in his refusal to follow me.

If the battle-fleets remain within sight of one another, though not near the original area, the limited submerged radius of action and speed of the submarines will prevent the submarines from following without coming to the surface, and I should feel that after an interval of high-speed manœuvring, I could safely close.

15. The object of this letter is to place my views before their Lordships, and to direct their attention to the alterations in pre-conceived ideas of battle tactics which are forced upon us by the anticipated appearance in a fleet action of submarines and minelayers.

16. There can be no doubt that the fullest use will also be made by the enemy of surface torpedo craft.

This point has been referred to in previous letters to their Lordships, and, so long as the whole of the First Fleet Flotillas are with the fleet, the hostile destroyers will be successfully countered and engaged.

The necessity for attaching some destroyers to cruiser squadrons,



alluded to in paragraph 9, emphasises the necessity for the junction of the 1st and 3rd Flotillas with the fleet before a fleet action takes place.

17. It will, however, be very desirable that *all* available ships and torpedo craft should be ordered to the position of the fleet action as soon as it is known to be imminent, as the presence of even Third Fleet Vessels after the action or towards its conclusion may prove of great assistance in rendering the victory shattering and complete.

The Channel Fleet should be accompanied by as many destroyers, drawn from the Dover or Coast patrols, as can be spared.

I trust that their Lordships will give the necessary orders on the receipt of information from me of an impending fleet action.

18. In the event of a fleet action being imminent or, indeed, as soon as the High Sea Fleet is known to be moving northward, it is most desirable that a considerable number of our oversea submarines should proceed towards the fleet, getting first on to the line between the Germans and Heligoland in order to intercept them when returning. The German Fleet would probably arrange its movements so as to pass Heligoland at dusk when coming out and at dawn when returning, in order to minimise submarine risk. The opportunity for submarine attack in the Heligoland Bight would not therefore be very great, and from four to six submarines would be the greatest number that could be usefully employed there. The remainder, accompanied by one or two light cruisers, taken, if necessary, from the Dover patrol, should work up towards the position of the fleet, the light cruisers keeping in wireless touch with me.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. R. JELlicoe, Admiral.

The Secretary  
of the Admiralty.  
M.03177/14.

ADMIRALTY,  
November 7, 1914.

SIR,—I have laid before My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your letter of the 30th ultimo, No. 339/H.F. 0034, and I am commanded by them to inform you that they approve your views, as stated therein, and desire to assure you of their full confidence in your contemplated conduct of the fleet in action.

2. My Lords will, as desired, give orders for all available ships and torpedo craft to proceed to the position of the fleet action on learning from you that it is imminent.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

W. GRAHAM GREENE.

# OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1920.

## JANUARY.

2. **The Right Hon. Sir Frank Lascelles, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.,** who was 78 years of age, was son of the Rt. Hon. W. S. S. Lascelles, M.P., his mother being a daughter of the 6th Earl of Carlisle. He entered the Diplomatic Service in his youth. As a Secretary of Legation in 1867-68 he was in Berlin, and his next appointment was to Paris where he remained through the Siege and the Commune. After short periods of service in Rome, Washington, Athens, and Egypt, he went to Sofia, where he stayed during Prince Alexander of Battenberg's reign from 1879 to 1886. The following year he went to Bukarest, and in 1891 he was appointed to Teheran, where he became very popular. From 1894 to 1895 he was Ambassador at Petersburg, and he formed a favourable impression of the Tsar, Nicholas II., while deploring the confusion which prevailed in Russian Government Departments. Sir Frank was appointed Ambassador to Berlin in October, 1895, and was thus in office at the time the Kaiser's telegram to President Kruger roused the ire of the British nation. The situation was dealt with by the Ambassador in a level-headed manner, and he was subsequently on excellent terms with William II., despite the occasional strange outbreaks of temper to which that monarch was subject. Sir Frank seemed to know how to distinguish between mere eccentricity and deliberate scheming on the part of the Kaiser in political matters, and his career in Berlin was distinguished by tact and moderation. He remained there until 1908.

Sir Frank married, in 1867, the eldest daughter of Sir J. Olliffe, and he had two sons and a daughter.

3. **The Rev. Frederick George Dutton, 5th Baron Sherborne,** who was in his 80th year, was educated at Christ Church, Oxford. He was ordained in 1869, became Vicar of Sherborne with Windrush in 1870, and from 1874 to 1916 was Vicar of Bibury. In 1901 he became an Honorary Canon of Gloucester, and he resigned his benefice in 1916. Lord Sherborne succeeded his brother in 1919, and was himself succeeded by his nephew, Lieut.-Colonel James Huntley Dutton, D.S.O.

— **Thomas Hart-Davies,** who was 73 years of age, represented North Hackney as a Liberal in the House of Commons from 1906 to 1910. He was a son of Archdeacon Hart-Davies, and was educated at Marlborough and Pembroke College, Oxford, where he was an exhibitioner. From 1867, when he entered the Indian Civil Service, he held posts in the Bombay Presidency for twenty-eight years, becoming eventually Judge of the Karachi District, and Acting Judicial Commissioner. Mr. Hart-Davies was a supporter of the Morley-Minto reforms in Indian Government, and he was also a great traveller and a linguist of considerable attainments. In 1913 he married Mrs. Wauhope.

4. **Don Benito Perez Galdos**, the eminent Spanish novelist, was born in the Canary Islands in 1845. He abandoned the study of law in Madrid for a journalistic career, and in 1870 he began his life's work of novel writing. His great series of historical novels, the "Episodios Nacionales," were widely read and extremely popular all over Spain, and his works dealing with modern times, some of which were concerned with questions of religion and politics, influenced the thoughts of his contemporaries to a marked degree.

As a politician Galdos was also well known, being from 1885 for many years Deputy for the district of Guyama in Porto Rico, and later he became chief of the Socialist Party.

His gifts as a novelist were brilliancy and a forcible style. His "Fortunato y Jacinta," "Gloria," and "La Familia de Leon Roch" were striking instances of his genius, to which indeed the contemporary revival of Spanish fiction may be largely attributed.

— **Robert Etheridge**, who was 73 years of age, was the son of a well-known geologist and palæontologist, formerly Director to the Geological Survey of England. He followed his father's profession, working in early life as a member of the first Geological Survey of Victoria, after which he returned to England and became palæontologist to the Geological Survey of Scotland. He subsequently worked with his father on the staff of the Geological Department of the Natural History Museum in London.

Mr. Etheridge, however, maintained his interest in Australia, and in 1887 he returned to that country as palæontologist to the Geological Survey of New South Wales, and to the Australian Museum in Sydney, of which he became Director in 1895.

His work for the Museum and for the cause of science generally in Australia was very great. His arrangement of the collections, including that of a remarkable series of ethnological exhibits from the Pacific Islands, extended the usefulness of the Museum.

Mr. Etheridge also founded a library at the Mines Department, and the "Records of the Australian Museum," and arranged for public lectures on scientific subjects.

Among the honours he received were the Clarke Memorial Medal from the Royal Society of New South Wales in 1895, and the Mueller Memorial Medal from the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science in 1911, and his name was given to an Antarctic glacier, a peak on the Kosciuszko Plateau, and a goldfield in North Queensland.

Among Mr. Etheridge's published works was included "The Geology and Palæontology of Queensland and New Guinea," in which he collaborated with Mr. R. Logan Jack.

5. **Sir Thomas Fraser, F.R.S., Sc.D., M.D., etc.**, Emeritus Professor of Materia Medica in Edinburgh University, was born in 1841. He was the son of Mr. John Fraser of Crailing Hall, Roxburghshire, and of Calcutta, and took his degree in Medicine at Edinburgh in 1862. Eight years later he became Lecturer in Materia Medica in the Extra-mural School of that city, resigning his post in 1874 to take up that of Medical Officer of Health for Cheshire. He was, however, recalled to Edinburgh three years later when he was appointed the successor of Sir Robert Christison, the Professor of Materia Medica in the University.

Both by his teaching and his research work Sir Thomas left his mark on the medical world of his generation.

His great aim was the acquisition and imparting of knowledge concerning the action of drugs on the body, and in this branch of medical science he gained the highest renown. He discovered the uses of the drug physostigmine, and demonstrated its action and effect upon the eye, and his other researches, including those upon the drug stropanthus in its relation to heart affections, and his investigations into the causes of plague in India in 1898, proved of great value.

Sir Thomas was famous as a teacher, and although an unfortunate accident caused him to break his leg at a somewhat advanced age, he retained his post until 1918.

He was knighted in 1902, and was the recipient of many honours, including that of Honorary Physician in Ordinary to the King in Scotland, and Laureate of the Institute of France. He was married and had a family.

6. **Walter, 1st Baron Cunliffe**, who was Governor of the Bank of England from 1913 to 1918, was a member of a family of City bankers, and was born in 1855. He was educated at Harrow and Cambridge, where his athletic achievements were considerable, and in 1880 he went into the City, and ten years later he established the merchant banking firm of Cunliffe Brothers of Cornhill.

In 1895 he became a director of the Bank of England, and was elected Deputy Governor in 1911.

As Governor during the Great War Lord Cunliffe (he was raised to the Peerage in December, 1914) occupied a position of immense responsibility. His decision in 1914 to discount pre-moratorium bills was productive of great relief to the money market, and was received with general approval. On other occasions his policy was subjected to a considerable amount of adverse criticism, as, for instance, when he raised the Bank rate in July, 1916, and maintained it longer than was necessary. But he was always admired for his high integrity, and his services to his country were great.

Lord Cunliffe went on missions to France, Russia, Italy, and the United States, during his period as Governor of the Bank, and he became a financial adviser to the Government at the Peace Conference.

He received various foreign distinctions, and shortly before his death was made an Honorary Freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company. Lord Cunliffe was twice married, and left five children, being succeeded by his son, the Hon. Rolf Cunliffe, who was born in 1899.

— **Professor Heinrich Lammasch**, the international jurist and politician, was born in 1853. In 1899 he became Professor at the University of Vienna, and likewise a member of the Austrian Upper House. In 1900 he was nominated to the International Tribunal at the Hague, and he subsequently sat on various important committees. Professor Lammasch spoke in favour of peace without annexations, and with equal rights for all nations in the Upper House in June, 1917, and in October, 1918, he was for a short period Prime Minister of Austria. But the Emperor's abdication caused the downfall of his Government.

— **Sir Edmund Barton, G.C.M.G.**, the first Prime Minister of Australia, was born in 1849 in Sydney, and was the son of middle-class parents. He was educated in his native city, gaining scholarships and classical distinction at the University, where he graduated B.A. in 1868.

In 1871 he was called to the New South Wales Bar, becoming a Q.C. in 1889.

From 1879 onwards he was engaged in politics, holding alternately seats in the Legislative Assembly and in the Legislative Council, and in 1889 he reached Cabinet rank as Attorney-General, with Sir George Dibbs as Premier. Sir Edmund had previously been Speaker of the Assembly from 1883 to 1887 and was known as a convinced Protectionist. On the death of Sir Henry Parkes in 1896 Sir Edmund Barton succeeded him as leader of the Federation movement, and in 1900 he went to London at the head of the Delegation which presented the Commonwealth Constitution Bill to the British Parliament.

The following year he became Australia's first Prime Minister, and was confronted with the immensely difficult task of controlling and leading a Government which was composed of men who were described as forming a "Cabinet of Captains," and with that of dealing with a Parliament which reflected many of these characteristics.

Sir Edmund's great mental powers and foresight, reinforced by wide learning, were thus employed in the elucidation of problems affecting Imperial Unity. In 1902 he attended the Colonial Conference in London, and then became a Puisne Judge of the High Court where his powers as an Empire Builder were still exercised for the good of the country to which his life had been devoted.

6. **Lieut.-Colonel Manners-Smith, V.C., C.V.O., C.I.E.**, was in his 56th year. He gained the Victoria Cross on the Gilgit Frontier in the Hunza-Nagar Campaign of 1891-92, and he held in succession the posts of Resident in Nepal, Resident in Kashmir, and Governor-General's Agent in Rajputana.

8. **Sir Henry Meredyth Plowden**, who was in his 80th year, was a member of a distinguished Anglo-Indian family. He was educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was well known as a cricketer, being captain for two years of the Cambridge eleven, and also winning the University Challenge Rackets in 1862, and the Oxford and Cambridge Rackets in 1863.

He was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1866 and subsequently served, first as Government Advocate, and later as Judge at the Chief Court of the Punjab. In 1888 he was knighted, and he retired six years later. Sir Henry married a daughter of Sir Cecil Beadon, Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, and had two daughters.

10. **Sir John McCallum, M.P.** for Paisley, was 72. He was Chairman of Messrs. Isdale & McCallum, Ltd., soapmakers, and had represented Paisley as a Liberal since 1906.

11. **The Rev. John Nepomucene Strassmaier, S.J.**, the well-known Assyriologist, was born in Bavaria in 1846. In early life he showed a marked capacity for Hebrew and Oriental study, but his studies were interrupted by ambulance work in the Franco-Prussian War. He came to England in 1872, took his doctorate with honours, and in 1878 he settled in London where he had every opportunity of continuing his research work. From 1882 to 1900 Fr. Strassmaier published codifications and elucidations of Assyrian inscriptions belonging to the British Museum, and later he dealt with the famous tablets which were sent to him from Berlin. In 1889 he published, in collaboration with Fr. Epping, S.J., a great work on ancient astronomy. Unfortunately some of Fr. Strassmaier's formulæ were erroneously applied, which detracted from the value of this publication.

— **Mrs. Margaret Dunlop Gibson, D.D., LL.D., D.Litt.**, was, like her twin sister Mrs. Agnes Lewis, a famous Oriental scholar. In 1883 she married the Rev. J. Y. Gibson, the translator of the poems of *Cervantes*. Her husband died in 1886.

Mrs. Gibson, with her sister, travelled extensively in Syria and Palestine, visiting Sinai no less than six times. In 1892 they published the photograph of the Syriac palimpsest of the Gospels, and in 1896 the first leaf of the Hebrew *Ecclesiasticus*.

In 1897 the sisters gave the site of Westminster Theological College, Cambridge, to which institution they presented an endowment of 20,000*l.* Mrs. Gibson's published works included "How the Codex was Found," and Commentaries in Syriac and English on the Holy Scriptures.

15. **Major-General Sir Philip Geoffrey Twining, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.V.O.**, was Director of Fortifications and Works at the War Office, to which post he was appointed in April, 1918. He was in his 57th year, and was born at Halifax, Nova Scotia. He was educated at Kingstone, Canada, entered the Army in 1886, and served in India, Canada, Africa, and China. He was promoted Colonel in 1915 and Major-General in 1917. He did much useful work for the transport system in France.

16. **Alfred Parsons, R.A., P.R.W.S.**, was born in 1847. He started life as a clerk in the General Post Office, but he soon turned his attention to the art of painting, and became well known as an exhibitor before he was 30. His picture "When Nature Painted all Things Gay" was bought by the Chantrey Fund in 1887. Mr. Parsons' great gift was for painting flowers and gardens, and in the development of this branch of art he studied unremittingly. His work both in oils and water-colours became a delight to all who cared for horticulture, and he was also noted as a designer of gardens. His illustrations showed his gifts almost at their highest point, and his work for *Harper's Magazine* and for Mr. Austin Dobson's poems proved this. He was President of the Royal Water-colour Society for six years.

18. **Vice-Admiral Noel S. F. Digby** was born in 1839, and entered the Navy in 1852. He was present at the bombardment of Sebastopol in 1854, and at the bombardment of Sveaborg the next year, and in 1861 he served as lieutenant on the first British sea-going ironclad, the *Warrior*. He was promoted Commander in 1872, served in the Ashanti War, receiving the medal, and became Captain in 1879, after which he served as flag-captain to various Admirals.

In 1889 he was appointed to the charge of the training-ship *Britannia* and retained this post until 1892, retiring from the Navy in 1893. Admiral Digby was twice married, and left a son and daughter.

21. **The Right Rev. Bernard Ward, D.D., Roman Catholic Bishop of Brentwood**, who died very suddenly, was in his 63rd year. He was the youngest son of William George Ward, well known as a pioneer of the Oxford Movement, and was born when his father was Professor of Theology at St. Edmund's College, Ware, the institution where he was destined to play so important a part.

He was educated partly there, and partly at Oscott, was ordained by Cardinal Manning in 1882, and became "Prefect" at St. Edmund's for three years. In 1890 he was made Vice-President, and from 1893 to 1916 he was President of the College, receiving the honour of being appointed Domestic Prelate to Pope Leo XIII. in 1895, and becoming a Canon of the Diocese of Westminster in 1903.

For a short time, after ill-health compelled his resignation of the Presidency of the College in 1916, Dr. Ward was Missionary Rector of Holy Trinity Church, Hammersmith, and in 1917 he was consecrated Bishop.

His great life-work was that which he accomplished for the students at Ware. He was devoted to their interests, and his scholarly attainments and gifts of geniality and humour were of the greatest benefit to those over whom he presided.

Bishop Ward's published works include several volumes on the "History of Roman Catholicism in England during the 18th and 19th Centuries," the "History of St. Edmund's College," and a volume on "The Priestly Vocation."

22. **The Rev. Edmond Warre, D.D., D.C.L., C.V.O., C.B.**, formerly Head Master and Provost of Eton College, was 82 years of age. He was a member of an old Somerset family, and was educated first at Eton, where he had a distinguished career from 1849 to 1854, both as a scholar and an athlete, and in 1855 he became a Scholar of Balliol College, Oxford. In 1856 he took a First in Moderations, and in 1859 a First in Lit. Hum., and became a Fellow of All Souls. Among his other claims to distinction were the facts that he rowed in the University eight in 1857-58-59, and became President of the O.U.B.C. He also founded the Oxford Volunteer Rifle Corps. From 1860 to 1884 Dr. Warre was an Assistant Master at Eton, and from 1884 until 1905, Head Master. He then lived in retirement for four years, after which he was appointed Provost of Eton by King Edward VII.

Dr. Warre's work for Eton was great and many-sided. As an

organiser, whether of school work or games, or in the planning of new buildings, his capacity for detail and his thoroughness were remarkable to a high degree. His fame as an oarsman and a coach were world-wide, and his work for the Eton Rifle Corps left an indelible mark on that department of the life of the school.

As a scholar Dr. Warre was extremely accurate, and possessed a peculiarly retentive memory. He was more effective as a writer than as a speaker, though he had the gift of a magnificent voice. He was entirely devoted to the boys and all that made for the honour of the school, and in return he gained from those over whom he ruled such a measure of affection and respect that his wishes were obeyed loyally, with the result that the whole standard of Eton life and work was raised.

Dr. Warre married, in 1861, a daughter of Colonel Malet of Fontmell Parva, Dorset, and left five sons and two daughters.

He was the recipient of many honours, and was Honorary Chaplain to Queen Victoria, King Edward VII., and King George V.

The spirit of patriotism which Dr. Warre called forth at Eton bore its first fruits in his day during the South African War, and the great memorial buildings, to the erection of which he devoted so much of his power and energy, were the fitting and visible mark of his high achievements on the moral plane.

**22. Sir Robert Follett Synge, K.C.M.G., M.V.O., H.M. Deputy-Marshal of the Ceremonies**, was born in 1853 and was educated at Charterhouse. He became a clerk in the Treaty Department of the Foreign Office in 1884, and was in attendance on various Royal Personages who came on visits to England. He became a Staff Officer in the Treaty Department in 1896, having been for two years Assistant to the Master of the Ceremonies. In 1897 he was made a C.M.G., and in 1899 was appointed Assistant-Marshal of the Ceremonies to Queen Victoria. Besides his many duties in England Sir Robert was frequently attached as Secretary to Special Missions abroad, and during the war he was greatly interested in the London Special Constabulary, himself holding high rank in the force. He was made a K.C.M.G. in 1919.

Sir Robert married a daughter of Mr. J. C. Fletcher of Dale Park, Arundel.

— **Sir Michael Nethersole, C.S.I.**, who was 61 years of age, passed from the Royal Indian Engineering College, Cooper's Hill, into the Public Works Department in 1880, and served for many years in the United Provinces and in Kashmir, becoming, in 1912, Inspector-General of Irrigation in India. In 1914 he received the C.S.I., and on his retirement in 1917 he was knighted.

Sir Michael subsequently became chief hydro-electric engineer to the Tata Company, and accomplished important work in the Andhra Valley. He died in Bombay before the undertaking was finished. He married a daughter of Sir E. N. C. Braddon and had a family.

**23. James Munro, C.B.**, whose age was 81, was educated at Edinburgh and Berlin. In 1858 he entered the Indian Civil Service and held various posts in Bengal, until, in 1877, he was made Inspector-General of Police. In 1884 he was appointed Commissioner of the Presidency Division. On his retirement from this position he became Assistant Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, and being in charge of the Criminal Investigation Department he accomplished much useful work in connexion with the suppression of Fenian plots in 1885. In 1888 he received the C.B., and was made Chief Commissioner. After eighteen months he resigned his post owing to the fact that various reforms suggested by him were not acceptable to the then Home Secretary.

Mr. Munro then returned to India where he became the chief founder and supporter of the Ranaghat Hospital, 40 miles from Calcutta, where free treatment was accorded to natives.

24. **William Lee, 5th Baron Plunket**, was born in December, 1864, and succeeded his father in 1897. He was for some years in the Diplomatic Service, and served at Rome and at Constantinople. He was Governor of New Zealand from 1904 to 1910. In 1894 he married Lady Victoria Alexandrina, youngest daughter of the 1st Marquess of Dufferin and Ava. He had three sons and five daughters, and was succeeded by his eldest son, the Hon. Terence Conyngham Plunket, of the Rifle Brigade.

## FEBRUARY.

1. **Andrew Carrick Gow, R.A.**, Keeper of the Royal Academy since 1911, was 72 years of age. He was well known as a historical painter of great dignity, and had exhibited at the Royal Academy regularly for fifty years. He became an A.R.A. in 1881, and R.A. in 1891.

2. **Georgiana, Lady Burne-Jones**, who was in her 80th year, was a daughter of a Wesleyan Minister, the Rev. G. B. Macdonald. She married Sir Edward Burne-Jones in 1860, and was for thirty-eight years both the sympathetic companion of her husband and a remarkable figure in their highly intellectual and artistic circle. After Sir Edward's death, in 1898, Lady Burne-Jones lived quietly in the country, and in 1904 she published the Memorials of her husband which were recognised as a model of what a work of the kind should be. She was herself an artist of no small skill in the fields of pen-and-ink drawing, wood-engraving, and embroidery, and also in that of painting.

4. **Kaid Sir Harry Aubrey Maclean, K.C.M.G.**, who was 72 years of age, was a member of the family of the Macleans of Drimnin, and in his youth entered the Army, and served with the 69th Foot. In 1876 he visited Morocco, and was requested by the Sultan Mulai Hussan to become instructor to the Moroccan Army. For thirty years he lived in magnificent surroundings in his adopted country, performing his duties to the satisfaction of the Sultan with whom he was a great favourite. Mulai Hussan died in 1894, and during the reign of his successor, Abd-el-Aziz, unsuccessful attempts were made to get rid of Kaid Maclean's influence at Court. In 1907 he was captured by the bandit Raisuli, and all attempts to rescue him having failed, the British Legation intervened, and secured his release at a ransom of 20,000l.

Mulai Hafid next became Sultan, and owing to the fact that in his reign French influence was predominant at Court, Kaid Maclean's official connexion with the country came to an end. His liking, however, for Oriental life and for the Moors led him to spend most of his time among them, and it was in Morocco that he died.

Sir Harry Maclean was a man of great physical prowess and daring, and many tales were told of his adventures. He once drove a hansom cab from Tangier to Fez in the days when Moroccan "roads" were mere rough tracks, and he formed a bagpipe unit from among his soldiery. He was made a C.M.G. in 1898, and promoted K.C.M.G. three years later. Sir Harry was twice married, on the second occasion to the daughter of General Sir Henry Prendergast, V.C.

6. **Vincent Arthur Smith, C.I.E., D.Litt., I.C.S.**, was born in 1848, and was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. In 1871 he married, and entered the Indian Civil Service, being appointed to the North-West Provinces and Oudh (afterwards the United Provinces). In 1895 he became a District Judge; he was also Chief Secretary to the Government, and in 1898 was made a Commissioner, retiring in 1900. After some years' residence at Cheltenham Dr. Smith went to Oxford where he became a member of St. John's College and a Curator of the Indian Institute.



He was an eminent Sanscrit scholar, and published many articles on the antiquities of India, as well as in 1904, his famous "Early History of India from 600 B.C. to the Mohammedan Conquest." A third revised and enlarged edition of this work was issued in 1914, and Dr. Smith's other publications included the "History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon," and an "Oxford History of England for Indian Students."

He was elected a member of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1915, and received its gold medal three years later. He left a widow, two sons, and a daughter.

**7. Admiral Koltchak**, who was 46 years of age, had for long been a distinguished officer in the Russian Navy. In 1903 he led a party which went to the Arctic regions to endeavour to discover the fate of the Tolle Expedition, and his services, both in the defence of Port Arthur, and in the organisation of the new Russian Navy, were of great importance.

He distinguished himself still further after the outbreak of the European War, becoming in April, 1916, Rear-Admiral, and in August of the same year, Vice-Admiral, and Commander-in-Chief of the Black Sea Fleet.

After the Revolution of 1917 the Admiral threw in his lot with the Moderate Party, and the beginning of 1918 found him in Siberia where he held the post of Minister of War in the "All Russian Government" which was formed in opposition to Bolshevism. In November he became dictator, with the title of Supreme Ruler, but he declared that his assumption of this rôle was against his own wishes, and was only rendered necessary by the disorganised state of affairs in the country. Koltchak's aim was to establish a constitutional government, and in this he received a certain amount of support from the Entente Powers, though not all that encouragement for which he had hoped.

In December, 1918, the Siberian Armies, which had relieved the Czecho-Slovak troops who had previously held the Ural front, began their advance against the Bolsheviks. Their campaign was highly successful until, in May, 1919, the force of their great effort was spent, and they were beaten back by the enemy, who entered Siberia in August. During the autumn the Siberians offered some resistance to the Bolsheviks, but in November Omsk fell. Koltchak then formed a new Government with M. Victor Pepelaieff as Prime Minister, and with Irkutsk as its headquarters, but at the end of December this ministry was overthrown by Social Revolutionaries, and Koltchak retreated with what remained of his Army to the Czech troops who were stationed along the Siberian Railway. He telegraphed his resignation of his position in favour of General Denikin, and after some preliminary negotiations with the Bolsheviks the treacherous Czech troops surrendered him to the Social Revolutionary Government at Irkutsk. This Government was succeeded by a Bolshevik one soon afterwards, and at 2 A.M. on February 7 the Revolutionary Military Committee decided to shoot both Admiral Koltchak and M. Pepelaieff, on the ground that a plot to reinstate the former had been discovered. The sentence was carried out three hours later, before any protest could be made by foreigners in Irkutsk.

A Memorial Service was held at the Russian Church in Welbeck Street, London.

— **Randolph Henry Stewart**, 11th Earl of Galloway, who was 83 years of age, was the second son of the 9th Earl and of Lady Harriet Blanche, daughter of the 6th Duke of Beaufort. He was educated at Harrow, and joining the 42nd Royal Highlanders in 1855, he served before Sevastopol, and subsequently during the Indian Mutiny, when he was present at the siege of Lucknow and its capture.

Later, having left the Army, he took up journalistic work, and acted as the *Globe's* special correspondent in Paris during the Franco-Prussian war.

He married, in 1891, Amy Mary Pauline, daughter of Anthony John Cliffe of Bellevue, Co. Wexford, and in 1901 he succeeded his brother the 10th Earl. Lord Galloway had two sons, the elder of whom, Lord Garlies, born in 1892, succeeded him; his younger son, the Hon. Keith Stewart, was killed in action in 1915.

8. **Sir Thomas Raleigh, K.C.S.I., D.C.L.**, was born in Edinburgh in 1850, and was educated at the Academy of that city, at Tübingen, and at Balliol College, Oxford, where he was an Exhibitioner. In 1872 he took a Second Class in Classical Moderations, and he won the Marquess of Lothian's prize the following year with an essay on the "History of the University of Paris." He took a First Class in Lit. Hum. in 1875, and became a Fellow of All Souls in 1876. He also distinguished himself at the Union, of which he was Treasurer in 1874-75, and President in the latter year.

In 1877 he was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn, but his professional career was not so successful as had been anticipated by those who knew his ability. In 1884 he returned to Oxford where he became Reader in English Law, and Law Tutor at Balliol, and he was also a member of the Hebdomadal Council, a Curator of the Chest, and a Delegate of the Press.

In 1885 he attempted to enter Parliament, contesting South Edinburgh, but he was defeated both on that occasion, and again in 1888 when he contested the Western Division. He was originally a Liberal in politics, but the split on the Home Rule question made him a Liberal-Unionist.

From 1896 to 1899 he was Registrar of the Privy Council, and he was then induced by Lord Curzon to go to India with him as Legal Member of the Viceregal Council, and in the following year he became Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University. His strenuous work, however, affected his health, and in 1904 he returned to England, becoming Deputy Steward of the University of Oxford in 1905, and he served as a Member of the Council of India from 1909 to 1913.

Sir Thomas was made a K.C.S.I. in 1904.

9. **John Varley Roberts, Mus. Doc., F.R.C.O.**, was born in 1841 and was a native of Yorkshire. In spite of family opposition he insisted upon making the musical profession his own, and became, in 1869, organist of the Parish Church of Halifax. He took his degree of Mus. Bac. at Oxford in 1871, and his doctorate in 1876, and in 1882 he was appointed organist of Magdalen College. Dr. Varley Roberts held this post until 1918, when failing health compelled his retirement. He was a fine player, and a sound composer of Church music, but his highest work was that which he accomplished in the realm of Choir-Training. He published, in 1895, "A Practical Method of Training Choristers" which explained his technical system; but his own personal magnetism counted for much in his pre-eminent success in this branch of his work.

He was the recipient of various honours, including that of a presentation of plate from members of his College on Gaudy Day, 1915, and the conferring upon him of the degree of Hon. M.A. in 1916. Dr. Varley Roberts also held with distinction the posts of organist of the Sheldonian Theatre and of St. Giles's Church, and was the first conductor of the University Glee and Madrigal Society. In 1866 he married Miss Elizabeth Maning, by whom he had a daughter.

— **Roland, 13th Baron Dormer**, who was in his 58th year, was the head of an ancient Roman Catholic family. His father was Lieut.-General the Hon. Sir James Charlemagne Dormer, K.C.B., who was at one time Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army. Lord Dormer succeeded his uncle, the 12th Baron in 1900, and he left a widow but no children, his successor being his brother, Captain the Hon. Charles Dormer, R.M., C.B.E.

11. **The Rev. George Wilkins**, whose age was 61, was a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and had been Professor of Hebrew at Dublin University since 1900. He was well known as a classical scholar.

14. **The Right Hon. Christopher Palles, P.C., LL.D.**, the last Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer in Ireland, was born in 1831, and was educated at Clongowes Wood College, and at Trinity College. He graduated at Dublin University in 1851, and was subsequently called to the Bar, practising chiefly in the Chancery Division. He took silk in 1865, became a Law Officer in 1872, and was appointed Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer in 1874. When, in 1898, the Exchequer Division became merged in the King's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice in Ireland, he sat as a Judge of that Court, and also in the Appellate Court.

Mr. Palles retired from the Bench in 1916 with unimpaired powers, and it was not until his 87th year that his health began to fail. He was one of the greatest of Irish lawyers and judges, being possessed of a wide knowledge both of Common Law and of Equity, and while he showed at all times the deepest respect for judicial authority, where his independence of mind and his great learning caused him to differ from his predecessors, he did not hesitate to do so. His expositions of the Common Law became universally recognised as being authoritative in a high degree, and his statements were quoted frequently wherever that Law was being propounded.

As a judge of criminal cases he was severe, and strictly technical as to form. But his absolute impartiality brought him the respect of all classes and creeds in Ireland.

The scheme of the constitution of the Irish National University was in the main the work of Mr. Palles (then nearly 80 years of age), who was Chairman of the Commission formed to frame its statutes, and his work for education generally, and also in connexion with public charities was far-reaching and vigorous. In private life he was much loved for his kindliness and simplicity, and his great sense of humour. He was a devout member of the Roman Catholic Church.

18. **Dr. James Emerson Reynolds, F.R.S.**, was born in Ireland in 1844. In early life he qualified for the practice of medicine, but his real interest was in chemical research. After a period during which he was Keeper of Minerals at the National Museum at Dublin, he was appointed, in 1870, Professor of Analytical Chemistry to the Dublin Royal Society. Three years later he became Professor of Chemistry to the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland, and from 1875 to 1903 he held the Chair of Chemistry and Chemical Philosophy in Dublin University. Professor Reynolds made various important discoveries, including that of a new group of colloid bodies containing mercury, which he announced in 1871.

He published various works, including one on "General Experimental Chemistry" in 1886, and he served on several public bodies in connexion with his branch of science. He married Miss Finlayson of Dublin in 1875.

19. **Admiral Robert Edwin Peary**, the discoverer of the North Pole, was born in Pennsylvania in 1856, and was of Franco-British descent. Early in life he lost his father, and he was educated at the High School at Portland, Maine, and at Bowdoin College, Brunswick. He showed capacity for mathematics and applied science, and was devoted to outdoor pursuits, especially to rowing. Peary started his career as an independent land surveyor in undeveloped country on the Saco River, and subsequently became a draughtsman in the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey. An opportunity, however, presented itself of entry into the Corps of Civil Engineers of the United States Navy by a competitive examination, and of this Peary was quick to take advantage. He obtained his commission in 1881.

As assistant to the Superintendent of Construction in Washington, Peary became engaged in important work. He was responsible for the erection of an iron pier at Key West, Florida, assisted on the survey for the Nicaragua ship canal, and invented a new type of lock-gate.

His first Arctic expedition was made in the company of the Danish Lieutenant Maigaard, with whom, in 1886, he penetrated the inland ice-cap of Greenland for about 120 miles from Disko. This expedition received little public support; but on his return Peary was stationed at Philadelphia, and while there he contrived to arouse interest in his plans among the leading members of the Academy of Natural Sciences, including Angelo Heilprin. His two next journeys to Greenland, in 1891 and in 1893-95, enabled him to acquire important topographical knowledge of that country, and also to bring home valuable specimens of meteorites from the region of Cape York.

Peary had now become famous, and was in a position to make his preparations for an attempt to reach the North Pole. In 1898 he obtained five years' leave, and set out in the *Windward* (the vessel of the Jackson expedition) which he obtained from Lord Northcliffe, and with the support of the Peary Arctic Club, whose President was Mr. Morris K. Jesup.

This expedition, which lasted until 1902, served to confirm the insularity of Greenland, and proved the mistake of trying to use it as a jumping-off place for an attempt to reach the Pole. In 1905, therefore, Peary again made his venture in the *Roosevelt*, a ship built for him. He succeeded, indeed, in reaching the "farthest north" which had been attained, but was compelled to return in 1906, with his great object still to be achieved.

This he accomplished on his next expedition, which started in 1908. He reached the Pole on April 6 of the following year, and the public enthusiasm over the event was immense.

From a more scientific point of view Peary's general observations and deep-sea soundings during his years of Arctic exploration were of very great value. He was the recipient of numerous honours, including the Cullum medal of the American Geographical Society, and the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain. He retired from the United States Navy in 1911 with the rank of Rear-Admiral.

His wife, whom he married in 1888, was Miss Josephine Diebitsch of Washington. On the 1891-92 and 1893-94 expeditions she accompanied her husband as far as winter quarters in Greenland, and also on his Arctic expedition in 1897, and she wintered with him in 1900. They had two children, the elder, a girl, being the most northerly-born white child in the world.

**19. The Right Rev. Herbert Edward Jones, D.D., Bishop Suffragan of Lewes**, was 68 years of age. He was a son of Sir Willoughby Jones, Bart., of Cranmer Hall, Norfolk, and was educated at Eton and at Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1882 he took a third class in the History Tripos, and after his ordination in 1884 he first served a curacy in London. He subsequently held in succession the benefices of Knebworth, Petworth, and Hitchin, and was appointed Archdeacon of Chichester in 1914, and nominated Suffragan Bishop of Lewes the same year. Dr. Jones was known as an extremely capable organiser, and was very popular with both clergy and laity. He was Lecturer in Pastoral Theology for the year 1907 at King's College, London.

— **Ernest Hartley Coleridge**, who was in his 74th year, was the grandson of the poet, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, a nephew of Hartley Coleridge, and a kinsman of the first Lord Coleridge, Lord Chief Justice of England, to whom he was, for a short period in 1894, secretary.

Mr. Coleridge, who was educated at Sherborne School, and at Balliol College, Oxford, was engaged for many years in tutorial work. In later life he turned his attention to literature, and he edited the "Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge" published in 1895, and the "Anima Poetæ"

a selection from the poet's unpublished note-books, the same year. He also published biographies of Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, and of Thomas Coutts the great banker, and he edited and annotated the complete poetical works of Byron. Mr. Coleridge also published a collection of his own poems.

**20. Edward, 1st Baron Russell of Liverpool**, was in his 86th year. He was originally a clerk in a London bank, but his love of writing induced him to send articles to the newspapers. In course of time these were accepted, and he was appointed editor of the *Islington Gazette*. In this work he met with some success, but his vigorous attack on what he regarded as local abuses resulted in a libel action, and he had to seek employment elsewhere.

For some years he was assistant editor of the *Liverpool Daily Post* and then he returned to London to take up an appointment on the staff of the *Morning Star*. Liverpool, however, claimed him again, and he became editor of the *Daily Post* and a leading man in that city for forty years.

Lord Russell was a keen Liberal politician, and an ardent admirer of Mr. Gladstone, whose leadership of the party he suggested quite early in his journalistic career. In 1885 he entered Parliament as member for one of the Glasgow Divisions; but his career in the House of Commons lasted less than two years. He was a convinced advocate of Home Rule.

One of Lord Russell's greatest interests was in theatrical matters. The dramatic criticisms in the *Daily Post* were for many years from his pen, and his appreciation of the powers of Sir Henry Irving contributed very largely to the fame of that great actor. The criminal libel action brought against the *Daily Post* for its severity towards the conduct of the Conservative magistrates of Liverpool in connexion with the efforts made to reduce the number of public-houses in the city, brought Lord Russell a triumph. Sir Rufus Isaacs (afterwards Lord Reading) was counsel for the defence, and the case was won amidst public acclamations.

Lord Russell's knighthood came to him in 1893, and his barony in 1919. He published a volume of reminiscences entitled "That Reminds Me," and many pamphlets of a literary and philosophical nature. He was twice married, but the two sons of his first marriage predeceased him. His successor was Captain Langley Russell, his grandson.

**22. Spencer Leigh Hughes, M.P.**, was 61 years of age. He was well known as a journalist whose contributions to the *Morning Leader* on current topics under the title of "Sub Rosa" were greatly appreciated for their witty style. When the *Morning Leader* was amalgamated with the *Daily News* Mr. Hughes continued to write his articles which reflected among other things his strong liberal sympathies.

He tried unsuccessfully to enter Parliament in 1907 when he contested Jarrow, and again in 1910 when he was beaten at Bermondsey. He was subsequently returned for Stockport.

Mr. Hughes' well-known powers as an after-dinner speaker did not at first cause him to speak much in the House of Commons. In March, 1918, however, he made a brilliant speech in reply to an attack by Mr. Austen Chamberlain on the relations existing between the Prime Minister and the Press. Mr. Hughes' reputation was assured, and his return to Parliament at the next General Election was unopposed.

**29. Arthur Henry Bullen**, the founder of the Shakespeare Head Press, was 63 years of age. He was the son of Dr. George Bullen, C.B., LL.D., who was for many years Keeper of the Printed Books at the British Museum.

Mr. Bullen was educated at the City of London School, and at Oxford, and at a very early age he began his work as an editor of the less known Elizabethan dramatists.

His publications included editions of the works of John Day,

Christopher Marlowe, Thomas Middleton, George Peele, and John Marston. He also brought out the "Collection of Old English Plays," and "Lyrics from the Elizabethan Song Books," and he rediscovered the works of Thomas Campion, and many valuable lyrics in the original manuscripts at the Bodleian and Christ Church Libraries.

In 1906 Mr. Bullen became editor of the revived *Gentleman's Magazine*.

## MARCH.

1. **Charles Garvice**, the popular novelist, was for many years engaged in journalistic work. His first novel, entitled "Just a Girl" was published in 1898, and from that time he continued to write stories of a pleasant nature which appealed to an immense public. He also produced "Eve," a volume of poems, and "The Fisherman's Daughter," a play which was acted in London.

— **James Rowlands, M.P.**, was in his 70th year. He received his education partly at the Working Men's College, and became apprenticed to the trade of watch-case making. From 1886 to 1895 he sat in the House of Commons as Radical member for East Finsbury, and from 1906 until the time of his death (with the exception of ten months in 1910) he represented the Dartford Division. At the latter end of his life he sat as a Coalition-Liberal.

Mr. Rowlands was a man greatly interested in local government matters, and an ardent advocate of reform. He held office on various public bodies, and was very popular in the House of Commons. He married in 1879, and his wife predeceased him by some years.

2. **Sir Thomas Anderson Stuart**, who was born in 1856 in Scotland, was Professor of Physiology in the University of Sydney, and Dean of the Faculty of Medicine. He was also twice President of the Royal Society of New South Wales, was President of the Board of Health, and Trustee of the Australian Museum. Sir Thomas was the organiser of the expedition to the Funafuti Island in the Ellice group, which was initiated by the Royal Society of London. The boring of the coral reef which was accomplished by the expedition tended to prove the soundness of Darwin's theory of reef formation. Sir Thomas also accomplished valuable work in the promotion of health legislation in Australia.

13. **Sir Robert Laurie Morant**, who was Chief Permanent Secretary to the Minister of Health, and a former Chairman of the National Health Insurance Commission, and Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education, was born in 1863.

He was educated at Winchester, and at New College, Oxford, where he took a First Class in the Final School of Theology. Shortly after leaving Oxford he was appointed tutor to the Royal Family of Siam, and the opinion formed of his ability by the King was so high, that he was asked to undertake the organisation of public education in that country. The subsequent illness of the Monarch, and his consequent loss of power, caused Morant to return to England where he became engaged in work of a social and educational nature in East London.

In 1895 he was appointed Assistant Director of the "Office of Special Enquiries and Reports" in the Education Department, and while occupying this post he drew up a report on French Primary Schools which brought him into notice by its excellence.

He next became private secretary to Sir John Gorst, at a time when the Unionist Government was involved in new legislation on education, and the drafting of the Bill which passed in 1902 owed much to his constructive powers. This led to his appointment as Permanent Secretary of the Education Board.

Morant's gifts of organisation in this difficult position, and through

all the controversy aroused by the Act in the realm of Elementary Education, as well as in his dealing with questions affecting Secondary and Higher Education, were so marked that he was called upon by Mr. Lloyd George to undertake the onerous work of Chairman of the Insurance Commission. Here again he won the respect and confidence of all with whom he had to deal, including those members of the medical profession to whom the Act was at first anathema.

Morant's crowning work was that which he accomplished in connexion with the establishment of the Ministry of Health. He persevered through many years, and in spite of numerous disappointments, the position he held in the Ministry at his death was a just tribute to a great and self-sacrificing public servant.

**13. Professor Charles Lapworth** was 77 years of age. He was one of the most famous geologists of the time. His most important work was in connexion with the stratigraphy of the Older Palæozoic Rocks, and some of his best field work was done in the Lowlands of Scotland. He worked out in detail the succession of these earlier strata, and the name "Ordovician," now universally applied to the rocks intermediate between the Cambrian and the true Silurian, was coined by him. Having previously held an appointment at St. Andrews University, Lapworth subsequently held for many years the Professorship of Geology in Birmingham University, but he retired from his active duties in 1913. He was the author of numerous papers on Geology, and of an excellent and well-known text-book of that science. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society.

**14. Sedey Taylor** was born in 1834, and was educated at University College School, and at Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1859 he took his degree, and he was elected a Fellow two years later. In 1863 he was ordained and for a short time he served a curacy near Birmingham, returning, however, before long to Cambridge, where he settled down for life. He was at one time Librarian and Junior Bursar of Trinity College, and he was an active supporter of the higher education of women as expressed in the founding of Girton College. Mr. Taylor was a writer on many different subjects, scientific, theological, and musical. He was twice President of the University Musical Society, and for many years he was acting President of the University Musical Club. He also endowed the Dental Institute of the town of Cambridge.

**19. Sir George Errington, Bart.,** who was 81, was a member of a Yorkshire family, his mother being an Irishwoman. He was educated at Ushaw College and at the Roman Catholic University in Dublin. He joined the Home Rule movement in 1873, and became member of Parliament for Co. Longford in the following year. In 1881 he was deputed by Mr. Gladstone to be the bearer to the Vatican of papers asking for the support of the Pope in dealing with rebellious leaders both lay and clerical, in Ireland. Public opposition was aroused, and the whole object of the negotiations was abandoned by the Prime Minister. Mr. Errington was, however, created a baronet for his services, and was made a Knight of Justice of the Sovereign Order of Malta. In 1885 he retired from Parliament, and in 1892 he married the widow of Mr. John Shuldharn. Sir George left no heir to the baronetcy.

**24. Mrs. Humphry Ward,** the famous novelist and social worker, was born in 1851, and was the daughter of Thomas Arnold, the second son of Dr. Arnold of Rugby. At the time of her birth Mary Arnold's father was an inspector of schools in Tasmania, and her mother was the daughter of William Sorell, Registrar of Deeds. When she was about 17, the future novelist was taken to Oxford, and during the four years which she passed there before her marriage, she developed the inherited intellectual gifts, which were her portion, under the influence of Mark Pattison and his wife, T. H. Green, Jowett, and many other leaders of thought.

From her marriage, in 1872, to Mr. Humphry Ward, Fellow and Tutor at Brasenose, until 1880, the life in Oxford which made so deep an impression upon her was continued, and she and her husband then moved to London.

Mrs. Ward contributed several valuable articles to Dr. Wace's "Dictionary of Christian Biography," and wrote an introduction to Amiel's "Journal Intime," and she also published a work of fiction "Milly and Olly" in 1881; but her first great success as a novelist was the excitement called forth by "Robert Elsmere" which appeared in 1888. In this work the religious controversies of the day, the struggle of the upholders of traditional Christianity to contend with the results of Higher Criticism as applied to the Scriptures, were portrayed in a masterly manner. Nor was this all. Mrs. Ward's theories of social service were propounded in a way which roused eager attention and even imitation, and in the novels "The History of David Grieve" and "Marcella" which quickly followed her first success, the same notes were insistently struck. In her later books Mrs. Ward confined herself more exclusively to the telling of a story, though a serious purpose was always apparent in the background of her work. The social and political aims which she had at heart reappeared in "Sir George Tressady" and her religious beliefs were expressed in "Helbeck of Bannisdale." In such of her novels as "The Marriage of William Ashe," "Lady Rose's Daughter" and "Eltham House" the author adopted the plan of taking historical characters from one period and re-telling their story in a different time and setting.

Her first great novel was pronounced by Gladstone to be a "tremendous book," and was commended by Tolstoy, and translated into most European languages. Mrs. Ward was at her best in dealing with serious subjects either in home life, religion or politics.

Her social activities were far-reaching and benevolent. She founded the Children's Play Centres and the Passmore Edwards Settlement, and she was also known as a woman who possessed strong domestic affections and a genius for friendship.

Mrs. Humphry Ward opposed woman suffrage, but she became one of the first woman magistrates, and her work in the war added to her fame.

She was survived by her husband, her son and daughters, who received the sympathy of the King and Queen at her death, and her funeral at Aldbury was attended by a large number of distinguished persons who united in mourning the loss of a great and noble-hearted woman.

**24. Sir John Glover**, who was in his 91st year, was senior partner in the great shipping firm which bore his name, and was a great authority on all matters affecting the shipping industry. He served on many committees and on the Royal Commission of 1880 on the Tonnage Laws, and in 1899 he was elected Chairman of Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping.

Sir John was a Liberal until the split on Home Rule occurred in 1886, when he became a Liberal Unionist. He had previously unsuccessfully contested Scarborough in 1885. He was knighted in 1900.

## APRIL.

**1. Sir Henry Stephen**, late Acting Chief Justice of New South Wales, was in his 92nd year, and was the son of Sir Alfred Stephen, at one time Chief Justice of New South Wales. He was educated at Sydney College and in England, and was called to the Bar in 1850. He subsequently practised in Sydney, becoming, in 1879, the first Q.C. under Australian Law. After declining three times the position of Solicitor-General he was raised to the Bench of the Supreme Court in 1887. He held for a short time a seat in the Legislative Assembly. He retired from the Bench in 1903. Sir Henry was twice married.



7. **Caroline Alice, Lady Elgar**, was the daughter of Major-General Henry Gee Roberts, K.C.B. She married Sir Edward (then Mr.) Elgar in 1889, and he owed much of his subsequent fame to her help and sympathy. In early days she "laid out" his scores, and copied in voice parts, and her suggestions proved of great value to him. Lady Elgar was a fine linguist, and possessed considerable literary gifts. She published a novel "Marchcroft Manor," and a translation of Hoffmann's "Ritter Glück," and wrote many of the words of songs set to music by her husband.

10. **The Dowager Viscountess Wolseley**, widow of the famous Field-Marshal, was the daughter of Mr. Alexander Erskine, and was married in 1867. She left one daughter, who had succeeded to the Viscounty by special remainder.

11. **The Most Rev. John Baptist Crozier, D.D., Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of All Ireland**, was born in 1853, and was the son of the Rev. B. B. Crozier. He graduated as a moderator and medallist in Logic and Ethics at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1872, and he took a First Class in the Divinity Testamonium Examination. He also gained distinction as a member of the Rugby Football Club.

In 1876 he was ordained, and after serving two curacies in Belfast he became, in 1880, Vicar of Holywood, Co. Down, and held that benefice for seventeen years, during which period he filled various diocesan posts. He was Examining Chaplain to his Bishop, Treasurer of Down Cathedral, Chaplain (in 1893) to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Honorary Secretary of the General Synod of the Church of Ireland in 1896, and in the same year he was appointed Prebendary of Wicklow and Canon of St. Patrick's Cathedral. He was elected Bishop of Ossory, Ferns, and Leighlin in 1897, and was translated to the See of Down, Connor, and Dromore ten years later, and became Archbishop of Armagh in 1911.

Dr. Crozier was distinguished chiefly for his broad-minded sympathy with all sections of his fellow-countrymen, and his ministry in the Church of Ireland did much to alloy the bitterness of feeling with which she was regarded in some quarters. In politics he was always courteous and conciliatory, and his influence made for peace during the Home Rule Bill controversy in 1914, and in the proceedings of the Irish Convention in 1917. His wife was Miss Alice Hackett, and he left a daughter and two sons, one of whom served with distinction in the Royal Artillery during the war, while the other acted as a Military Chaplain.

Dr. Crozier's funeral took place in Armagh Cathedral, his grave being in the Cathedral Cemetery.

— **Sir John Tankerville Goldney**, who was 73 years of age, was a member of an old Wiltshire family. He was educated at Harrow and Cambridge, was called to the Bar in 1869, and later served successively as Attorney-General, and Acting Chief Justice of the Leeward Islands. Subsequently he filled judicial posts in British Guiana and the Straits Settlements, and in 1892 he was appointed Chief Justice of Trinidad. Sir John, who was knighted in 1893, was twice married, his second wife surviving him.

12. **Adeline Marie, Duchess of Bedford**, was the second daughter of the third Earl Somers, and she married the Marquess of Tavistock in 1876. In 1891 her husband succeeded the 9th Duke of Bedford, and two years later he died, leaving no children. His widow, who had for many years been identified with religious and charitable work, devoted most of her time to such causes as the higher education of women, prison reform for female prisoners, and rescue work.

During the war she served on the Joint Committee of the British Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and during the last year of her life she took a great interest in the establishment of the "Sunshine Home" for blind babies at Chorleywood.

The Duchess was never a supporter of the Woman Suffrage movement in spite of the leading part she played in questions affecting the lives and work of those of her sex. She was a good speaker, and in private life a cultured woman of artistic tastes with a great love of horticulture, and she was a devout member of the Church of England. She was buried at Chenies.

**13. Francis Hay Rawlins, M.A., Vice-Provost of Eton College,** was born in 1850. His mother was a member of the Donaldson family, famous for their scholarship. In 1862 he went to Eton as a collegier, and distinguished himself highly, winning the Tomline Prize for Mathematics in 1868, and after being twice in the "Select" for the Newcastle he became medallist in 1869 and scholar the following year. He became captain of the school, was a member of the Eton Society, and he played in the College Wall eleven.

Mr. Rawlins' career at Cambridge was also highly successful. He entered King's College as an Eton Scholar in 1870, was Browne Medallist in 1871 and the two following years, and in 1874 was bracketed with Dr. Walter Leaf as Senior Classic, and again for the Chancellor's Medals.

In 1875 Mr. Rawlins was elected a Fellow of King's, and that same year he went to Eton as an Assistant Master, becoming later a House Master, and in 1905, when Dr. Warre resigned the Head Mastership, Mr. Rawlins stood for the post, to which, however, Dr. Lyttelton succeeded. The new Head Master offered the Lower Mastership to Mr. Rawlins, and he accepted this post which he filled with conspicuous ability. Three years later he resigned his House Mastership and went to live at "Weston's," and in 1916 he was appointed Vice-Provost. He then gave up teaching, and removed to an official house in the Cloisters where he passed the remaining years of his life.

Mr. Rawlins was an able classical scholar, accurate and painstaking. He wrote in conjunction with Dr. Inge an "Advanced Eton Latin Grammar," and was responsible for certain editions of Livy. As a teacher he was most successful, and was greatly liked by his pupils. He possessed great gifts of organisation, and was a member of the governing bodies of Radley, the Royal Holloway College, and the Imperial Service College. He was unmarried.

— **Francis Herman Lucas, C.B., C.V.O.,** Financial Secretary to the India Office, was 42 years of age. He was a scholar of Winchester School and of Trinity College, Cambridge, and was a distinguished athlete, representing his University in the long jump. He took double honours at Cambridge, and in 1901 he entered the India Office, being appointed assistant Private Secretary, first to Lord George Hamilton, and subsequently to Lord Midleton (then Mr. St. John Brodrick). In 1909 he became principal Private Secretary to Lord Morley, and he held the same post under Lord Crewe and Mr. Chamberlain. In 1911 he accompanied Lord Crewe, who acted as Minister in Attendance on the King during the Durbar Tour. Mr. Lucas was made Financial Secretary in 1917, and his tenure of office was marked by his great ability in dealing with exchange and currency matters, especially in connexion with Sir Babington Smith's Committee. He was the recipient of the C.B. in 1911, and the C.V.O. in 1917. Mr. Lucas married in 1903 and left three children.

— **Sir Hugh Adcock, C.M.G.,** who was 71, was from 1888 to 1897 Chief Physician to Mouzaffer-e-Din who ascended the Persian Throne during the latter year. Sir Hugh remained the Shah's Consulting Physician-in-Chief, and was also at one period Persian Consul in Florence. He was made a C.M.G. in 1897, and was knighted in 1901, and he was also the recipient of numerous foreign decorations. He was married twice and had two sons.

— **Professor J. A. McClelland, F.R.S.,** who held the Chair of Experimental Physics in University College, Dublin, was educated at Coleraine,

his native town, and at Queen's College, Galway. He held a Fellowship in the Royal University of Ireland in 1895, took a research degree at Cambridge in 1897, and subsequently became a Commissioner of National Education, a member of the Senate of the National University and was from 1907 Secretary to the Royal Irish Academy. His work during the war as a member of the Inventions Committee, and of the Committee for Organisation of Industrial Research, and the school of research which he developed at his University entitled him to rank as one of his country's most eminent scientists.

**14. Sir Edmund Giles Loder, Bart.**, who was 70 years of age, was well known as a traveller, sportsman, and naturalist. He was educated at Eton and Cambridge where he did remarkably well both in the fields of scholarship and athletics. He was a brilliant shot with the rifle, representing England at Wimbledon and Bisley, and he won the "Running Deer" and Martin-Smith Competitions more than once. The first of his big game shooting expeditions took place in 1871, and for many years following he continued this pursuit, visiting India, Western America, Algeria, and East Africa. He brought back many specimens of animals for his well-known museum at Leonardslee, Sussex, and in his park he had a beaver colony, and numerous specimens of deer from distant lands.

Sir Edmund was learned as a zoologist and botanist, and was remarkable for the accuracy of his observations in these sciences, though he seldom published any results of his labours.

He succeeded his father as second baronet, and married, in 1876, Miss Marion Hubbard. His only son was killed in the war, and his successor was his grandson, Giles Rolls Loder, who was born in 1914.

**16. Theodore N. Vail** was for ten years President of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, and during his period of office the number of "Bell" telephone stations in the United States was increased from below 6,000,000 to nearly 12,000,000. He was a man who recognised the importance both of scientific research, and of commercial organisation in telephonic communication, and he saw his efforts crowned with success.

**17. Professor Alfred Kirby Huntington, A.R.S.M., M.Inst. M.M., F.I.C.**, was the occupant of the Chair of Metallurgy at King's College, London, from 1879 to 1919. His specialised work in connexion with high explosives during the war was of very great service to the Admiralty, and he was one of the pioneers of the science of aviation. Having, as a younger man, been an accomplished balloonist, he was in the forefront of the movement for heavier-than-air flying, and became a noted member of the Royal Aero Club. Notwithstanding his age, he built and flew his own aeroplane when the science was in its infancy, and his demonstrations of his theories made a deep impression on the scientific aviation world. His numerous benefactions to the University of London, and his devotion to his work gained for him the gratitude of students.

— **Leonard Boyne**, the well-known actor, was 68 years of age. He made his first appearance at Liverpool in 1870, and four years later he came to London, playing in "Progress" at the St. James's Theatre. He was an extremely versatile and popular actor, and retained his youthful appearance in a remarkable manner. He was seen probably at his best in "General John Regan" and in "Caroline" at the New Theatre in 1916.

— **Vice-Admiral Joseph Edward Maitland Wilson**, whose age was 87, entered the Navy in 1848 and served during the Crimean War, being present at the bombardments of Odessa and Sebastopol, and also serving in the trenches. Later he was in command of the training ship *Ganges*, and after attaining the rank of Captain he served as Flag Captain to Rear-Admiral the Hon. A. A. L. P. Cochrane. In 1888 he retired, and

he was promoted Rear-Admiral on the retired list in 1889, and Vice-Admiral in 1894.

For his services in the Crimea he received the Crimean and Turkish medals, the Sebastopol Clasp, and the 5th class of the Medjidie, and from 1886 to 1888 he was the recipient of the Captain's Good Service Pension. He married in 1860, and left three daughters.

**17. Lady Russell Cotes**, who was born in 1835, married Sir Merton Russell Cotes in 1860, and joined with him in presenting to the town of Bournemouth, of which he was at one time Mayor, an Art Gallery and Museum. She was also a benefactress of the Shaftesbury Society's work for poor children, and was a great traveller and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature.

**18. Professor Lucius Trant O'Shea**, who was a specialist in the study of the chemistry of fuel, was educated at Owens College, Manchester. In 1880 he went to Sheffield where he held for many years the Chair of Applied Chemistry. During the South African War he served in command of the 1st West York Royal Engineer Volunteers, and he commanded the Sheffield University O.T.C. during the European War.

— **Sir John Boraston, J.P.**, who was Joint Principal Agent of the Unionist Party, was born in 1851. He became a Solicitor, and throughout his life he was connected with politics, beginning his career by holding the post of Liberal Agent for Southampton when he was 23 years of age. After the Home Rule split in 1886, he threw in his lot with the Liberal-Unionist Party, which owed much to his gifts of organisation, particularly in London where in 1888 he became Secretary to the L.U. Federation, and he was also the Manager of the Publication Department of the L.U. Association. Three years later he was appointed Secretary and Chief Agent to the Association, a post which he held until 1912, when the Party joined forces with the Conservatives.

Sir John rendered services to his cause in Ireland, both at the times of General Elections and by assisting in the formation of the Unionist Joint Committee. He became Principal Agent to the Unionist Party in 1912, and aided in recruiting work during the war. He was knighted in 1916.

— **Rear-Admiral John Parry Jones-Parry**, who was 90 years of age, entered the Navy in 1845. He served in H.M.S. *Terrible* in the Black Sea during the Russian War, and was present at the bombardments of Odessa and Sebastopol. Later he commanded successively the gun vessels, *Steady* at Devonport, and *Speedwell* on the West Coast of Africa. He was promoted Captain in 1871, and retired in 1873, being subsequently promoted Rear-Admiral on the retired list.

He was twice married and had three sons and one daughter.

**20. Briton Riviere, R.A.**, who was born in 1840, was a member of a family of Huguenot origin. His father, who was himself an artist, became in 1848 drawing master at Cheltenham College where the lad was one of his pupils. In 1858 the family moved to Oxford, and Briton Riviere in due course matriculated at St. Mary Hall, taking his degree in 1867, during which year he married Miss Mary Alice Dobell by whom he had a large family.

Briton Riviere began to paint at a very early age, two of his pictures being exhibited at the British Institution before he was 12, and three at the Royal Academy when he was 17. As a young man he became enamoured of Pre-Raphaelite theories, but these did not hold him for long. In 1865 he exhibited the first of his famous animal pictures, "The Sleeping Deerhound," which was followed in due course by "The Empty Chair," "The Last of the Garrison," and "Charity," while "Daniel," in 1872, made a deep impression both on the public and on the artistic world. Mr. Riviere's work was extremely popular and widely known, and though he painted occasional portraits and landscapes, it was upon his great skill in presenting the relations existing between the animal

world and mankind that his fame principally rested. He was, however, well-known as an illustrator of *Punch* and *Good Words* in his earlier days.

23. **The Rev. Stephen Edward Gladstone**, was the second son of the great Liberal statesman, and was born in 1844. He was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, where he took a second class in Moderations and also in Lit. Hum. He was ordained in 1868, and after serving a Lambeth curacy for four years, he was presented to the family living of Hawarden, which he held until 1904. For the next seven years he occupied the benefice of Barrowby, Lincolnshire, retiring in 1911.

Mr. Gladstone married Miss Wilson, the daughter of a Liverpool surgeon. His wife survived him as did also his five children. His eldest son succeeded his cousin W. G. C. Gladstone in the Hawarden estates.

24. **Marlborough Robert Pryor**, who was born in 1849, was educated at Eton and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was the seventh Senior Optime in the Mathematical Tripos of 1870. He won the first Natural Science Scholarship and was made the First Fellow in Natural Science at Trinity, and for a time took science pupils. But a business life attracted him, and though his interest in his old College and in scientific pursuits continued throughout his life, he became a South American merchant and a prominent personage in the Insurance world in London. He was for many years connected with the Sun Insurance Office and the Sun Life Assurance Society, as Chairman and, later, as managing director. His wife was Miss Alice Solly, and he left a son and six daughters.

28. **Charles John, Lord Guthrie**, a Senator of the College of Justice in Scotland, was 71 years of age. In 1875 he was admitted to the Faculty of Advocates, and in 1907, from being Sheriff of Ross, Cromarty, and Sutherland, he was promoted Judge of the Court of Session.

He was a well-known antiquary, and a literary man of some attainments. In his youth he was a friend of Stevenson to whose memory he paid many tributes. His charitable works were also numerous. He married Miss Burns of Kirkliston and had several children. Lord Guthrie's father, Dr. Thomas Guthrie, was one of the founders of the Ragged Schools, and editor of the *Sunday Magazine*.

30. **George Woolliscroft Rhead, R.A.**, was born in 1855, and studied art with W. S. Coleman, at the Royal Training College, and in France and Italy. He was gifted with great versatility, being well known as a designer of stained-glass windows, a mural painter, and an etcher. He also illustrated many books and magazines and wrote volumes on various subjects connected with art. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society of Painter Etchers and a regular exhibitor at the Royal Academy, and he was an examiner under the Board of Education and Head Master of the Putney Borough Polytechnic and Norwood Schools of Art.

## MAY.

1. **H.R.H. Margaret Victoria Augusta Charlotte Norah, Crown Princess of Sweden**, was the eldest child of T.R.H. the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, and was born at Bagshot Park on January 15, 1882. In 1905 she married the then Duke of Skania, and the young couple took up their residence at the Chateau of Solfiero, presented to them by the bridegroom's grandfather, King Oscar II. Later during the same year came the separation of Norway from Sweden, and in 1906 the Princess gave birth to a son Gustavus Adolphus. Four other children were born to her, Prince Sigvard in 1907, Princess Ingrid in 1910, Prince Bertil in 1912, and Prince Charles John in 1916.

In December, 1907, the Duke became Crown Prince on the accession of his father to the Throne of Sweden. The Princess, who was highly accomplished, being a proficient linguist, and horticulturist, took a great interest in the encouragement of art and of sport in her adopted country. She spoke and wrote Swedish perfectly, and even published a book on gardening in that language. In the performance of all public duties she was exemplary, and her influence with her husband was very great. She was truly mourned by all classes in Sweden, and her funeral, which took place on May 13, was made the occasion of a great public demonstration of sympathy and respect. The Princess was buried in the ancient Church of Storkyrkan, and a Memorial Service was held in the Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace, London, which was attended by the King and Queen, the Duke of Connaught, and other members of the Royal Family, an address being given by the Archbishop of Canterbury. There was also a public Memorial Service in Westminster Abbey. During the war the Crown Princess devoted much time and trouble to the endeavour to alleviate the lot of the British prisoners in Germany.

2. **Sir Thomas Wallace Russell**, who was in his 80th year, was a prominent political leader in Ireland, who, until within a short time of his death, was Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. He was born in humble circumstances in Fifeshire, went to County Tyrone when he was 18 years of age and became a draper's assistant. As the founder of a branch of the Young Men's Christian Association he became well known as a speaker on temperance, and in 1864 he was appointed Secretary of the Irish Temperance Movement, and its Parliamentary Agent. He was associated with Parnell in connexion with the Irish Sunday Closing Bill, which passed in 1878, and in 1885 he stood as Liberal candidate for Preston, but was defeated. After the Home Rule split he attached himself to the Unionist cause and was returned as Liberal-Unionist member for South Tyrone in 1886.

When Mr. Balfour became Chief Secretary for Ireland in the first Unionist Government, Mr. Russell was one of his ablest supporters, and he was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board by Lord Salisbury in his Ministry of 1895-1900. While in this post, however, he showed plainly his sympathies with the grievances of the small Irish farmers, and after the return to power of the Unionists in 1900 he was not given a post in the Government.

Mr. Russell, in 1901, published a notable book "Ireland and the Empire," in which he attributed the disturbed state of his country to poverty and the agrarian system.

He then founded the New Land Movement in Ulster, and was a member of the Land Conference in Dublin, presided over by Lord Dunraven in 1902-3, which resulted in the Land Purchase Act. He retired from the South Tyrone constituency at the General Election of 1910, but was returned to Parliament as Liberal Home Rule member for North Tyrone in 1911. Mr. Asquith then appointed him Vice-President of the Board of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, and in 1918 (having been knighted) he retired from public life. Sir Thomas was married, and lost his only son in the war.

5. **Madame Hortense Schneider**, who was 82 years of age, was a native of Bordeaux, and made a great sensation in Paris as an actress in light opera. Her greatest triumphs were gained in the 'fifties and 'sixties, and her performance in "La Grande Duchesse de Gérolstein" lifted her to the highest point of her fame.

— **Major Sir Frederick Fitzwygram, Bart., M.C.**, was born in 1884, and was the son of the fourth baronet, Sir Frederick Fitzwygram. He was educated at Eton and Oxford, and was gazetted to the Scots Guards in 1906. He served with distinction in France where he was wounded more than once. He was unmarried, and his successor in the baronetcy was his cousin, Mr. Edgar T. A. Wigram, who was born in 1864.

6. **Signor Leonida Bissolati**, who was born in 1857, was the stepson of a philosopher and patriot, whose name he took. The young man became a lawyer and a Socialist, and was an ardent member of the Italian Socialist Party which was formed in 1892. He was a writer of repute, and had been editor of two Milan newspapers, and when his party founded the daily organ *Avanti* he was chosen to edit it.

In 1897 he became a member of the Chamber as Deputy for Pescarole. In 1900 he represented Budrio, and in 1908 the Second College of Rome. The split in the Socialist Party which occurred in 1911 resulted in the formation by Signor Bissolati of the Reformist Socialist group. This party was opposed to the revolutionary ideas of the extremists. The Reformist group were from the first on the side of intervention in the European War, and Bissolati himself served as a sergeant and was wounded.

In 1916 he took office in the Boselli Government as Minister without portfolio, and he was also a member of the succeeding Ministry of Signor Orlando.

On the questions of the apportionment of territory which came up with the armistice, Bissolati was strongly opposed to the annexation of Northern Dalmatia, and of German South Tirol, and in December, 1918, he resigned his office. Signor Bissolati had a great admiration and friendship for England, a country which displayed in many ways the political moderation of which he was the exponent. On the announcement of his unexpected death, a great tribute was paid in the Italian Chamber to his honesty of purpose and unflinching work for his country.

7. **Hugh Thomson**, the noted black-and-white artist, was 59 years of age. His drawings in the *English Illustrated Magazine* brought him fame as a young man, and his illustrations of the works of Jane Austen and Goldsmith were of a high order of merit. He excelled most in landscape work.

8. **The Right Rev. Handley Carr Glyn Moule, D.D., Bishop of Durham**, was born in 1841, and was the son of a clergyman. He was the youngest of several brothers, all of whom served the Church well in their day, and he was educated first at home, and later at Trinity College, Cambridge. He won the Carew Greek Testament prize in 1862, was Browne Medallist the next year, both for the Latin ode and for epigrams, and in 1864 he was bracketed Second Classic with F. W. H. Myers. He was in the first class of the Theological Examination in 1866, and between 1869 and 1876 he won the Seatonian Prize (given for a poem on a sacred subject) six times.

In 1865 he became a Fellow of Trinity, and for two years he held a mastership at Marlborough, and in 1873, after having served as curate under his father for six years, he was made Dean of his old College where he remained until 1877. From then until 1880 he again worked under his father, and he was then appointed first Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge, which had just been opened for the purpose of post-graduate training in preparation for the Ministry by those of Evangelical sympathies.

Dr. Moule exercised a great influence over the young men who worked under his supervision, and was instrumental in training many of them for the foreign mission field. In 1899 he was appointed to the Norrisian professorship of Divinity, and two years later he accepted the See of Durham. His interest in social questions had led him to join the Christian Social Union, and though his convictions were those of a pronounced Evangelical, yet his treatment of High Churchmen was extremely fair and generous. All parties united in admiration for his personal holiness and his scholastic achievements.

Among his publications were a life of Charles Simeon, "Outlines of Christian Doctrine," and many devotional works.

His wife, who died in 1915, was a daughter of the Rev. C. Boileau Elliott F.R.S., and he was survived by a daughter.

Dr. Moule was an honorary chaplain to Queen Victoria, and a Chaplain in Ordinary to King Edward VII.

11. **William Dean Howells**, whose age was 83, was born in Ohio, and started life in the printing office of his father who was a newspaper proprietor. He had begun to distinguish himself in journalism, as a writer of both prose and poetry when, in 1861, he was appointed United States Consul in Venice. The knowledge he gained in this position bore its literary fruit in the shape of a book called "Venetian Life." Four years later he returned to America and devoted himself to literary work, becoming successively sub-editor and editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, and, later, editor of *Harper's Magazine*, and of the *Cosmopolitan Magazine*.

Mr. Howells published nearly a hundred books of travel, fiction, and criticism, and became noted for his acute observation and his distinction of style. Among his novels "A Foregone Conclusion" and "The Rise of Silas Lapham" are two of the strongest. He was an M.A. of Harvard and Yale, and Oxford conferred upon him the Honorary D.Litt. in 1904.

14. **Dr. Ronald Montagu Burrows**, Principal of King's College, London, was born in 1867 at Rugby where his father held a mastership. He was educated at Charterhouse and at Oxford where he took two first classes at Christ Church, and in 1891 he became Assistant to Professor Gilbert Murray, who held the Chair of Greek at Glasgow. In 1898 he went to University College, Cardiff, as Professor of Greek, and ten years later he was appointed to the same position in the Victoria University of Manchester.

His appointment to the Principalship of King's College in 1913 was one which made for the well-being and usefulness of that institution. Dr. Burrows had full sympathy with the Science and Engineering sides as well as with the Faculty of Arts where his own distinctive abilities found their natural outlet. He possessed also powers of government and organisation, and he took a personal interest in the students which gained their affection. He promoted the study of foreign languages, and during his tenure of office there were founded the Cervantes Chair of Spanish, the Camoens Chair of Portuguese and the Koraes Chair of Modern Greek.

Dr. Burrows was an ardent Philhellene. His archaeological researches and excavations at Pylos and Sphacteria in 1895 and 1896 resulted in the important discovery of the remains of Spartan fortifications, and his later excavations in Boeotia were described in the "Proceedings" of the British School at Athens, and in the "Journal of Hellenic Studies" (1909), while in 1907 he published "Recent Discoveries in Crete" which became a classic authority.

Dr. Burrows' sympathies with modern Greece were very great. He was one of the founders of the Anglo-Hellenic League in 1913, and he became a close friend of Venizelos.

He possessed also an extensive knowledge of the Slavonic peoples, and did his best to promote friendship and sympathy with them in England. His social work in his own country was also of great importance. Aided by his wife, who was the daughter of Bishop Ridgeway, sometime Bishop of Chichester, he laboured on behalf of lads in criminal surroundings, founding a University Settlement for their benefit in Cardiff, and the Ardwick Lads' Club in Manchester.

16. **Sir Owen Morgan Edwards** was the son of a Welsh peasant farmer, and was born in 1858. He became a pupil teacher at the National School in Merionethshire where he had been educated, and then passed through Bala Grammar School to University College, Aberystwith, where he had a brilliant career. After winning numerous prizes he became a B.A. of London, and then went for a short time to Glasgow University, where he gained medals for literature and philosophy, passing on to Balliol College, Oxford. There he won the Stanhope, Lothian, and Arnold historical essay prizes, a Brackenbury scholarship, and a First Class in



Modern History. His election to a Fellowship at Lincoln College followed, and he became in 1889 Lecturer in Modern History.

Sir Owen became Liberal M.P. for Merionethshire on the death of his friend Tom Ellis in 1889. He published a "History of Wales," edited Welsh classics, and himself wrote books in his native language. He also edited several Welsh magazines. He became Chief Inspector of the Welsh Department of the Board of Education in 1907, and received later the honour of knighthood.

16. **Levi P. Morton**, who was born in the State of Vermont in 1824, became a New York banker of great international importance. He was a Republican Member of Congress from 1879 to 1881, and U.S. Ambassador in Paris from 1881 to 1885. Three years later he became Vice-President of the United States, and from 1889 to 1893 he acted as Chairman of the Senate, gaining high commendation for his dignity and fairness. Later he became Governor of New York for a one-year term.

— **Miss Margaret Anne Courtney**, who was the sister of the late Lord Courtney of Penwith, was 86 years of age. In 1880 she published "A Glossary of Words in use in Cornwall," printed by the English Dialect Society.

17. **Major-General Sir Coleridge Grove, K.C.B.**, who was born in 1839, was a son of the Right Hon. Sir W. R. Grove, a Puisne Judge of the old Court of Common Pleas. He became an Exhibitor at Balliol College, Oxford, and took a First Class both in Mathematical Moderations and in the Final School. In 1863 he joined the 15th Regiment, and subsequently passed through the Staff College, becoming, in 1882, A.D.C. to the Viceroy of Ireland. He held Staff appointments in Egypt, and was present at the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir, and he also served on the Staff during the Sudan Expedition of 1884-85. Later he became Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief in Egypt, and A.A. and Q.M.G. at Gibraltar. He was Private Secretary to three Secretaries of State for War in succession, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. W. H. Smith, and Mr. Stanhope, and from 1888 to 1894 he was A.A.G. at Army Headquarters, and was Military Secretary at the War Office from 1896 to 1901, when he became Colonel of the East Yorkshire Regiment. In 1898 he was created a K.C.B.

— **Charles Edward Hastings Abney-Hastings, eleventh Earl of Loudoun**, who was born in 1855, was the son of Lady Edith Abney-Hastings, who was Countess of Loudoun in her own right. His father was Charles Frederick Clifton who assumed the names of Abney-Hastings, and was raised to the Peerage as Baron Donington in 1880. He succeeded to the Earldom in 1874 and to his father's title in 1895. From his mother he also inherited the Scottish titles of Lord Campbell, Baron of Loudoun, Baron Tarrinzean and Mauchline, and the English titles of Baron Botreaux, Baron Molines, Baron Hungerford, and Baron Hastings.

Lord Loudoun, who married, in 1880, the Hon. Alice Mary Elizabeth Fitzalan-Howard, daughter of the first Lord Howard of Glossop, left no children. His successor in the Scottish Earldom was his next and late brother's daughter, Edith Maud Abney-Hastings, while his father's title went to his second brother, the Hon. Gilbert Clifton-Hastings-Campbell.

20. **Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, G.C.S.I.**, was the son of a Dublin physician, and was born in 1837. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and passing into the Indian Civil Service in 1858, he joined the Punjab Commission the next year. He became a magistrate at Delhi, and after occupying this post for seven years he was placed on special duty to prepare the defence of the Government in the case of the confiscation of the estates of the Begum Samru of Sirdhana after the Mutiny. He returned home in connexion with this work in 1869 and in 1872 he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple.

For the next twenty years Sir Dennis held various important offices in India. He was successively a Judge of the Chief Court of Lahore, Secretary of the Legislative Department of the Supreme Government, and, after a few months as Secretary of the Home Department in 1885, he became Acting Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. In 1887 he became a member of the Public Services Commission, and was made a C.S.I. He then became Resident in Mysore and Chief Commissioner of Coorg for a short time, proceeding before the end of the year to Assam to take up the post of Chief Commissioner there. In 1889 he became Resident at Hyderabad where he was responsible for the initiation of many reforms in administration. During his period of service there he received the K.C.S.I.

In 1892 Sir Dennis became Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab where he remained until 1897. While he occupied this position he maintained the high standard of efficiency in administration of Sir James Lyall his predecessor, and he also advanced the latter's irrigation schemes. At the end of this period Sir Dennis returned home to join the Council of India, and he retired ten years later, receiving in 1911 the rare honour for a civilian of the G.C.S.I.

Sir Dennis married, in 1862, Miss Mary Buller, who survived him, together with two daughters and two sons. Several other children predeceased him. Sir Dennis was a Roman Catholic, and a Requiem Mass for him was celebrated at the Brompton Oratory.

20. **Sir Frederick Lucas Cook, Bart.**, was 75 years of age. He had been connected for half a century with the drapery business which bore his name in St. Paul's Churchyard. He was a member of the Coaching Club, and owned a large house in Richmond and an estate in Portugal. He was Conservative M.P. for Kennington for ten years, but was defeated in 1906. He was the second Baronet, and was succeeded by his son Herbert.

21. **General Venustiano Carranza**, President of Mexico, was 60 years of age, and was born in the State of Coahuila where he owned a large property. During the earlier part of his career he lived a private life cultivating his own extensive farms. In early middle life he made several attempts to enter Parliament, but met with the opposition of President Diaz, who was then all-powerful. At the time of the Revolution in 1911 he joined President Madero, and was shortly afterwards elected Governor of Coahuila. Two years later when General Huerta seized the Presidency, General Carranza declared war against him, and after a prolonged civil war, in which more than two parties were engaged, General Carranza was recognised as President in October, 1915, by the United States. In December, 1916, he was formally elected President by his own people.

He carried on his administration successfully for more than three years, but in 1920 a new revolutionary movement broke out, and after the defeat of his adherents, Carranza was killed by the Revolutionaries near the town of Tlaxcala-Tongo in the State of Puebla.

26. **Major-General Sir Alexander Bruce Tulloch, K.C.B., C.M.G.**, was born at Edinburgh in 1838, and was the son of Lieutenant-Colonel J. G. D. Tulloch. He joined the Army in 1855, and before he was 20 years of age saw service during the Indian Mutiny. He subsequently served in Canada, Gibraltar, and the Egyptian Expedition of 1882. Some years later he was sent to Australia where he did important work in connexion with the organisation of the Defence Force. Much to his disappointment he was not accepted for service in the South African War owing to his advanced age. He was the author of several books, of which perhaps the best known was one on the Jacobite Rising of 1745.

— **Cecil Clay** was 73 years of age, and had long been a well-known figure in London society. He was educated at Harrow and Oxford and

had some success as a playwright, his best-known work being perhaps "A Pantomime Rehearsal."

28. **The Rev. Canon Hardwick Drummond Rawnsley**, who was 69 years of age, came of a well-known Lincolnshire family, and was educated at Uppingham and Balliol College, Oxford. He was ordained in 1875, and was for a long period Vicar of Wray on Lake Windermere. He was the author of a considerable number of books, of which "Literary Associations of the English Lakes," and several others, related to the English Lake District. He was an Honorary Canon of Carlisle Cathedral.

29. **Dr. George Ernest Morrison** was born in the Colony of Victoria, Australia, in 1862. He was educated at Melbourne University and became a great traveller and journalist. One of his most notable achievements as a traveller was accomplished in 1882, when he crossed Australia on foot from the Gulf of Carpentaria to Melbourne, a distance of over 2,000 miles. He also explored in Papua, voyaged in the Pacific Islands, and travelled to almost every province of China, where he did important work as Correspondent of *The Times*.

— **Colonel Alfred Stowell Jones, V.C.**, was born in 1831, and was descended from a Welsh farming family. When he was 19 years of age he obtained a Commission in the 9th Queen's Royal Lancers, and he was on duty at the funeral of the great Duke of Wellington. He served with distinction during the Indian Mutiny, and was granted the V.C. for the courageous part which he played in the capture of a gun near Delhi on June 8, 1857.

— **Admiral Sir Robert Swinburne Lowry, K.C.B.**, was born in 1854 and entered the Navy in 1867. In 1873, whilst serving on the *Invincible*, he received the medal of the Royal Humane Society for gallantly rescuing from drowning a boy belonging to the crew of that ship. He became Rear-Admiral in 1906; and from 1913 to 1916 he was in command of the great naval base of Rosyth.

30. **Sir Henry Sutton** was 75 years of age, and was the son of Mr. James Sutton of Shardlow Hall, Derby. He was educated at Rugby and Christ's College, Cambridge. He was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1870, and worked on the Midland and North-Eastern Circuits. At the end of 1890 he was made Junior Counsel to the Treasury, and in 1905 he became a Judge of the King's Bench. During the four years that he held this position he suffered much from ill health.

## JUNE.

5. **Alfred Clayton Cole**, who was Governor of the Bank of England from 1911 until his death, was born in 1854. He was educated at Eton, where he was captain of the Oppidans in 1874, and at Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1880 he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple, and in 1907 he married Mrs. Herbert Chamberlain. Mr. Cole published an excellent paper on banking and the credit system.

— **The Rev. the Hon. John Stafford Northcote**, Prebendary of Oxgate in St. Paul's Cathedral, was born in 1860, and was the third son of the first Earl of Iddesleigh. He was educated at Eton and at King's College, London, where he became a Fellow in 1913. He started his career as an engineer, but in 1878 he was ordained, and served a curacy at St. Margaret's, Westminster. In 1881 he became Rector of Upton Pyne, Devon, and in 1889 he was appointed to St. Andrew's, Westminster, where he remained until 1916. Prebendary Northcote was extremely interested in education, and held among other important positions those of Honorary Secretary to the London Diocesan Church Schools Association, and Chairman of the Girls' Public Day School Trust. He took part as a member of the Secondary Schools Association in the deputation to

the President of the Board of Education in 1919 in respect of those schools. In 1881 he married Hilda, daughter of Dean Farrar, by whom he had several children. He lost two sons in the war.

5. **Miss Rhoda Broughton**, the well-known novelist, was born in 1840, and was the daughter of a squire-rector in Staffordshire. She published her first novel, "Cometh up as a Flower," in 1867, and it was followed by a long series of volumes dealing for the most part with the lives of well-bred people in English country surroundings. Miss Broughton was an acute observer and her characters were well drawn. Her heroines were considered somewhat "advanced" in manners for their day. The authoress lived in Oxford and also at Richmond, but paid a visit of some length to London each year. She was a brilliant companion, with a keen sense of humour and a great knowledge of the world.

6. **Sir Charles William Mathews, K.C.B., Director of Public Prosecutions**, was born in New York in 1850, and was the son of Mrs. Davenport, the actress, who subsequently married Charles Mathews the Comedian. Her son took the name of his stepfather, and after leaving Eton he went to Mr. Montagu Williams as a pupil. He was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1872, and soon became known for his remarkably able work in criminal cases. He was made a revising barrister by Lord Coleridge, C.J., in 1884, and two years later, he became (with Mr. F. Mead as joint holder) Junior Counsel to the Treasury at the Old Bailey. In 1888 the two colleagues became Senior Prosecuting Counsel in succession to Mr. Poland, Q.C. In this capacity he served under seven successive Attorney-Generals, and had also many important civil briefs. He took part in the trial of the "Jameson Raiders," and in that of "Colonel" Lynch, and on the opening of the new Central Criminal Court by the King and Queen in 1907 he was knighted as representing the Bar.

In 1908 Sir Charles became Director of Public Prosecutions, and was soon afterwards made a K.C.B. He married the daughter of Mr. Lindsay Sloper, but had no family.

11. **The Very Rev. Sir John Herkless, D.D., LL.D., Principal and Vice-Chancellor of St. Andrews University**, was in his 65th year. He was the son of a Glasgow engineer and was educated in that city, at the High School and College. He became a minister of the Church of Scotland, and from 1883 for some years was in charge of the country parish of Tannadice, Forfarshire. In 1894 he became Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at St. Andrews, where he succeeded to the Principalship in 1915. He was knighted in 1917.

Sir John was a great scholar, and the leisure he enjoyed, both in the country and during his years as a Professor at St. Andrews, he employed in writing a number of books on Church history, chiefly biographical in character. His largest work, one in which he collaborated with Mr. R. Kerr Hannay, was on the lives of the pre-Reformation Archbishops of St. Andrews, a work of five volumes. He was a Liberal, both in politics and in Theology, and his occupation of the Principalship of St. Andrews showed him to be a man of affairs, and an academic pioneer.

Under his rule the University expanded and was consolidated, and he gave of his best to the encouragement of the growth of the affiliated Institution at Dundee.

Sir John married a Canadian lady, Miss Caie, who survived him.

13. **Essad Pasha**, the Albanian Chief, who was assassinated by one of his fellow-countrymen in Paris, was the head of the Toptani family, who came under the suspicions of the Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey. After the murder of his brother (which was supposed to have been committed at the instigation of the Monarch) Essad became bent on vengeance, but he was made a Brigadier-General and Commandant of the Gendarmerie at Janina, and subsequently at Scutari. He then joined the Young Turks. After the abdication of the Sultan, Essad Pasha strove to gain complete

independence for Albania, but he came to see that his country was too weak to stand alone. During the Balkan War he assisted in the defence of Scutari against the Montenegrins, but he was starved out, and forced to surrender. Early in 1914 Essad became Minister of War and of the Interior under Prince William of Wied, Mpret of the Shkipetars at Durazzo. He was suspected of rebellion and deported, but became President of an Albanian Provisional Government in 1914. He sided with the Entente during the war.

**14. Vesey Dawson, second Earl of Dartrey**, was 78 years of age. From 1865 to 1868 he represented Monaghan in the House of Commons as Lord Cremorne, and he served in the Coldstream Guards, retiring with the rank of Lieut.-Colonel in 1876. He married, in 1882, Julia, daughter of the late Sir George Wombwell, and had two daughters. He succeeded his father, the first Earl, in 1897. His successor was his brother, the Hon. Edward Stanley Dawson.

— **Surgeon-General James Cleghorn, M.D., C.S.I., Honorary Surgeon to H.M. the King**, was 79 years of age. He was educated at Edinburgh University, and entered the Indian Medical Service in 1865. In 1891 he became Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals in the Punjab, and in 1895 was appointed Director-General of the Medical Service and Sanitary Commissioner in the Government of India. He held these offices for three and a half years, and represented his Government at the Venice Plague Conference in 1897. He was appointed, on his retirement, Honorary Surgeon to Queen Victoria, and was reappointed to the same post by King Edward and King George. He married Miss Barrow in 1877.

**15. Caroline Inez, Countess of Cavan**, was the daughter of Mr. George Baden Crawley, and married Lord Cavan in 1893. She was, as a keen horsewoman, associated with her husband in all he did for the Hertfordshire Hunt of which he was Master, and during the war when he held important commands on the Western and subsequently on the Italian front, she nursed the wounded at St. Thomas's Hospital, and, later on, gave much time to the organisation of Red Cross work in Hertfordshire. Lady Cavan had no children.

**18. Herbert Hardy, Lord Cozens-Hardy**, formerly Master of the Rolls, was born in 1838, and was the son of a solicitor at Norwich. He was educated at Amersham School and took the degree of LL.B. at London University in 1863, having been called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn the previous year. He had the advantage of a large connexion in Dissenting and Liberal circles, and his practice flourished from the first. In 1882 he took silk, and in due course he became a "special," appearing almost entirely in Chancery actions. Among the most famous of these was that of the "*Earl of Sheffield v. London Joint Stock Bank*," which went to the Lords.

In December, 1885, he entered the House of Commons as Liberal member for one of the Norfolk Divisions, and he remained a follower of Mr. Gladstone when the Home Rule split took place.

Four years later he was raised to the Bench, and he subsequently succeeded Lord Justice Rigby in the Court of Appeal.

In 1907 he was made Master of the Rolls, and became *ex officio* Chairman of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. He was a very progressive member of the Senate of the University of London, and took a keen interest in promoting the enlargement of the sphere of its activities. He was raised to the peerage in 1914 with the title of Baron Cozens-Hardy of Letheringsett in the County of Norfolk, and resigned the Mastership of the Rolls in 1918.

Lord Cozens-Hardy was an extremely sound lawyer, his speeches were concise and clear and he worked rapidly. His judgments on certain disputed points which came up under the Workmen's Compensation Act were particularly valuable to those who followed him.

He married Miss Maria Hepburn in 1866, and his successor in the peerage was his eldest son, the Hon. William Hepburn Cozens-Hardy, K.C.

**26. Rachel, Countess of Dudley**, who was drowned off the Connemara Coast while bathing, was the younger daughter of Mr. C. H. Gurney of Keswick Hall, and was from early girlhood brought up by her cousin Adeline, Duchess of Bedford. She was married to Lord Dudley in 1891, and her husband owed much to her zeal for public work, and her high ideals. As Vicereine of Ireland from 1902 to 1905 she was distinguished for her great interest in the needs of the country, which she did her best to serve, and on her husband's appointment as Governor-General of Australia she again exercised her great powers for good with the utmost earnestness. She promoted schemes for the establishment of District Nurses both in Ireland and in Australia, and during the war she established many clubs for officers at the bases in Northern France. She was made a Commander of the Order of the British Empire in 1918, and received the decoration of the Royal Red Cross.

Lady Dudley was survived by her husband and seven children, and the deepest regret was felt in all quarters at her untimely death.

## JULY.

**1. Lieut.-Colonel Sir Edward Law Durand, Bart., C.B.**, was 74 years of age. His father was Major-General Sir Henry Durand, who died when he was Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab in 1871.

Sir Edward, who received his education at Bath, Repton, and Guildford, entered the 96th Regiment in 1865. He was transferred to the Bengal Staff Corps in 1868, and after serving his father as A.D.C. and private secretary, he acted as Resident in different States in Rajputana and Central India. He was placed in charge of the ex-Ameer of Kabul from 1881 to 1885, was appointed an Assistant Commissioner in the delimitation of the Afghan boundary, and he held the post of Resident at Khatmundu. In 1887 he received the (civil) C.B., and was created a baronet in 1893, during which year he retired.

Sir Edward published a sporting work "Rifle, Spear, and Rod in the East," and a historical study "Cyrus, the Great King." He married, in 1880, Miss Maude Ellen Heber-Percy, by whom he had three sons and three daughters, and his successor was his son, Captain Edward P. M. Durand, Indian Army.

— **Major-General Sir David Merser, K.C.B., Adjutant-General, Royal Marine Forces**, was 56 years of age. He had served for over 37 years in the Royal Marines, having entered the Royal Marine Light Infantry in 1883. He served in Bermuda, at Portsmouth, and in China, and then held several Staff appointments at home. During the war he commanded the First Brigade of the Royal Naval Division at the Dardanelles, was mentioned in despatches, and received the C.B., and in 1916 he became Adjutant-General and was promoted K.C.B. two years later.

**2. William Hayes Fisher, First Baron Downham**, who was the son of the Rector of Downham, I.W., was born in 1853. He was educated at Haileybury, and at University College, Oxford, where he graduated with honours in classics and law in 1876. He was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple three years later.

In 1886 he became Private Secretary to Sir Michael Hicks Beach, and filled the same post in Mr. Balfour's service from 1887 to 1892, in which year he entered Parliament as Conservative Member for Fulham. He represented this constituency uninterruptedly until 1910, except for an interval in 1906. In 1895 he became Junior Lord of the Treasury, and from 1902 until the following year he was Financial Secretary there. In 1904 he became Chairman of the Royal Patriotic Commission, and from 1907 onwards he accomplished much valuable work on the L.C.C., as

Alderman, Chairman of the Finance Committee, and in 1909-10 as Leader of the Municipal Reform Party. In 1915-17 he was Secretary to, and for another year was President of the Local Government Board. He was raised to the Peerage in 1918, and was made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, which post he resigned in 1919. Lord Downham married his cousin, Miss Florence Fisher, in 1895, and he left a daughter, but no successor to the Barony.

5. **John Shuter**, the famous cricketer, was in his 66th year. He played for Kent in 1875, and for Surrey two years later, becoming shortly afterwards captain of the team, which he brought to a high degree of efficiency, and which he continued to lead until 1893. In 1888 he played for England against Australia in a match which was won by the representatives of the Mother-Country. Mr. Shuter was a brilliant batsman and a true sportsman, being entirely lacking in personal vain-glory, and only concerned with the winning of the game for his side.

— **Surgeon-General William Crawford Gorgas, K.C.M.G., D.S.M.**, the eminent American who succeeded in stamping out yellow fever and malaria in Havana and Cuba generally, and rendered possible the construction of the Panama Canal, was born in Alabama in 1854. He was a member of an old Southern family, his father being a General in the Confederate Army. After completing his medical education at the Southern University, Sewanee, Tennessee, and at the Bellevue Hospital, University of New York, he became a surgeon in the U.S. Army. He served in Cuba in the war with Spain, and was present at the capture of Havana, where he was afterwards made chief sanitary officer. While holding this post he enforced the carrying out of the recommendations of the Commission appointed to examine Dr. Charles Finlay's theory as to the origin of yellow fever. This was done so thoroughly that in 1902 the disease had ceased to originate in Havana, and eight years later Cuba was declared to be free of it.

In 1904 General Gorgas became chief sanitary officer of the Panama Canal. There, again, he was so successful that by 1908 the deaths from all causes in that region were reduced to ten per thousand.

Subsequently General Gorgas became Director of the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Institution, and he went to Serbia early in the war with the Rockefeller Anti-Typhus Mission.

He was the recipient of many honours, including that of the K.C.M.G. personally conferred on him by King George a few weeks before his death in the Queen Alexandra Military Hospital, Millbank. He was accorded an imposing military funeral at St. Paul's Cathedral, his remains being afterwards conveyed to America for interment.

General Gorgas married, in 1885, Miss Doughty of Cincinnati. She and one daughter survived him.

9. **Sir Gilbert King, Bart.**, was 74 years of age. He was the only son of the third baronet whom he succeeded in 1895. He was educated at Blackheath and at Trinity College, Dublin, where he took his degree in 1869. Sir Gilbert had been High Sheriff of Roscommon, of Leitrim, and of Sligo. His first marriage was to Miss Charlotte Heard by whom he had one daughter, his second wife was Miss Louisa Sweet. His successor was his cousin, Mr. George Adolphus King, who was born in 1864.

10. **Admiral of the Fleet Sir John Arbuthnot, Lord Fisher of Kilverstone, G.C.B., G.C.V.O.**, was born in 1841 at Rarbodde in Ceylon, and was the son of Captain W. Fisher of the 78th Highlanders and 95th Foot, by his marriage with Miss Lambe, daughter of Mr. A. Lambe of New Bond Street. Captain Fisher was for many years A.D.C. to Sir William Horton, Governor of Ceylon, and to General Sir Robert Arbuthnot.

In July, 1854, the future admiral entered the Navy on board the

*Victory*, having been given a nomination by the last of Nelson's captains, Admiral Sir William Parker. He served with the Baltic Fleet in the war with Russia, and subsequently in the China War, being present at the capture of Canton, and the attacks on the Peiho Forts. He received the China medal with the Canton and Taku clasps for his services. He won the Beaufort Testimonial in passing for lieutenant, and in 1863, having qualified in gunnery, he joined the first British sea-going ironclad, the *Warrior*, as Gunnery Lieutenant. Three years later he was appointed to the staff of the *Excellent*, gunnery schoolship, being advanced to Commander in 1869.

After a period of service in the China flagship he was, in 1872, appointed to the *Excellent* "for torpedo service," and during this period he was instrumental in starting the *Vernon* as a torpedo schoolship at Portsmouth. He was promoted Captain in 1874 and in 1876 was sent to North America and to the Mediterranean where he commanded in succession the *Bellerophon*, *Hercules*, and *Pallas*. He next commanded the *Inflexible* at the bombardment of Alexandria in 1882, and during the Egyptian Campaign he fitted out and commanded the "armoured train," for which services he received the C.B., and the British and Egyptian medals.

From 1883 to 1885 he commanded the *Excellent*, the Naval Gunnery School, and in 1884 Fisher's intimate friend, Mr. W. T. Stead, published at his instigation "The Truth about the Navy." The five millions sterling that were at once voted for the Fleet, and the Naval Defence Act of 1889 were the direct outcome of this proceeding.

Fisher became Director of Naval Ordnance and Torpedoes in 1886, Rear-Admiral in 1890, and Admiral-Superintendent of Portsmouth Dockyard in 1891. In 1892 he was made Comptroller of the Navy, and held that post for five and a half years, becoming a K.C.B. in 1894 and being advanced to the rank of Vice-Admiral in 1896. In August, 1897, he hoisted his flag in the *Renown*, and took command of the North American and West Indies Station. During this period he succeeded in bringing about very cordial relations with the United States, and he was also one of the keenest promoters of the *Entente Cordiale* with France.

As Director of Naval Ordnance Fisher never rested in his efforts to obtain for the Navy exclusive control of its own guns, and this object he achieved. Lord Salisbury appointed him Naval Delegate to the first Peace Conference at The Hague where he was a popular figure.

From July, 1899, for three years he held the Mediterranean Command, and during that anxious time of the South African War he directed all his powers to the preparation of the Fleet for immediate use in case of emergency, maintaining the strictest discipline, and lecturing his officers on strategy.

In 1902 Fisher became Second Sea Lord of the Admiralty, and received the G.C.B., and this period was marked by the complete re-organisation of the training given to officers and men of the Royal Navy and of officers of the Royal Marines. This scheme was initiated by Fisher who in August, 1903, became Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth. He returned to the Admiralty as First Sea Lord in October, 1904, and remained there for five years, during which period many reforms were introduced by him in the administration, organisation, disposition, and equipment of the Navy. He had always in mind the possibility of a war with Germany, and made his plans with the object of being prepared for that event. He was made a G.C.V.O. in 1908, and was raised to the Peerage on November 9, 1909, the last birthday of King Edward, who always treated him as a close friend.

In January, 1911, he was placed on the retired list, but in 1912 he was requested to act as President of a Royal Commission on oil fuel and engines.

On the outbreak of war his advice was sought by Mr. Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, and when in October, 1914, Prince



Louis of Battenberg resigned his post as First Sea Lord, it was generally recognised that Lord Fisher was *par excellence* the man to succeed him. He had a great plan prepared for an invasion of the Baltic, but the unfortunate Gallipoli undertaking caused this scheme to be abandoned. Further opposition to his advice led to his retirement, but he was soon recalled to organise the Board of Invention and Research.

In 1919 he came to the fore in the Economy Campaign, and he published his "Memories," which had such an instant success that his "Records" appeared shortly afterwards.

Lord Fisher married, in 1866, Miss Frances Katharine Josepha Broughton, by whom he had one son, the Hon. Cecil Vavasour Fisher, born in 1868, who succeeded him, and three daughters. Lady Fisher, who died in 1918, was a true helpmeet to her distinguished husband. Lord Fisher's funeral service at the Abbey, which was attended by representatives of the King and Royal Family and distinguished persons in the Navy and all walks of life, was followed by a simple interment at Kilverstone, his country home.

10. **Miss Elizabeth Lee**, who was 62 years of age, was a sister of Sir Sidney Lee, for many years editor of "The Dictionary of National Biography," to which she contributed many valuable lives of women. She was educated at Queen's College, Harley Street, and became a teacher of English at Secondary Schools for Girls. She was an authority on questions of Secondary Education, was for five years Secretary of the English Association, and published several educational volumes, a life of "Ouida," and "Lives of the Wives of Queen Victoria's Prime Ministers." She was greatly interested in current French literature, on which subject she contributed critical articles to the "Library." In 1909 she was made Officier d'Académie by the French Minister of Public Instruction.

11. **The Empress Eugénie, widow of Napoleon III. of France**, was born in 1826 at Granada, and was the daughter of the Count de Teba, a Grandee of Spain, who had married a lady who was the child of a Scottish father and a Spanish-Dutch mother. When the future Empress was about 8 years old, her father succeeded to the title and fortune of his brother, and became the Count de Montijo. He was a firm friend to France, and in 1834 during the political troubles in Madrid, which was also at that time the seat of an outbreak of cholera, he sent his wife and children to Paris. In 1837 Eugénie became a pupil at the Convent of the Sacré Cœur. After leaving school she lived with her mother and sister sometimes in Paris and sometimes in Madrid. The Countess was for a time First Lady-in-Waiting to Queen Isabella, and her elder daughter married the Duke of Alba. The end of the Revolution of 1848 found the mother and her younger daughter established in Paris, and at the balls held at the Elysée the Prince President became much attracted by the beautiful Spanish girl who entered into his political schemes with enthusiasm. In November, 1852, Napoleon III. became Emperor of the French, and two months later his forthcoming marriage to Mlle de Montijo was announced. The Emperor had to defend this action to the members of the official world, who clung to the ideas of the *ancien régime*, by declaring himself to be a parvenu, but the majority of the French people welcomed the marriage. The young Empress became the brilliant leader of a brilliant Court, but she was also intensely interested in public affairs and in foreign politics. During the Crimean War her courage never failed, and she was even urgently desirous that her husband should go to the seat of war. The Prince Imperial was born just before its close in March, 1856, and during the absence of the Emperor in the Italian Liberation Campaign she acted as his Regent in Paris. Her sympathies in this war were somewhat divided, for as a Spaniard she was a devoted adherent of the Papacy, and in her opinion the Italian Independents went too far in depriving the Vatican of all temporal power.

The Empress, unfortunately, encouraged her husband in his ill-advised interference in Mexico, and when the Franco-Prussian War broke out she, as well as Napoleon himself, was misled as to the preparedness of the French Army to resist the enemy.

She acted once more as Regent while the Emperor was at the front, and even after the collapse of the French at Sedan, when he was taken prisoner and a Republic had been proclaimed in Paris, she remained at her post. At last, however, she was compelled by the desertion of all save a few faithful friends to make her escape to England where in a few days she was joined by her son.

They settled at Chislehurst, where in 1871 they were joined by Napoleon, broken alike in health and fortunes. He survived only until January, 1873, and 1879 brought the Empress the crowning sorrow of her life in the death on the South African battlefield of her young son, who fell fighting the Zulu enemies of his adopted country.

The grief-stricken mother went herself to South Africa to bring back his remains, and she erected a large mausoleum where the coffins of her husband and son were placed in 1887, and near which she resided every summer until the close of her long life.

The friendship of Queen Victoria, which dated from the days when the young Empress and her husband came to Windsor in the height of their prosperity, was one of the greatest consolations of her years of exile. Princess Beatrice and her young daughter, afterwards Queen of Spain, were also united by ties of friendship to the Empress who had a wonderful power of interesting herself in the lives of others.

She died in Madrid at the Palace of her nephew, the Duke of Alva, and her remains were brought through Paris to England where they were laid beside those of her husband and son.

The King and Queen and members of the Royal Family of Great Britain as well as the King and Queen of Spain attended the funeral at Farnborough. The Requiem was sung by the Abbot of St. Michael's Benedictine Community, and the Absolution was given by Cardinal Bourne.

**12. Charles H. Mackie, R.S.A.**, was born in 1862, and educated in Edinburgh. He studied painting at the life school of the Royal Scottish Academy, was made A.R.S.A., in 1902 and R.S.A. in 1917, and was also a member of the Royal Scottish Water Colour Society. He was a notable colourist. He regarded colour as a language which expressed emotional feelings, the sense of relationship of things to each other, the physical qualities of things such as weight, etc., and their significance. He painted pastoral landscapes and a fine series of pictures of Venice and Rome, as also figure subjects, and in earlier years did mural decoration. He also tried his hand at sculpture and wood-block colour printing.

He exhibited at Munich, Venice, Berlin, Buda-Pesth, Dresden, and Amsterdam International Exhibitions, and was awarded a gold medal at Amsterdam in 1912.

He is represented by five works in the R.S.A. Diploma Gallery in Edinburgh.

— **Sir James Dick, K.C.B., Inspector-General of Hospitals and Fleets, and an Honorary Surgeon to H.M. the King**, was 89 years of age. From 1853 to 1891 he served on the active list of the Royal Navy, seeing service in the war with Russia, the Abyssinian War, the Civil War in Spain, and the Egyptian Campaign, when he was principal officer at Malta Hospital. In 1887 he was given the C.B., and was promoted K.C.B. in 1895. He was Director-General of the Medical Department of the Navy from 1888 to 1898, and held his appointment as Honorary Surgeon to the Sovereign for twenty-seven years. He married Miss Elizabeth Beveridge in 1868.

**13. Walter Hugh Hepburne-Scott, eighth Baron Polwarth**, was born in 1838. He succeeded his father in 1867, and was a Scottish Repre-

sentative Peer from 1882 to 1900 when he resigned. He was Lord-Lieutenant of Selkirkshire and a Deputy Lieutenant of Roxburghshire. In 1863 he married Lady Mary Hamilton Gordon, daughter of the fifth Earl of Aberdeen, and, after her death, he married Katharine Grisell, daughter of the Rev. the Hon. John Baillie. He left five sons and five daughters, and his successor was his eldest son, the Master of Polwarth.

17. **Prince Joachim of Prussia**, youngest son of the ex-Kaiser, who shot himself at Potsdam, was born in 1890. He studied at Strassburg and entered the Army in 1911. He took part in the war and was slightly wounded in 1914, and in 1916 he married Princess Marie Augusta of Anhalt by whom he had a son.

— **Sir Edmund Harry Elton, Bart.**, was in his 75th year. He was educated at Bradfield and Cambridge, and succeeded his uncle as eighth baronet in 1883. He originated and designed the Elton Ware pottery which brought him several national and international medals, and was at one time High Sheriff of Somerset. His successor was his son Ambrose.

20. **Sir John Gilmour, Bart.**, was born in 1845, and was educated at Glasgow and Edinburgh. After receiving a business training in his father's shipping office, and spending a year or two in travel, he settled in Fife as an agriculturist. He started in 1879 the famous Montrave stud of pedigree horses, and he was also well known as a cattle-breeder, and a member of the Royal Commission on Horse Breeding. He was Master of the Fife Foxhounds, and a keen commander of the Fife Light Horse. He contested East Fife as a Conservative three times, his opponent on the two last occasions being Mr. Asquith. In 1897 he was created a baronet. He was succeeded by his eldest son, and was survived by his wife and two other sons and two daughters.

21. **Mrs. Cornwallis-West**, who was born in 1854, was the daughter of the Rev. F. Fitzpatrick, Rector of Mohill, Co. Leitrim. She married Colonel Cornwallis-West in 1872, and had a son and two daughters, the elder of whom married Prince Henry of Pless and the younger the Duke of Westminster. She was herself a famous beauty.

25. **The Rev. Delaval Shafto Ingram**, whose age was 79, was educated at Giggleswick School, where he won an Exhibition at St. John's College, Cambridge. He took a First Class in the Classical Tripos of 1862. After acting as an Assistant Master at Tonbridge and Blundell's, Tiverton, he became Head Master of Felstead School, and latterly was Rector of Great Oakley, Essex. He married a daughter of Dr. Welldon, his Head Master at Tonbridge.

28. **William, Lord de Blaquiere**, who was 64, succeeded to the title in 1889. He had lived previously in Canada, and his wife was Mlle Marie Desbarats. They resided in Bath, and were interested in many charitable works. Both Lord de Blaquiere's sons were killed in the war and he left one daughter. His title became extinct at his death.

30. **Vice-Admiral Sir Trevelyhan D. W. Napier, K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief of the North America and West Indies Stations**, was born in 1867. He was the son of Admiral G. J. Napier, and entered the Navy in 1880. He served with distinction in the Egyptian War, was Captain of the Royal Yacht in 1903, and from 1914 to 1917 was in command of light cruiser squadrons in the war. From 1917 to 1919 he was Vice-Admiral of the Light Cruiser Force. He was A.D.C. to the King in 1913, was created a C.B. in 1916, and promoted K.C.B. in 1919. His wife was a daughter of Admiral Sir Michael Culme-Seymour.

31. **Bal Gangadhar Tilak**, the noted Indian extremist, was a member of the Brahman caste of Chitpavans. He graduated with honours at the Deccan College in 1876 and took an LL.B. degree in 1879. He was the founder of the newspapers the *Mahratta*, and the *Kesari*. He was a

bigoted opponent of British rule, and his opposition to regulations for the suppression of the plague in 1897, when he was a member of the Bombay Legislature, led to his imprisonment for sedition. In 1908 he was again sentenced for the condonation of murder, but was released in 1914, and expressed his sympathy with the British Government in the war.

He joined in the extreme Home Rule movement, however, engaged in 1918 in anti-recruiting work, and finally came to England to prosecute a case for defamation of character against Sir Valentine Chirol, who had published extracts from Tilak's own journals in support of his allegations against him. Tilak lost his case, and he returned to India, where he died.

## AUGUST.

**1. Percy Sholto Douglas, ninth Marquess of Queensberry**, was born in 1868. In his youth he served as a Midshipman in the Navy, but after a few years he went to learn ranching in North-West Canada. His next undertaking was the management of a roadside house on the borders of Alberta and Montana, and he then returned to England and for a short time held a commission in the Militia battalion of the King's Own Scottish Borderers.

Soon afterwards he went to Australia, and joined in the Coolgardie gold rush, where he made a fortune with which he returned to London, and engaged in financial undertakings, in the course of which he appeared more than once in the Bankruptcy Court.

In 1911 he went to America where he took up reporting work for Chicago and New York journals. Lord Queensberry married, in 1893, the daughter of the Rev. T. Walters, Vicar of Boyton, Cornwall, by whom he had two sons and a daughter. His successor was his eldest son Viscount Drumlanrig. In 1918 Lord Queensberry contracted a second marriage with Mrs. Mary Louise Morgan.

**4. Professor John Perry, D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S., Emeritus Professor of Mechanics, Royal College of Science, London, and General Treasurer of the British Association**, was born in Ulster in 1850. He was educated at the Modern School and Queen's College, Belfast, where he was a Whitworth Scholar, and Peels Prizeman, and won numerous other distinctions, including the gold medal when he took his B.En. degree.

At 20 years of age he became a master at Clifton College, and in 1874 he was assistant to Lord Kelvin. He then worked for four years as a Professor of Engineering in Japan, returning to England in 1879, when he set up as a consulting electrical engineer with Professor Ayrton.

In 1881 he became Professor of Engineering and Mathematics at the City and Guilds of London Technical College, Finsbury, and he accepted in 1896 the Chair of Mathematics and Mechanics at the Royal College of Science which he held until 1914.

In 1913 he helped to draw up the scheme for the foundation of the South African University. Professor Perry married Miss Alice Jowitt who died in 1904. He left no children.

**9. Sir Samuel Griffith**, formerly Chief Justice of the Federal High Court of Australia, was 75 years of age. He was a native of Wales, but was taken at an early age to Australia where he was educated at Sydney University. In 1867 he was called to the Bar, and in 1874 he became Attorney-General of Queensland, and in 1883, Premier. Subsequently he became Chief Justice, and on the establishment of the High Court of Australia he was appointed first Chief Justice, a post which he held until 1919. He was one of those who drafted the Federal Constitution, and he was also known as being the author of a translation of Dante's "Inferno."

**9. Sir Lewis Mclver, Bart.**, whose age was 74, was the son of a Madras banker. He was educated at Bonn University, and entered the Indian Civil Service in 1868. He served with distinction in Madras and Burma, and retired in 1885, when he came to England, and represented Torquay in the House of Commons as a Liberal. The following year he broke away from Mr. Gladstone on the Home Rule question and was not re-elected. After an unsuccessful attempt to capture the South Edinburgh seat in 1892 he was returned as a Liberal-Unionist by West Edinburgh in 1895. In 1896 he was created a baronet and he held his seat in Parliament for more than ten years.

Sir Lewis married Miss Montefiore in 1885, but left no heir.

— **Walter Charles Warner, thirteenth Viscount Arbuthnott**, was born in 1847, and was the son of Captain the Hon. Walter Arbuthnott, the second son of the eighth Viscount. In 1869 he entered the Royal Artillery, and retired with the rank of Lieut.-Colonel in 1892. He saw service in the Afghan War of 1880. In 1917 Lord Arbuthnott succeeded his cousin, the twelfth Viscount. He had four children by his marriage with the daughter of the Rev. J. H. Parby, of Manadon, Plymouth, and his successor was his elder son, the Hon. John Ogilvy, Master of Arbuthnott, who was born in 1892.

— **Harriet, Lady Wantage** was 83 years of age. Her father was the great Victorian banker, Lord Overstone, and she married the future Lord Wantage, then a young officer in the Scots Fusiliers, in 1858. Lord Overstone settled the estate of Lockinge, Berkshire, on his daughter, and her husband left the Army, and together they developed their estates, and took part in various movements for good in their county. They were associated in the organisation of the Red Cross Society in England, and in adding to Lord Overstone's fine art collections which his daughter inherited.

Lady Wantage was of an extremely retiring disposition, and her charitable works both before and after the death of her husband were always hidden as much as possible from the public eye. She published a life of Lord Wantage a few years after his death in 1901. She had no children, and her heir was her cousin Mr. Arthur Thomas Loyd.

**11. Sir Peter Griggs, M.P.**, was 67 years of age. He started life in very poor circumstances, but saved enough money as a lad to buy a barge which he worked himself on the Thames. He subsequently became Governing Director of Messrs. W. P. Griggs & Co., Ltd., and took part in the development of building in Ilford. He took much interest in Essex county affairs and was knighted in 1916.

After an unsuccessful attempt to enter Parliament in 1910, he was returned as Coalition Unionist member for Ilford in 1918.

**12. Walter Winans**, who was famous both as a revolver shot and a horse-breeder, was 68 years of age. He was an American by birth but spent most of his life in Europe. One of the finest shots of his day, either with revolver or rifle, his exploits at Wimbledon and Bisley, even down to the year of his death, were renowned.

His reputation as a breeder of trotting horses was world-wide, and he exhibited regularly at the Richmond and International Horse Shows.

Mr. Winans was also well known on the Continent before the war as the owner of a stud-farm and stables at Vienna, and as Master of the Spa draghounds which he also took to hunt to Paris Plage and Chantilly. He was an accomplished linguist, and a sculptor and painter, more than one of his statues being exhibited at the Royal Academy. He was made a Chevalier of the Imperial Order of St. Stanislas of Russia, and was a member of the Imperial St. Petersburg Yacht Club.

Mr. Winans died from heart failure while driving in a trotting match at Parsloe Park. He was unmarried.

— **Lieut.-Colonel Leachman, C.I.E., D.S.O.**, who was shot by the orders of the Chief of the Zoba tribe between Baghdad and Feluja,

had distinguished himself highly in the war, both in the advance on Baghdad and in the final operations against the Turks in Mesopotamia when he served with Cassels' Cavalry. He wielded great influence over the Arabs, and after the armistice was first appointed Political Officer in Mosul, and subsequently Political Officer of the Dulaim division.

16. **Sir Joseph Norman Lockyer, F.R.S., K.C.B.**, was born at Rugby in 1836, and was the son of a scientific father, one of the early workers on the electric telegraph. He was educated at private schools, and on the Continent and in 1857 was given a War Office appointment. Eight years later he became editor of the Army Regulations, and in 1870 he was appointed Secretary of the Duke of Devonshire's Royal Commission on Science. When his work in this capacity was ended he was transferred to the Science and Art Department, and during that same year, 1875, he was the recipient of the Janssen medal of the Paris Academy of Sciences, of which he became a corresponding member.

Lockyer began to hold classes, to lecture, and to write books on astronomy which were translated into many languages. In 1868, the great discovery which had been made simultaneously, though independently, by himself and Janssen, that the sun's chromosphere could be seen in broad daylight, created a great sensation in the scientific world. Lockyer made many journeys to remote places in order to study the outlying portions of the sun during eclipse periods.

In 1887 Lockyer published "The Chemistry of the Sun," and in 1890 "Meteoric Hypothesis," which contained in a summarised form the results of much of his research work in the fields of solar and stellar physics, which had appeared more fully in the publications of the Royal Society. In the second work a theory was promulgated by the author by which he endeavoured to prove the meteoric origin of all the known phenomena of the heavens.

In 1869 he started the weekly scientific journal *Nature* which proved a remarkably successful venture. The founder himself contributed an article to the special number which celebrated its jubilee appearance in 1919.

In 1894 Lockyer published "The Dawn of Astronomy." This work was the result of some visits to Egypt, and was an attempt to date certain temples from their orientations. The author afterwards dealt in the same way with Stonehenge, and other stone circles in England.

Lockyer's honours included the F.R.S. in 1869, and the K.C.B. in 1897. He was President of the British Association in 1903-4 when he addressed his hearers on the urgent need of more national universities. He was President in 1912 of the British Science Guild, the foundation of which was due to his initiation. He married first Winifred, daughter of Mr. William Janes of Trabishon, near Abergavenny. She died in 1879, and in 1903 he married Mrs. B. E. Brodhurst. He had four sons and two daughters.

— **Sir Luke White**, who was born in 1845, was a Solicitor of Driffield, Yorkshire, and in 1897 he became Coroner for the East Riding. He was knighted in 1908. From 1900 to 1918 he represented the Buckrose Division in the House of Commons as a Liberal.

19. **Colonel John Worthy Chaplin, V.C., C.B.**, entered the Army in 1858. He was awarded the V.C. for distinguished gallantry during the Chinese Campaign of 1860. As an Ensign of the 67th Regiment he was carrying the Queen's Colour at the storming of the North Taku Fort. He planted the colours on the breach made by the storming party, assisted by Private Lane, and later on the Cavalier Fort which he was the first to mount. He was severely wounded on this occasion. In the Afghan War of 1879 he commanded the 8th Hussars. He was given the C.B. in 1887.

20. **The Rev. Claude Hermann Walter Johns, Litt.D., D.D.**, was born in 1857, and was educated at Faversham Grammar School, and

Queen's College, Cambridge. Here he was a School and College Exhibitioner, and a Foundation Scholar, and took his degree as 27th Wrangler in 1880. After some years passed in teaching, he was ordained in 1887, and served a curacy at Helpston. From 1892 to 1909 he was Rector of St. Botolph's, Cambridge, and in 1895 he became Edwardes Fellow and Lecturer in Assyriology at Queen's College, being appointed Assistant Chaplain there in 1903. In 1909 he was elected Master of St. Catharine's College, an appointment which ill-health compelled him to resign in 1919. His wife was a daughter of the Rev. J. Griffith, LL.D. Dr. Johns was a leading Assyriologist. His work in three volumes "Assyrian Deeds and Documents" was soon regarded as a classical authority on questions relating to the chronology, the legal system, and the metrology of the Assyrians. He was of an extremely scientific habit of mind, and very cautious in applying the results of his work on ancient monuments to Biblical problems. In 1903 he edited the laws of the Hammurabi in English. Dr. Johns was for a time Lecturer at King's College, London.

**23. The Right Rev. Thomas Stevens, D.D.,** formerly Bishop of Barking, was 79 years of age. He was educated at Shrewsbury School and at Magdalene College, Cambridge, where he took his degree with a second class in the Classical Tripos and a third in the Mathematical Tripos in 1863. In 1865 he was ordained and became a Master at Charterhouse School, and Curate of St. Mary's, Charterhouse. Later on he became Vicar of St. Mark's, Victoria Docks, and in 1875 Vicar of St. Luke's, Victoria Docks. Among other posts he held those of Vicar of St. John's, Stratford, and Chaplain of St. Mary's Hospital, Ilford. He was also Archdeacon of Essex, and an Honorary Canon of St. Albans.

He was consecrated Bishop Suffragan of Barking in 1901, and resigned after eighteen years of strenuous work.

Dr. Stevens was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and a prominent Freemason. He married Miss Anne Elizabeth Bertram in 1866 and had one daughter.

## SEPTEMBER.

**1. Edward FitzEdmund Burke Roche, second Baron Fermoy,** was 70 years of age. He succeeded his father in 1874, and married, in 1877, the Hon. Cecilia O'Grady, daughter of the third Viscount Guiltamore, by whom he had one daughter. He was succeeded by his brother, the Hon. James Boothby Burke Roche. Lord Fermoy owned over 21,000 acres of land in Ireland, and was J.P. and D.L. for the County of Cork.

— **Professor Wilhelm Wundt,** the eminent German psychologist, was 88 years of age. He was educated at Tübingen, Heidelberg, and Berlin, and subsequently settled in Leipzig, where he lectured to large classes, and produced a large number of volumes from the year 1862 onwards. He edited twenty volumes of "Philosophische Studien," and among numerous original works he published the "Principles of Physiological Psychology," "Logic," and "Volkerpsychologie." He was greater as an exponent of the ideas of others than in the realm of original thought.

**2. Sir Charles James Lyall, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.,** was born in 1845, and was educated at King's College, London, and at Balliol, Oxford. In 1867 he joined the Civil Service in the United Provinces, and before long he became Under-Secretary to the Central Government in the Revenue and Agricultural Department. In 1880 he became Secretary to the Chief Commissioner in Assam, and was subsequently appointed successively Commissioner of the Valley Districts, Secretary of the Home Department (Government of India), Head of the Assam Government, and Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. In 1898 he became Secretary of the Judicial and Public Department of the India Office, from which he retired in 1910.

Sir Charles was an Oriental scholar of considerable attainments. He contributed articles on Hindustani literature to successive editions of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," and translated numerous Arabic poems and diwans. The Universities of Oxford, Edinburgh, and Strassburg awarded him honorary degrees, and he was a Fellow of the British Academy, and a Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society. He married Miss Florence Fraser in 1877, and had two sons and five daughters.

2. **Dr. Frederick Rutherford Harris**, who was 64 years of age, was at one time Secretary of the British South Africa Company, and held a seat in the Cape House of Assembly. Later he represented Dulwich as a Unionist in the House of Commons.

3. **Sir Henry Stewart Cunningham K.C.I.E.**, was the son of the Rev. J. Cunningham, Vicar of Harrow, and was in his 89th year. After having received his education at Harrow, and at Trinity College, Oxford, where he won the Chancellor's prize for an English essay, he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1859. In 1866 he was appointed Government Advocate, and Legal Adviser to the Punjab, and three years later he became Government Advocate at Madras. In 1877 he was appointed a Judge of the High Court of Bengal, a position which he resigned in 1887. In 1889 he was made a K.C.I.E.

Sir Henry was also possessed of literary gifts of a high order. As a young man, before he went to India, he contributed articles to the *Saturday Review* and *The Times*, and published two novels "Late Laurels," and "Wheat and Tares." Among the later Anglo-Indian novels which won him fame, was "The Chronicles of Dustypore." In 1891 he wrote the life of Lord Canning which appeared as one of the series of "Rulers of India," and in 1896 he published a remarkably able memoir of his life-long friend Lord Bowen.

Sir Henry married, in 1877, the Hon. Harriet Emily, daughter of the first Lord Lawrence. She died in 1918, their only son having predeceased her. Sir Henry left one daughter.

5. **Susan Agnes Macdonald, Baroness Macdonald of Earnslcliffe**, was born in 1836, and was the daughter of the Hon. T. J. Bernard of Jamaica. She married, in 1867, Sir John Macdonald, who was Prime Minister of Canada for many years. He died in 1891, and by Queen Victoria's desire the Peerage that was to have been conferred upon him was given to his widow. Lady Macdonald was a gifted woman, and a writer of some power. She left no son and the title became extinct.

9. **Alan de Tatton Egerton, third Baron Egerton of Tatton**, was born in 1845, and was the son of the first baron, and a member of an old Cheshire family. He started life as an engineer, and in 1867 was valuing engineer under the Royal Commission for Railways and Canals in Ireland. He represented Mid-Cheshire in the House of Commons, and later, Knutsford, but was defeated in the latter constituency in 1906 by the Liberal candidate, Mr. King. In 1909 he succeeded his brother, the second baron.

Lord Egerton married, in 1867, Miss Anna Louisa Taylor. His successor was his son, the Hon. Maurice Egerton, who was born in 1874.

11. **Lieut.-General Sir William Babbie, V.C., K.C.B., K.C.M.G.**, was 61 years of age. He entered the Army Medical Service in 1881, having been educated at Glasgow University. He served in the first Boer War, and won the V.C. for his gallantry in attending the wounded under fire at Colenso, and in attempting to save the son of Lord Roberts, whom he brought in under heavy fire. In 1910 he became Deputy-Director-General of the Army Medical Service and remained for four years in this position. During the earlier part of the Great War, he held the position of Director of Medical Services in India. As such, he was held to be in part responsible for the break-down of the Medical Service in



the early days of the Mesopotamian Campaign, and his administration was in consequence adversely criticised in the well-known Mesopotamia Report. He was subsequently employed in important duties in England, however, and the authorities thus made it clear that he was by no means exclusively responsible for the deplorable inadequacy of the medical arrangements in the East. He was Honorary Surgeon to the King from 1914 to 1919, was made a K.C.M.G. in 1916, and K.C.B. in 1919. Latterly he was Inspector of Medical Services at the War Office. Sir William married, in 1903, the widow of Major P. A. Hayes.

11. **Lieut.-Colonel William Thomas Marshall, V.C.**, won the Victoria Cross in the Sudan in 1884 when he was serving as Quartermaster-Sergeant in the 19th Hussars. He rescued Lieut.-Colonel Barrow whose horse had been killed during a cavalry charge at El-Teb, and who was lying on the ground severely wounded and surrounded by the enemy. His rescuer stayed with him and dragged him back through the enemy to the regiment.

12. **George Francis William Henry Denison, third Earl of Londesborough**, who was born in 1892, was Vice-Admiral of Yorkshire. He succeeded his father in 1917, and was unmarried. His successor was his brother, the Hon. Hugo William Cecil Denison, who was three years junior to him.

13. **Alexander W. C. O. Murray, Baron Murray of Elibank**, was 50 years of age, and was the eldest son of Viscount Elibank who survived him. He was educated at Cheltenham College, and entered the Colonial Office, where he was private secretary in succession to Sir Robert Meade, Lord Ripon, and Mr. Sydney Buxton. In 1893 he paid a visit to the Leeward Islands as Secretary to the Governor, and in 1900 he entered Parliament as Liberal member for Mid-Lothian. In 1906 he retired to make room for Lord Dalmeny, and from then until 1910 he sat for Peebles and Selkirk, returning during the latter year to his former constituency which he represented until 1912. From 1905 to 1912 he was a member of the Government, serving as Comptroller of the Household, and Scottish Whip for three and a half years, as Under Secretary for India for nearly a year, and for two and a half years as Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury and Chief Liberal Whip, in which latter capacity he was remarkably efficient. In 1912 he was obliged by private affairs and for reasons of health to resign his offices and he was then raised to the Peerage.

Lord Murray then became a partner in the firm of Messrs. S. Pearson & Son, and he went to South America to conduct negotiations concerning the concessions of oil-fields. While he was thus occupied the Marconi inquiry took place at home, and on his return Lord Murray cleared himself before the Select Committee of the House of Lords of anything detrimental to his personal honour in those transactions. In 1915 he was appointed honorary Director of Recruiting for Munitions Work, in which capacity he rendered valuable services to his country. Lord Murray married a half-sister of Lieut.-General Sir James Wolfe Murray, who survived him. He had no children, so his own title became extinct, and his younger brother, the Hon Gideon Murray, became heir to their father, Lord Elibank.

16. **The Rev. William Sanday, D.D.**, the eminent theological scholar and critic, was born in 1843, and was the son of William Sanday of Holme Pierrepont. He was educated at Repton, becoming afterwards a commoner of Balliol, and a scholar of Corpus. In 1863 he took a first in Classical Moderations, and two years later a first in the Final Classical Schools, becoming in 1866 a Fellow of Trinity. He was a Lecturer at Trinity from 1866 to 1869, was ordained in 1867, and in 1876, after doing some parochial work, he became Principal of Hatfield Hall, Durham, where he remained until 1883. In this last year he was appointed to the Ireland Professorship of Exegesis at Oxford, and held at

the same time a Tutorial Fellowship at Exeter College. His critical work had by this time made him remarkable, and he was Bampton Lecturer in 1893, when he took as his subject, "The Early History and Origin of the Doctrine of Biblical Inspiration." In 1895 Dr. Sanday was elected to the Lady Margaret Chair of Divinity, which he held until 1919.

Dr. Sanday published many theological works beginning with "The Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel," in 1872. In 1876 "The Gospels in the Second Century" appeared, and among his more striking later works were the "Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans," which he published in conjunction with Dr. Headlam in 1895, "Christologies, Ancient and Modern," in 1910, and "Personality in Christ and in Ourselves," in 1911.

He belonged to the school of what has been aptly called "reverent criticism," and his defence of many old ideas was the more telling in that he did it as a result of personal original investigation. He was a man of a very fair and candid mind, and latterly he came much under the influence of the younger school of Oxford theologians.

In 1877 he married Miss Marian Woodman Hastings of Twining, Tewkesbury, who died in 1904.

16. **Egerton Castle, M.A., F.S.A.**, was born in 1858, and was educated at the Universities of Paris and Glasgow, and graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge, in the Natural Science Tripos. He passed through Sandhurst, and the Inner Temple, and eventually became chairman of the company which bore the name of his grandfather, the founder of the *Liverpool Mercury*, which was subsequently amalgamated with the *Daily Post*. Mr. Castle was a fine rifle and pistol shot, and a famous swordsman. He held for many years the amateur championship of Great Britain, resigning the title unbeaten, and he was Captain of the British épée and sabre teams at the Olympic Games in 1908. He also became Captain in the Royal Engineers Militia (Portsmouth Division, Submarine Miners).

Mr. Castle began to write at the age of 26, when he published "Schools and Masters of Fence." He worked on the staff of the *Saturday Review*, published a novel, "Consequences," in 1891, which he followed up by a work on "English Book Plates," a play for Sir Henry Irving, and a translation into French of Stevenson's "Prince Otto." The long series of romantic novels in which Mr. Castle collaborated with his wife brought to both of them a great popular reputation. From 1898, when they published "The Pride of Jennico," every year saw the production of one of their charming romances, several of which were dramatised, and in "The Hope of the House," which appeared in 1915, the authors showed a greater depth and power than had been apparent before the war. Mr. Castle was survived by his wife and daughter.

17. **Edmund Beckett Faber, first Baron Faber**, who was born in 1847 was a member of an old Yorkshire family, and a kinsman of the Rev. F. W. Faber, the well-known hymn writer. His mother (before her marriage Miss Beckett) was a sister of the first Lord Grimthorpe.

Lord Faber was educated at Eton, where he was a "wet bob" and won the House mile, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, and became a member of his uncle's banking firm, Beckett & Co., and in due course he held many important positions in the worlds of banking and finance. Among these were the Chairmanship of the English Country Bankers' Association, and a directorship of the London and North-Western Railway Company, and he served as a member of the Royal Commission on the Transfer of Land.

Lord Faber was also keenly interested in journalism, becoming first a director and subsequently Chairman of the Yorkshire Conservative Newspaper Company. He was Chairman of the Conservative Party in the Pudsey Division of the West Riding, and was Conservative candidate

for the Division in 1900, but was defeated. In 1901 he was returned to Parliament by the Andover Division of Hampshire, and held the seat until in 1906 he was raised to the Peerage. He spoke frequently in the House of Commons, and subsequently in the Upper House, on questions of finance, and his advice was of great use in those matters during the war.

Lord Faber was unmarried, and his title became extinct at his death.

17. **Sir James Benjamin Ball**, who was chief engineer of the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway, was born in 1867. During the last part of the war he was Comptroller of Timber Supplies for the Board of Trade, and he was knighted for his services in this capacity. He was twice married, and had four daughters.

18. **The Right Hon. Sir William Mather**, who was born in Manchester in 1838, was Chairman of the iron and engineering works of Messrs. Mather & Platt of Salford. As a Liberal he represented, in the House of Commons, the South Division of Salford from 1885 to 1886, the Gorton Division of Lancashire from 1889 to 1895, and the Rossendale Division from 1900 to 1904. He resigned the last of these seats in favour of Mr. Harcourt.

Sir William was an opponent of war, a great believer in the eight-hour system, which he introduced into his factories on his own initiative, and a keen student of educational questions.

He was on the Council of Manchester University, and was Chairman of the Federal Educational Institute. He married Miss Emma Watson in 1863, and had one son and four daughters. He was knighted in 1902.

22. **Herbert James Draper**, who was a Londoner, studied Art at the Royal Academy Schools, and on the Continent. He won the Royal Academy Gold Medal and Travelling Studentship in 1889, and from 1890 he was a regular exhibitor at Burlington House. His "Lament for Icarus" was bought for the Tate Gallery by the Chantrey Trustees in 1898, and his "Tristram and Iseult," "The Golden Fleece," and "The Vintage Morn" were well known and much admired. He also decorated the ceiling of the Drapers' Hall in the City.

Mr. Draper married Miss Ida Williams who, with one daughter, survived him.

— **Sir Lindsay Wood, Bart.**, who was 86 years of age, was a son of a well-known coal-owner in the North of England. He completed his education at King's College, London, and became a mining engineer, working for many years at the Hetton Collieries, of which he became managing director on the death of his father in 1866. He held many other important positions on the boards of coal companies, was mining engineer to Greenwich Hospital, and served on several Royal Commissions, notably on that on Accidents in Mines, 1879-86.

Sir Lindsay provided a system of elementary schools for the benefit of his own colliers before the passing of the Education Act of 1870. He was President for over forty years of the Durham Coal-owners' Association, and as a keen Unionist was Chairman of the Durham County Division of the National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations.

In 1897 he was created a Baronet. He married, in 1873, Miss Emma Barrett, and had a family. His successor was his son, Arthur Nicholas Lindsay, who was born in 1875.

25. **Jacob H. Schiff**, the head of the New York banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., was born in 1847 at Frankfort-on-Main. He started his career in New York at the age of 18, and in twenty years' time he had attained to the headship of a firm second only in importance to that of J. P. Morgan. Mr. Schiff, who left an enormous fortune, was extremely charitable, and innumerable Jewish organisations for education and

relief were largely financed by him. He also founded the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York, and the first Semitic Museum in America which he presented to Harvard University. He was also generous to others than those of his own faith.

Mr. Schiff married, in 1875, Miss Loeb, a daughter of one of his partners.

**25. Arthur Sidgwick** was born in 1840, and was educated at Rugby and at Trinity College, Cambridge. He was the son of the Rev. W. Sidgwick of Skipton, Yorkshire; his brothers, William and Henry, became well known in the academic and philosophical worlds, and his sister became the wife of Archbishop Benson. In 1861 he was elected a Scholar of Trinity College, having already won the Bell Scholarship during the previous year. He also won the Porson Scholarship in 1861 and the Members' Prize in 1862, 1863, and 1864, and was second in the Tripos.

He was elected a Fellow of Trinity in 1864, and then went back to Rugby where, until 1879, he held a mastership with great success. He was then appointed Classical Lecturer and Tutor of Corpus, Oxford, becoming a Fellow shortly afterwards. In 1894 he was appointed by the Delegates of the Common University Fund, Reader in Greek, and until he resigned, in 1906, he was continuously re-elected to that post. He was a great lecturer on Homer and the Greek dramatists, an ardent Liberal, serving for twenty-five years as President of the Oxford City Liberal Association, and an advocate of the higher education of women.

He married Miss Wilson, the sister of Professor Wilson, his old friend and colleague at Rugby.

**27. David Henry Nagel**, Vice-President and Senior Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford, was 57 years of age. He was educated at his native town of Dundee, at Aberdeen University, and at Trinity College, Oxford, where, in 1882, he gained the Millard Scholarship. The next year he won a Taylorian Exhibition in German, and after taking a First Class in the Final Honours School of Chemistry in 1886, he became Lecturer in Chemistry and Physics at his college in 1888, and Fellow and Science Tutor in 1890.

Mr. Nagel acted as assistant, first to Mr. H. B. Dixon, and later to Sir John Conroy, but the conduct of the laboratory which was shared by Trinity College and Balliol was chiefly in his hands for nearly twenty years.

In 1904 it was decided to make it practically a University Institution by providing there a practical course in Physical Chemistry for all undergraduates reading for the Chemistry School. Mr. Nagel's work was thus of the utmost importance, and his gifts of teaching had the widest scope.

He had a wonderful general knowledge of the sciences, and this gave him a breadth of view which was invaluable in his capacity as a member of University boards and committees in the Science Faculty. He was Chairman of the Board of the Faculty of Natural Science, a member of the Prime Minister's Committee on the Teaching of Natural Science, a member of the Council of the Association for the Education of Women, and a delegate to the Press.

**30. Sir John Everett Millais, Bart.**, grandson of the famous painter, was 32 years of age. He succeeded his father, the second Baronet, in 1897, and later entered the Navy as a cadet on H.M.S. *Britannia*. In 1911 he retired from the Service, but rejoined three years later on the outbreak of war. He served in H.M.S. *Amethyst*, and retired in 1917 with the rank of Lieut.-Commander. Sir John was unmarried, and was succeeded by his uncle, Mr. Geoffrey W. Millais.

## OCTOBER.

3. **The Right Hon. Sir Thomas Vezey Strong, K.C.V.O., K.B.E.**, sometime Lord Mayor of London, was born in 1857 in the City. He was the head of the firm of Messrs. Strong, Hanbury & Co., wholesale paper merchants, and became Alderman of Queenhithe Ward in 1897. He was Sheriff in 1904-5, and was knighted on the occasion of a Royal Visit to the City, and in 1910-11 he was Lord Mayor. He therefore took part in the Coronation ceremony at Westminster Abbey, and also preceded King George and Queen Mary on horseback through the City the following day. He was made a Privy Councillor, and created K.C.V.O. before he left office. For his war services as Chairman of the Recruiting Tribunal in the City he was made a K.B.E. He married Miss Lillie Hartnoll in 1900, but had no children.

5. **William Henry Heinemann**, the well-known publisher, was born in 1863, and was apprenticed in his youth to the firm of Messrs. Trübner. After this he travelled for some years and studied contemporary literature on the Continent, and in 1890 he started his business in Bedford Street. During that year, under the editorship of Mr. Gosse, "Heinemann's International Library" began. Björnson, Tolstoi, Valera, Couperus, and Sienkiewicz were representative novelists whose works were thus introduced to the public, and Mr. Heinemann also published the works of Maeterlinck, Ibsen, d'Annunzio, and Tourgeniev, and introduced many new English novelists. He himself wrote three plays of considerable merit, was President of the National Booksellers' Society from 1913, and of the Publishers' Association of Great Britain and Ireland for three years. Mr. Heinemann was greatly interested in music and the fine arts generally.

7. **William Senior**, who was in his 82nd year, was for a long time a special correspondent of the *Daily News*, and later became well known as a writer on the subject of angling, both in *Bell's Life* and in the *Field*. He was an enthusiastic supporter of fishing as a sport, and of fisheries, and after controlling the Angling Department of the *Field* for some time, he became editor-in-chief of that journal from 1899 to 1909.

Under the nom-de-plume of "Red Spinner" he published "Water-side Sketches," "Near and Far," and "A Mixed Bag."

11. **Admiral Sir Michael Culme-Seymour, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.V.O.**, was 84 years of age, and was the grandson of the famous Admiral of his name who was created a baronet in recognition of his services in the Napoleonic War. Michael Culme-Seymour entered the Navy in 1850, and took part in the Burmese War, and served subsequently with the Naval Brigade in the Crimea. He received the medal with the Inkerman and Sebastopol clasps, also the Turkish medal, and the Medjidie, fifth class. During the whole of the China War he served as flag-lieutenant to his uncle Sir Michael Seymour, and received the China medal with the Fatshan, Canton, and Taku Forts clasps.

He was promoted Commander in 1859, and Captain six years later, and from 1874 to 1876 he was Private Secretary to the then First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Ward Hunt. From 1878 to 1880 he commanded H.M.S. *Temeraire* in the Mediterranean under Sir Geoffrey Hornby, and in the latter year he succeeded his father, the second baronet, who was a clergyman.

Sir Michael was promoted Rear-Admiral in 1882, became Commander in the Pacific in 1885, was advanced to Vice-Admiral in 1888, and commanded the Channel Fleet from 1890 to 1892. He became an Admiral and also K.C.B. in 1893. From June, 1893, he was for two years and a half Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, and from 1897 to 1900 held the command at Portsmouth. He received the G.C.B. on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria, and the G.C.V.O. for the

services rendered by him as principal Naval aide-de-camp at the Queen's funeral. He retired in March, 1901, and was appointed Vice-Admiral of the United Kingdom four months later.

Sir Michael married, in 1866, Mary, daughter of the Hon. Richard Watson, and he was succeeded in the baronetcy by his eldest son, Rear-Admiral Sir Michael Culme-Seymour, K.C.B.

16. **Gustavus Arthur Chetwynd-Talbot, M.P.**, had represented the Hemel Hempstead division in the House of Commons as a Coalition-Unionist since 1918. He was 71 years of age, and was a son of the Rev. the Hon. G. G. Chetwynd-Talbot, and a grandson of the second Earl Talbot. He was educated at Wellington, and was at one time a member of the Legislative Council of Ceylon.

17. **Henry Beauchamp Oliver St. John, seventeenth Baron St. John of Bletso**, was 44 years of age. He was educated at Wellington, and at Magdalene College, Cambridge, and succeeded his father in 1912. He was Deputy-Lieutenant for Bedfordshire, and a great landowner, being the head of a very ancient family. Lord St. John was unmarried, and was succeeded by his brother, Captain the Hon. Moubray St. John.

— **General Gerart Mathien Leman**, the famous defender of Liège in August, 1914, was born in 1851. He was formerly Director of Studies at the Belgian Military School at Brussels, where he worked a revolution in the system of training. When Fort Loncin fell into the hands of the Germans he was taken prisoner, being partly suffocated by the fumes of exploding shells, and he was subsequently removed to Magdeburg. There he was very ill, and he was taken later to Blankenburg, and was finally interned in Switzerland in December, 1917. General Leman's remains lay first in state at Liège, and were removed on October 21 to Brussels. After an impressive scene at the Parliament building, where funeral orations were delivered by distinguished persons, military and civilian, he was interred in his family vault in the cemetery of Ixelles. The British Government was represented at the funeral, and a wreath was sent by the British Army.

General Leman was created a Count in recognition of his services, and received the decorations of the Grand Cordons of the Belgian Order of Leopold I., and of the Légion d'Honneur, and he was also given the G.C.M.G. After he was taken prisoner at Liège his sword was returned to him by the Hanoverian General, von Emmich, in recognition of his gallant defence of the fortress.

19. **Sir Cornelius Neale Dalton, K.C.M.G., C.B., D.C.L.**, who was Comptroller-General of Patents from 1897 to 1909, was the son of a clergyman, and was 78 years of age. He graduated with a Second Class in Classical Honours at Trinity College, Cambridge, and for a time engaged in teaching work. In 1871 he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple, and in 1873 he entered the Civil Service.

In 1882 he became an Assistant-Secretary to the Local Government Board, and he served on several Royal Commissions.

Sir Cornelius was made a C.B. in 1894, and a K.C.M.G. in 1908. He published "Poems of a Cambridge Graduate," and several other works, was Master of the Drapers' Company, and Chairman and Treasurer of the governing body of the East London College, and People's Palace.

He married Miss Margaret Gaskell in 1873 and had four daughters.

20. **Mrs. B. M. Croker**, the novelist, was by birth an Irishwoman, being one of the Sheppards of Roscommon. She married a soldier, the late Colonel John Croker, of the Royal Scots, and Royal Munster Fusiliers, and spent fourteen years of her life in the East. Her novels, which though light were well written and showed considerable knowledge of human nature, had a great success. The first to make much sensation was "Pretty Miss Neville" which was published in 1883. "Her Own People," and "The Company's Servant" were also widely

read and admired, and Mrs. Croker herself dramatised "Terence," a romance of Ireland.

**22. Sir Algernon Coote, Bart.**, who was in his 73rd year, was educated at Eton and Cambridge. He succeeded his father as premier Baronet of Ireland in 1899, and was Deputy-Lieutenant of Queen's County for many years until he associated himself with the Dominion Home Rule movement. He married first Miss Jean Trotter, and secondly Miss E. M. Chevenix-Trench. He was succeeded by his son, Ralph Algernon, who was born in 1874.

**23. The Rev. James Franck Bright, D.D.**, the well-known historian, was 88 years of age. He was a son of the famous physician who discovered the nature and treatment of "Bright's Disease" by his marriage with Miss Eliza Follett, sister of the Attorney-General in Peel's Administrations from 1834 to 1844. He was educated at Rugby and at University College, Oxford, and took a First Class in Law and Modern History in 1854. Two years later he was ordained, and became a Master at Marlborough, where he created and controlled the "Modern side," the first of its kind to be started.

For this purpose Dr. Bright compiled a French and a German grammar, and began to write his "History of England," and he started the first boarding-house (Preshute) in 1858.

In 1864 he married Miss Emmeline Wickham, who died in 1871, after which he left Marlborough, and occupied himself in writing his "History of England." He was soon offered by his old chief at Marlborough, Dr. Bradley, who had become Master of University College, Oxford, the appointments of Modern History Tutor and Lecturer there, which he accepted. In 1874 he was elected Fellow and Dean of the College, and in 1878 he became an Hon. Fellow of Balliol where he was also Tutor and Lecturer as well as at New College.

In 1881 Dr. Bright became Master of University College, and held that post until 1906 when he resigned, and retired to Norfolk where he took an active part in county affairs.

Dr. Bright's tenure of the Mastership was marked by the extension of University College buildings, and by the great care which he bestowed on the management of college finances. To him was largely due the development of the Modern History School at Oxford, and he was also the initiator of a technical school in the city, for which he presented the premises.

Dr. Bright was a Liberal in Church affairs as in politics, an extremely good preacher, and a genial and popular master.

Among his published works were the volumes which he contributed to the "Foreign Statesmen" series, *e.g.*, those on Maria Theresa, and Joseph II.

— **Sir Arthur Charles Trevor, K.C.S.I.**, was born in 1841 at Jallalabad, and was the son of Captain R. S. Trevor, 3rd Bengal Cavalry, who was treacherously murdered by Afghans a few months after the child's birth. With his mother and brother he went through the hardships of imprisonment the following year, being one of the small band of survivors. He was educated at St. John's Foundation School, and at Trinity and Lincoln Colleges, Oxford, holding a scholarship at Lincoln, and subsequently entered the Indian Civil Service. He held important Commissionships, was Revenue Member of the Bombay Government in 1892, and became Public Works Member of the Government of India in 1895. Three years later he received the K.C.S.I.

Sir Arthur married Miss Florence Mary Prescott in 1867, and had several children. Two of his sons attained distinguished positions in India, and a third was killed in France.

**25. Alexander, King of the Hellenes**, was born in 1893, and was the second son of King Constantine, who was deposed by the Salonika Government aided by the Entente Powers in 1917.

The ex-King's eldest son, the Duke of Sparta, being unacceptable to the Powers, Prince Alexander ascended the Throne, and the distastefulness of his position was aggravated by the neglect with which he was for a time treated. Eventually, however, he gained the affection and esteem of his subjects. He had contracted a morganatic marriage with Mlle Aspasia Manos.

King Alexander had entered Adrianople in triumph at the head of his army after the surrender of that city by the Turks a few months before his death.

25. **Charles Palmer, M.P.**, who represented the Wrekin Division of Shropshire in the House of Commons as an Independent, was only returned by that Constituency in February, 1920. He was at one time Editor of *The Globe*, becoming later assistant-Editor of *John Bull*, and Editor of the *Sunday Evening Telegram*. He represented the Actors' Association in Parliament.

— **The Duchess of Edinburgh (Dowager Duchess of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha)**, who was the Grand Duchess Marie Alexandrovna of Russia, was born in 1853. She was the daughter of Tsar Alexander II., and she married, in 1874, Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, the second son of Queen Victoria. The Duke succeeded his uncle, Ernest II., as Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha in 1893, and he died in 1900. The Duchess had five children. Her only son, Alfred, died in 1899, and she was survived by four daughters, the Queen of Rumania, the Grand Duchess Cyril of Russia (formerly Grand Duchess of Hesse), the Princess of Hohenlohe-Langenbourg, and Princess Alfonso of Orleans, Infanta of Spain.

26. **Sir Thomas Carlw Martin, LL.D.**, formerly Director of the Royal Scottish Museum, who was 69, was Editor of the *Dundee Advertiser* for many years. In 1908 he acted as Chairman of the Scottish Agricultural Commission to Canada, and after his return from a similar expedition to Australia in 1910 he became Director of the Royal Scottish Museum. Sir Thomas married Miss Isobel Spence in 1879. He was knighted in 1909.

31. **James Boothby Burke Roche, third Baron Fermoy**, was born in 1851. He was educated at Cambridge, and for a short time sat in the House of Commons as Nationalist member for East Kerry. In 1880 he married Miss Frances Work of New York, and his successor was his elder son Edmund Maurice. Lord Fermoy himself only succeeded his elder brother in September, 1920.

— **Alexander Charles Hamilton, tenth Baron Belhaven and Stenton**, was 80 years of age. He was the second son of William John Hamilton, F.R.S., M.P. for Newport, and entered the Royal Engineers in 1857. He served in the Zulu War of 1879, and retired with the rank of Colonel in 1888, and commanded the Surrey Volunteer Infantry Brigade for fourteen years. In 1893 he made a successful claim to the Barony of Belhaven and Stenton, the ninth holder of that title, a collateral relative, having died.

Lord Belhaven married, in 1880, Miss Georgina Legh Richmond. His only son, Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. Ralph Hamilton, Master of Belhaven, was killed on the Western Front in 1918, and his title descended to his nephew, Lieut.-Colonel Robert Edward Archibald Hamilton, C.I.E., Indian Army.

## NOVEMBER.

1. **Walter Bradford Woodgate**, barrister-at-law, author and sportsman, was born in 1840, and was the son of Canon Woodgate, Rector of Belbroughton, and was educated at Radley, and at Brasenose College, Oxford. He was a remarkably fine oarsman, and rowed in the winning Oxford boat in 1862 and 1863, and in the latter year he was also a member of the crew of the winning Brasenose boat at Henley, and in



1865 he was one of the winners of the Grand Challenge Cup at Henley. In 1860 he won the O.U.B.C. Pairs with the Rev. H. F. Baxter, in 1861 with Canon Champneys, and in 1862 with the Rev. R. Shepherd. He also won the O.U.B.C. Sculls in 1861 and 1862, and the Diamond Sculls in 1864. He was the founder of Vincent's at Oxford. Mr. Woodgate was called to the Bar in 1872 and joined the Oxford Circuit. He had a good practice, and he became known as an able writer on many subjects. His published works included "Boating," "A Modern Layman's Faith," and one or two novels, and in 1909 he published "Reminiscences of an Old Sportsman," which contained information on many interesting matters. He was a very picturesque figure, being often seen about the neighbourhood of the Temple in the dress of an old country gentleman of a bygone type. He was unmarried.

6. **Colonel Sir James Gildea, G.B.E., K.C.V.O.**, the founder of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association, was in his 83rd year. He was born at Kilmaine, and was a son of the Provost of Tuam. He was educated at St. Columba's College and at Pembroke College, Cambridge, and served on behalf of the National Society for Aid to the Sick and Wounded in War, in the Franco-Prussian War. Sir James was active in raising large funds for the relief of dependents of those killed in the Zulu War and in the Afghan War of 1880, and was Treasurer in England of two Indian Relief Funds, and from 1890 to 1895 he was Organising Secretary of Queen Victoria's Jubilee Institute for Nurses.

In 1899 he founded the Royal Homes for Officers' Widows and Daughters at Wimbledon, and was also engaged in other philanthropic works, besides retaining the posts of Chairman and Treasurer of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association until his death. From 1890 to 1898 he was Colonel Commanding the 6th Battalion Royal Warwickshire Regiment, and in 1909 he became Honorary Colonel of the 4th (Special Reserve) Battalion. He married Miss Barclay in 1864 and had a son and two daughters. Sir James published several records of philanthropic work.

8. **Dr. Abraham Kuyper**, who was formerly Dutch Prime Minister, was 83 years of age. In 1863 he became Pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church at Beesd (Gelderland), and seven years later he removed to Amsterdam, where by 1876 he had attained to the position of leader of the Anti-Revolutionary Party, whose aim was to restore the supremacy of Christian doctrine in the conduct of affairs of State. For nearly twenty years Dr. Kuyper was occupied with journalism, literature, and religious teaching, and in 1894 he was returned to the States-General at the Hague by Sliedrecht. From 1901 to 1905 he acted as Premier, but his policy in suppressing a strike of railwaymen by means of an Act of Parliament which made illegal any strike of workers engaged on public services, brought upon him the animosity of the Socialists. He made efforts towards procuring peace between Great Britain and the Boers in 1901, but in the European War he made no secret of his pro-German sympathies. Dr. Kuyper was a member of the Dutch Upper House after the termination of his Premiership until within a month or two of his death. He published many religious works.

14. **The Right Rev. Alfred Willis, Assistant Bishop for Tonga**, was born in 1836, and was educated at Uppingham, at St. John's College, Oxford, and at Wells Theological College. After working for some years in Kentish parishes he was consecrated Bishop of Honolulu in 1872. He had many difficulties with which to contend, but he remained at his post for thirty years during which period he revised and enlarged the translation of the Prayer-book made by King Kamehameha IV., and he also produced two editions of Hawaiian hymns.

In 1902 the Bishop resigned his See on the annexation of Hawaii by the United States, and the consequent taking over by the American Episcopal Church of the Mission.

Bishop Willis then became Assistant Bishop to the Tongan branch of the Melanesian Mission. He died in England where he was on a visit which he had made for the purpose of attending the Lambeth Conference in July. He married the sister of the Rev. A. Barrington Simeon, who survived him.

15. **Dr. H. F. Holland, J.P.**, was in his 92nd year. As a young man, in 1851 he attended the first Duke of Wellington who was suffering from bronchial pneumonia. He was a well-known figure at Godalming where his family had long been established.

— **Albert William Spratt**, who had been, since 1865, a Fellow and since 1892 a Tutor at St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, was well known as a classical scholar, and achieved fame as a coach. He was the editor of Books 3, 4, and 6 of Thucydides, for the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press.

Mr. Spratt was also a cultivated musician, and his College derived great benefit both in its Chapel Services and its concerts from his knowledge and gifts.

17. **Sir Charles Fryer, I.S.O., F.L.S.**, was born in 1850, and became Clerk to Inspectors of Fisheries in the Home Office before he reached the age of 20. In 1886 he became Inspector of Fisheries, a post which he retained for many years. He assisted in the introduction of trout into Australasian waters, and he also gave his valuable support to the International Fisheries Exhibition of 1883. Sir Charles acted on several occasions as official English delegate at International Fishery Congresses abroad, and he published many works, including "The Management of our Salmon Rivers," and "International Regulation of the Fisheries on the High Seas."

20. **The Right Hon. Jesse Collings**, was born in 1831, and was the son of parents in humble circumstances. His mother came of a line of yeomen who had been reduced to the status of farm labourers, and his life's work in the direction of creating peasant proprietors was partly inspired by this circumstance.

With great force of character Jesse Collings made his own way in the world. He raised himself from the position of a clerk, in the firm of Samuel Booth & Co., merchants of Birmingham, to be head of the firm at the age of 33. In 1878 he became Mayor of Birmingham, and in 1880 he was elected Liberal M.P. for Ipswich. In 1886 he was unseated on petition, but was returned for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham the same year. He retained his seat until his retirement in 1918.

In the Liberal Government of 1886, Mr. Collings was Secretary to the Local Government Board; in 1892 he was made a Privy Councillor, and three years later he was appointed Under-Secretary for the Home Office in Lord Salisbury's Government.

Mr. Collings was brought into contact with Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in connexion with the formation of the National Education League in 1868, and a friendship existed between them for many years. Together they left the Leadership of Mr. Gladstone on his introduction of the Home Rule Bill in 1886, and served subsequently the Unionist cause.

Mr. Collings's work on behalf of the agricultural labourer took the form of the foundation of the Allotments and Small Holdings Association, and subsequently the Rural Labourers' League, and his efforts caused the benefits of the Agricultural Holdings Bill to be extended to small holdings. In 1906 he published the results of his study of agricultural legislation in a book entitled, "Land Reform, Occupying Ownership, Peasant Proprietary, and Rural Education." He married, in 1859, Miss Emily Oxenbould, and had one daughter.

— **Sir Charles Lister Ryan, K.C.B.**, was 89 years of age. He was the fifth son of Sir Edward Ryan, sometime Chief Justice of Bengal, and later a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

Charles Ryan was educated at Eton, and became at the age of 20 a clerk in the Audit Office, and at 21 he was transferred to the Treasury. He was Assistant Private Secretary to Mr. Disraeli in 1858-59, and to Mr. Gladstone from 1859 to 1865. He was then appointed Secretary to the Audit Office, rising subsequently to the positions of Assistant-Comptroller and Auditor, and Comptroller and Auditor-General, successively. He retired in 1896, and devoted himself to gratuitous public work.

He was made a K.C.B. in 1887. His wife, whom he married in 1862, was a daughter of Sir John Shaw Lefevre, K.C.B., and a sister of Lord Eversley.

**21. Sir Edward Tennant, first Baron Glenconner**, was born in 1859, and was the son of Sir Charles Tennant, to whose baronetcy he succeeded in 1906. He was educated at Eton and Cambridge. After contesting unsuccessfully the Partick Division of Lanarkshire in 1892, and the united counties of Peebles and Selkirk in 1900, he was returned as Liberal M.P. for Salisbury in 1906. He retained his seat until 1910.

He was a traveller and sportsman, and used generously the great fortune he inherited from his father. He was raised to the Peerage in 1911.

Lord Glenconner married, in 1895, Pamela, daughter of the Hon. Percy Wyndham, by whom he had four sons and one daughter. His eldest son was killed in action in 1916, and he was succeeded by his second son, the Hon. Christopher Grey Tennant.

Lord Glenconner presented Dryburgh Abbey, near Melrose, to the nation in 1918.

— **Sir Herbert Mackworth Praed, Bart.**, was born in 1841, and was educated at Harrow. After serving for a time in the Army he resigned his commission and went into the City, where he became eventually director and chairman of several investment companies. He was Conservative M.P. for Colchester from 1874 to 1880, and was for a long time Chairman of the Association of Conservative Clubs.

His philanthropy was well known. He was one of those who assisted in the formation of the Charity Organisation Society, of which he became Treasurer. In 1905 he was created a Baronet, but he left no heir to the title.

**23. Admiral of the Fleet, Sir George Astley Callaghan, G.C.V.O., Bath King of Arms**, was born in 1852, and was the son of Mr. F. M. Callaghan, J.P. of County Cork. He entered the Navy in 1865, became sub-Lieutenant in 1872, Lieutenant in 1875, Commander in 1887, and Captain in 1894. In the last-named year he was appointed Naval Adviser to the Inspector-General of Fortifications, and in 1900 in command of the *Endymion* he took part in the suppression of the Boxers. He fought at Taku, and commanded the Naval Brigade which assisted in the relief of the Peking Legations. He received the C.B. for his services, and from March, 1904, to July, 1905, when he obtained flag rank, he was aide-de-camp to King Edward.

Admiral Callaghan was first appointed Rear-Admiral in the old Channel Fleet at a period which saw the arrival of the Dreadnought and a great advance in gunnery. While in command of the Fifth Cruiser Squadron in 1907 he received the C.V.O., and in 1908 he became second in command in the Mediterranean, receiving the K.C.V.O. in 1909.

In April, 1910, Sir George was appointed Vice-Admiral, and he was made a K.C.B. in June, returning home in August, and taking up the appointment of Vice-Admiral commanding the Second Division of the reconstituted Home Fleets. In December, 1911, he became Commander-in-Chief, an appointment which he held until August, 1914. During this period he received the G.C.V.O. (1912) and was advanced to the rank of Admiral (1913). During the test mobilisation of the Fleet in 1914, Sir George was still in command, and after the Spithead Review by the King, the Admiral was called to London for a war plans confer-

ence while the demobilisation order was suspended. Sir George then joined the Fleet, which had gone north, and went to Scapa Flow, where he first extemporised the defences, and subsequently handed over the command on August 4 to Sir John Jellicoe.

Sir George was then appointed for special service on the Admiralty War Staff, he became First and Principal Naval Aide-de-Camp to the King in September, 1914, and Commander-in-Chief at the Nore in January, 1915. He became Admiral of the Fleet in 1917, and relinquished his command in March, 1918.

Sir George was recognised as a master of fleet training, and his success in this great work was demonstrated when he handed over the Home Fleet in the highest state of efficiency on the outbreak of war.

He received among other honours the Grand Cordon of the Légion d'Honneur, and he was a Grand Officer of the Crown of Italy.

He was accorded an imposing Naval funeral in Westminster Abbey at which were present representatives of the King, and the Services, and of the Order of the Bath. Sir George married, in 1876, Edith Saumarez, daughter of the Rev. Frederick Grosvenor. He left a widow, one son, and three daughters.

**24. J. Drummond Anderson, Litt. D.**, was 68 years of age. He was educated at Cheltenham and Rugby and passed into the Indian Civil Service in 1873. He served until 1900, becoming latterly a District Magistrate in Bengal. Dr. Anderson had great gifts in the realms of languages and of literature, and he published the *Kachari folk-stories*, and a collection of *Chittagong proverbs*. He was a great student of Bengali, and after his retirement he was appointed to the post of teacher in that language in Cambridge University, and subsequently at the School of Oriental Studies in London. He published, in 1919, a manual on Bengali, being the first volume of a new series of Cambridge Guides to Modern Languages. He married a daughter of Captain Corbue and had several children. One of his sons was killed in France.

**26. Arthur Rhys Roberts**, formerly the partner of Mr. Lloyd George, was admitted a solicitor in 1894, and was appointed official solicitor to the Supreme Court in December, 1919.

— **Colonel Sir Harry North** was in his 54th year. He was educated at Jesus College, Cambridge, and was knighted in 1905. He was one of H.M. the King's lieutenants for the City of London, and was also hon. Lieut.-Colonel of the City of London Royal Engineer Cadet Training Corps.

**27. The Right Rev. Henry Joseph Corbett Knight, D.D.**, Anglican Bishop of Gibraltar, was the son of a clergyman, and was educated at Islington Proprietary School, and held a scholarship at St. Catharine's College, Cambridge. In 1882 he graduated with a First Class in both the Theological and the Classical Triposes, and he won the Scholefield and Evans University prizes. He was appointed Classical and Theological Lecturer and Tutor at Selwyn College, and was ordained in 1885. From 1895 he held, for six years, the benefice of Marnhull, and he then became Fellow and Lecturer of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Principal of the Clergy Training School. In 1911 he was consecrated Bishop of Gibraltar, and devoted himself with great zeal to the supervision of the Anglican congregations in South Europe. He published a volume dealing with the history and work of those congregations. From 1905 to 1906 Dr. Knight was Hulsean Lecturer, and he was made sub-Prelate of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in 1913. He married first, Miss Clare Gwyn Kerslake, and secondly, Miss M. B. Swete.

— **The Dowager Lady Gifford**, widow of the second Baron Gifford, was 95 years of age. She was the daughter of the first Baron Fitzhardinge, and was married in 1845.

## DECEMBER.

1. **Edward Ponsonby, K.P., C.V.O., C.B., eighth Earl of Bessborough,** was born in 1851, and was the eldest son of the seventh Earl by his marriage with Lady Louisa Susan Cornwallis Eliot, daughter of the third Earl of St. Germans.

Lord Bessborough served for a time in the Navy, but he retired from the Service in 1874, and the following year he married Blanche, daughter of Sir John Guest, and sister of the first Lord Wimborne, by whom he had three sons and three daughters.

In 1879 he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple, and he was secretary from 1884 to 1895 to Viscount Peel, who was at that time Speaker of the House of Commons. In 1906 he succeeded to the Earldom, and took his seat in the House of Lords as Baron Ponsonby of Sysonby. Lord Bessborough had many interests in the world of business and finance, and was Chairman of the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Company, and of Guest, Keen, and Nettlefolds. He was also well known for the active part he took in charitable work. Lord Bessborough was created C.B. in 1895, and C.V.O. in 1902, and he became a Knight of the Order of St. Patrick in 1915. His successor was his son, Lord Duncannon, who had sat in Parliament as Conservative member for Dover since 1913.

3. **Sir William de Wiveleslie Abney, K.C.B., F.R.S.,** was the son of the Rev. Prebendary Abney, and was born in 1844. At the age of 17 he entered the Royal Engineers; he was made a captain in 1873, and retired in 1881. In 1876 he had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1882 he was awarded the Society's Rumford medal for his researches into the phenomena of radiation. He was a pioneer worker in the science of photography. He published a treatise "Photography with Emulsions," and in 1882 he gave the Cantor Lectures at the Royal Society of Arts, choosing for his subject "Recent Advances in Photography." Later, he lectured on "Photography and the Spectroscope," and wrote important papers on the subject of colour photography. He held the office of President of the Royal Photographic Society for four years in succession.

Sir William was appointed in 1884 Assistant Director for Science, in the Science and Art Department, South Kensington. In 1893 he was made a Director, and in 1899 Assistant Secretary. In 1900 he became Assistant Secretary to the Board of Education. He held many other important positions, and was created C.B. in 1888, and promoted K.C.B. in 1909. He was twice married.

— **Rosamond, Lady De Ramsey,** was born in 1851, and was the daughter of the seventh Duke of Marlborough. She married Captain Fellowes of the 1st Life Guards, in 1877, and her husband, after having sat for a time in the House of Commons, succeeded his father as second Baron De Ramsey in 1887. Lady De Ramsey lost her eldest son during the war, from illness contracted while on active service. She gave much time and thought to works in aid of wounded soldiers, and organised an auxiliary hospital at Abbots Repton Hall, Hunts, the expenses of which were borne by Lord De Ramsey.

5. **Murray Lowthian Randolph Beaven,** who was born in 1885, was educated at Winchester, and Exeter College, Oxford. He graduated in 1908, and subsequently won the Gladstone Prize for an essay on Sir William Temple, and the Lothian Prize for an essay on Prince Eugene. He became Lecturer in History at Aberdeen and at Sheffield Universities successively, and in 1919 he was elected Professor of History at University College, Nottingham, but he was never able to take up his duties owing to an illness which proved fatal. Mr. Beaven contributed some remarkable articles to the *English Historical Review*.

5. **Thomas William Rolleston** was born in 1857, and was the son of an Irish Q.C. He was educated at St. Columba's College, Rathfarnham, and at Trinity College, Dublin. He was at one time editor of the *Dublin University Review*, and was Honorary Secretary to the Irish Literary Society of London, the Irish Arts and Crafts Society, and organiser of the Irish Historic Loan Collection at the St. Louis Exhibition of 1904. He was also from 1894 Managing Director and Secretary of the Irish Industries Association. In 1910 he was instrumental in founding the India Society, of which he became Secretary. He published a book of verse, and works on Epictetus and Lessing, and on Irish mythology and literature. During the war he was Librarian to the Information Bureau in Victoria Street, London.

Mr. Rolleston married first, Miss de Burgh, and secondly, Maud, daughter of the Rev. Stopford A. Brooke. He left several children.

— **The Dowager Viscountess Strathallan**, who was born in 1846, was the daughter of Mr. W. Smythe, of Methven Castle, Perthshire. She married the tenth Lord Strathallan, as his second wife, in 1875, and had three sons and two daughters. She became a widow in 1893. Her eldest son, the Hon. Sir Eric Drummond, became Secretary to the League of Nations.

6. **Karel Kovarovic**, the famous Czech musician, was born in Prague in 1862. In 1895 he became prominent as a conductor when he was given charge of the music at the National Exhibition, and five years later he became Conductor-in-Chief to the National Opera, Prague. Under his guidance the standard of performance became a very high one and reached a particularly high level in the productions of the works of Smetana. M. Kovarovic brought his orchestra of the Národní Divadlo to London in the summer of 1919, to take part in the Czechoslovak Festival at the Queen's Hall. He was a gifted composer, and his operas "Psohlavci," and "At the Old Bleachery" added lustre to his great reputation.

— **Sir Frederick Taylor, Bart., F.R.C.P.**, was well known as a consulting physician. He was a member of the staff of Guy's Hospital, was editor of "Guy's Hospital Reports," and the author of a standard work on "The Practice of Medicine." He was formerly President of the Royal College of Physicians, and was created a Baronet in 1917. His successor was his son, Dr. Eric Stuart Taylor, who was born in 1889.

11. **Olive Schreiner** (Mrs. Conwright Schreiner), the famous authoress of the "Story of an African Farm," was born in Basutoland in 1859, and was the daughter of a German missionary, and a younger sister of W. Philip Schreiner, Prime Minister of Cape Colony. Her first and greatest novel was published in London in 1893, and she subsequently wrote "Dreams," "Dream Life and Real Life," and "Trooper Peter Halkett of Mashonaland," and in 1899 she published "An English South African's View of the Situation." In 1911 her book "Woman and Labour" appeared. She married, in 1894, Mr. S. C. Conwright, a member of the Cape Parliament, who subsequently took her name.

— **The Right Rev. William Thomas Harrison, D.D.**, was born in 1837, and was the son of a clergyman. He was educated at Brighton College, at Marlborough, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where, in 1860, he graduated with a Second Class in the Classical Tripos. He was ordained in 1861, and after working in Yarmouth for seven years, he succeeded his father as Rector of Thorpe Morieux for five years. His next benefice was that of Christ Church, Luton, and he became an honorary Canon of Ely during his tenure of that incumbency. From 1883 he was Vicar of Bury St. Edmunds, until, in 1886, he was elected Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway. In 1903 he resigned his See and again became Rector of Thorpe Morieux, but he resigned the living in 1912 and retired to Olivers, Stanway, a family property.

Dr. Harrison had acted as Assistant Bishop of Ely since 1903. He married, in 1870, the daughter of Colonel Colvin, C.B., R.E., by whom he had three sons and three daughters.

**12. Colonel E. G. Prior, Lieut.-Governor of British Columbia,** was the son of the Rev. Henry Prior, and was born in 1853. He was educated at Leeds Grammar School, and became a mining engineer. In 1873 he went to Vancouver, where he afterwards became Government Inspector of Mines.

Colonel Prior, who was in the Militia, was known as a good shot, was President of the Dominion Rifle Association on several occasions, and commanded the Canadian Team at Bisley in 1890. He served from 1888 to 1895 as Hon. A.D.C. to the Governors-General Lord Stanley and Lord Aberdeen. He was a Conservative member of the Federal House of Commons for over thirteen years, and was a member of the Cabinets of Sir Mackenzie Bowell and Sir Charles Tupper, serving as Controller of Inland Revenue. In 1902-3 he was Premier of British Columbia, and he was appointed Lieut.-Governor in 1919.

**13. Neville George de Bretton Priestley,** Managing Director of the South Indian Railway Company, was 59 years of age. He joined the Traffic Department of State Railways in India when he was 18, and in 1900 he became traffic manager of the Southern Mahratta Railway Company. Two years later Lord Curzon appointed him assistant to Mr. Robertson, the Special Commissioner for the investigation of the administration and working of Indian Railways, and he subsequently became Secretary to the Indian Railway Board. This post he soon resigned in order to take up that of Agent of the South India Railway Company. After his retirement from India in 1910 he became the Company's Managing Director in London. He was twice married, and lost a son in France in 1916.

— **Alexander Muirhead, D.Sc., F.R.S.,** who was 72 years of age, collaborated at one time with Sir Oliver Lodge in work connected with wireless telegraphy. He was well known in the telegraphic world.

— **Sir Charles Bruce, G.C.M.G.,** who was the son of an Indian Civil Servant, was born in India in 1836. He was educated at Harrow and at Yale University, and he subsequently studied Oriental languages and literature in Germany. He assisted in the preliminary work for the Sanskrit dictionary of Böhtlingk and Roth which was published by the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg, which also published Bruce's own work "Die Geschichte von Nala." He also published a translation from the Atharva Veda.

In 1865 he was appointed Professor of Sanskrit at King's College, London, and in 1868 he became Rector of the Royal College at Port Louis, Mauritius, where he remained for ten years. From 1878 he spent four years as Director of Public Instruction in Ceylon, and he then returned to Mauritius as Colonial Secretary.

In 1885 he became Lieutenant-Governor and Government Secretary in British Guiana, and in 1893 he was appointed Governor of the Windward Islands. Four years later he again returned to Mauritius on his appointment as Governor, a post which he held with great distinction and marked success until 1903 when he retired to England.

Sir Charles had a great sympathy with the peoples of India, and during his later years he was active in support of the committee which was formed to uphold the interests of Indian immigrants and settlers in South Africa. He published in 1910 "The Broad Stone of Empire," and in 1912 "The True Temper of Empire." In 1917 his "Milestones on my Long Journey" appeared.

Sir Charles was created C.M.G., and advanced successively K.C.M.G. and G.C.M.G. (1901). He married Miss Clara Lucas in 1868, and had two sons.

17. **The Rev. Dr. Arthur Thomas Guttery** was born in 1862, and was the son of a Methodist minister. After receiving his education at Enfield College, York, and matriculating at London University, he became, at 21 years of age, Pastor of a Primitive Methodist Church in Newcastle. He was subsequently appointed General Missionary Secretary for the Connexion, in which capacity he worked most effectively, and in 1913 he was appointed to a charge in Liverpool.

During the war Dr. Guttery went to France for the United Army Board, and he also visited the United States on a mission of propaganda in the company of Bishop Gore. He was a fine preacher, and a platform speaker of great power, and he was also prominent in educational disputes, being a determined passive resister. His wife was formerly Miss Alford.

21. **Nora Henrietta, Countess Roberts**, widow of the famous Field-Marshal, was 82 years of age. She was the daughter of Captain John Bews of the 73rd Regiment, and was married to Lord Roberts, then a young Lieutenant, in 1859. During her long residence in India, Lady Roberts established an organisation for the supply of trained nurses to supplement the work of the orderlies in military hospitals.

Besides this valuable work, the expenses of which were borne by the State, she provided "Homes in the Hills" for the benefit of nursing sisters, to be used by them as health resorts. In this undertaking she was generously assisted by the Army in India.

Lady Roberts received the decoration of the Crown of India.

25. **The Rev. Henry Hoyte Winwood**, who was 90 years of age, was a well-known Fellow of the Geological Society, and a Vice-President of the Somersetshire Archæological Society. He was instrumental in raising a sum of 1,250*l.* for the purchase of the Charles Moore Geological Collection for the Museum of the Royal Literary and Scientific Institute of Bath.

27. **Sir John Ormerod Scarlett Thursby, Bart.**, was born in 1861, and was the son of the first baronet. He was President of the Burnley Chamber of Commerce, and of the British Chess Federation, and was Steward of the Jockey Club. He was well known as a racing owner, and as a breeder of horses for the Turf he rendered great service to the sport.

He married, in 1888, Miss Ella Beatrice Crosse and had one daughter. His successor was his half-brother, Mr. George James Thursby, who at one time superintended the training of Sir John's horses in Dorset, frequently riding them in public on the course, including the famous colt "John o' Gaunt."

— **Sir Reginald Graham, Bart.**, was 85 years of age. He served as a subaltern in the 14th Foot during the Crimean campaign, and was promoted Captain in the Rifle Brigade at its close. In 1863 he retired from the Army, and he succeeded his father as eighth baronet in 1866.

Sir Reginald married, in 1876, the second daughter and co-heiress of Mr. Thomas Shiffner of Westergate, Sussex. His elder son, Major Reginald Guy Graham, D.S.O., succeeded him. In 1907 Sir Reginald published a book of hunting recollections, and in 1912 "*Poems of the Chase.*"

— **Sir Joseph Verdin, Bart.**, was 82 years of age. He was interested in the Cheshire salt industry, and served as High Sheriff for Herefordshire in 1903. He was created the first baronet, and he left no heir.

30. **E. A. Peachey**, whose age was 59, came to London from Somerset as a young man. He was for some time a journalist on the staff of the *Daily News*, of which he became, eventually, sub-editor. Subsequently he joined the Parliamentary staff of the *Daily Telegraph* attaining after a time the position of chief sub-editor, which he held until his death.



30. **James David Bouchier**, who was in earlier life an assistant master at Eton, became, in 1888, *The Times'* correspondent in the Balkans. He wielded great influence among the Rulers of the Peninsular, and though as a scholar he had a great love for the art and historical character of Greece, he looked to the Bulgarians to be the leaders of the Balkan nations in their struggle with Turkey. Mr. Bouchier worked for the creation of the Balkan League, and the second Balkan War with the subsequent ranging of Bulgaria against the Entente Powers was a great disappointment to him. He died at Sofia where he was held in great respect, and a public funeral was accorded to him.

— **The Rev. Prebendary Cecil Deedes, M.A.**, who was born in 1843, was educated at Winchester and at Brasenose College, Oxford, where he was an Exhibitioner. In 1864 he took a Second Class in the Classical Moderations, and in 1866 a Second Class in Law and Modern History. After doing parochial work in Oxford he joined the Central African Mission as Organising Secretary in 1876, and was for a time a Canon of Maritzburg. After his return to England he became a Prebendary in Chichester Cathedral, and while acting as Librarian there he edited several of the ancient Registers of the Cathedral. He was a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

# INDEX.

The figures between [ ] refer to PART I.

[*Speeches in Parliament are entered under their subjects under the heading "Parliamentary Speeches," and those outside Parliament under the speaker's name.*]

ABNEY, Sir W. de W., Obit., 166

ACCIDENTS.—AEROPLANE, Cricklewood, 20; Hayes, 16. EXPLOSION, National Filling Factory, 2; New York, 16; Sandgate, 20; Wapping, 18. MISCELLANEOUS, Stoke-on-Trent, bridge collapses, 17; Wolverhampton, St. George's Hall, collapses, 7. RAILWAY, Bolton, 12; Dijon, 8; Houilles, 17

ACTON, Judge, appointed Judge of the High Court of Justice, 11

ADCOCK, Sir H., Obit., 131

ADMIRALTY, changes, 12

AERONAUTICAL Research Committee, constituted, 8

AEROPLANES, flight, [22], 9

AFGHANISTAN, [271]

AFRICA, EAST.—BRITISH EAST AFRICA, Bowring, Sir C., Acting-Governor, [284]. Byatt, Sir H. A., Governor of Tanganyika, [284]. KENYA colony, [283]. LEGISLATIVE Council, opened, [284]. NATIVES, treatment of, [284]. Northey, Sir E., Governor of Kenya, [284], 17. TANGANYIKA, [284]. PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA, [283]

— SOUTH, UNION OF.—BUDGET, [281]. CONNAUGHT, Prince A. of, appointed Governor-General, [281], 11; at Cape Town, [281], 19. ELECTION, General, [280]. HERENING Conference, at Bloemfontein, [281]. KALAHARI desert, scheme for the re-watering, [282]. POPULATION, [280]. Provincial Councils, elections, [281]. SCHWARTZ, Prof. E. H. L., scheme for re-watering Kalahari Desert, [282]. Smuts, General, Prime Minister, [280]

— WEST.—PORTUGUESE WEST AFRICA, [283]

"AIRCO," closed down, 21

AIR mail service, 9, 16

ALBANIA.—ILIAS Bey Vrioni, Prime Minister, [251]. Independence of, recognised, [251]. ITALY, relations with, [251]. LEAGUE of Nations, admission, [156], [251], NATIONAL Congress, at Lusnia, [251]

ALBERT Hall, meeting, [11]

— H.R.H. Prince, created Duke of York, 10

ALEXANDRA, Queen, unveils a statue of Nurse Cavell, 5

ALLEN, Rev. G. B., Principal of St. Edmund Hall, 19

ALLENBY, Field-Marshal Viscount, Colonel of the First Life Guards, 4; honorary degree conferred, 18

ALLIED Conference, in London, 19; Lypne, [53], [93], [165], [204]; San Remo, [44], [165], [168], [182], [186], 7; Spa, [165], [186]-[188], [223]

ALLIES, Text of the Agreement between, 68-71

AMERICA.—*Vide* Canada, Mexico, Newfoundland, United States

— SOUTH.—ARGENTINA, League of Nations, [151], [299]. BOLIVIA, Guerro, G., President, unpopularity, [300]; League of Nations, [151]; Revolution, [300]; Saavedra, Señor, Provisional President, [300]. BRAZIL, League of Nations, [151], [299]; Strikes, [299]; Tilley, Sir J., British Ambassador, 21. CHILI, Alessandri, A., elected President, [300]; League of Nations, [151], [300]; Tacna and Arica dispute, settled, [299]. PERU, Constitutional reforms, [300]

AMUNDSEN, Capt., expedition to the North Pole, 44

ANDERSON, J. D., Obit., 165

ANDREWS, Capt. H. J., awarded the V.C., 15

ARBUTHNOTT, Viscount, Obit., 150

ARMAGH, Archbishop of, Obit., 130

ARMENIA.—BOLSHEVIKS, attack on, [269]. LEAGUE of Nations, admission refused, [156], [269]

ARMISTICE, anniversary, [125], 19

ARMY services, award of honours, 3

ART, Retrospect of: ALPINE Gallery, 49. EXHIBITIONS, "one man," 49, 50. HERTFORD House, reopened, 50. MODERN Crafts and Manufactures, exhibition, 49. NATIONAL Gallery, 50. NATIONAL Gallery of British Art, 50. NATIONAL Portrait Gallery, 50. ROYAL Academy, changes in the laws, 47; exhibition, 48. SALES, 48, 49. SPANISH, Exhibition, 48. WOOD Engravers, Society of, exhibition, 49

ARTHUR, Sir G., "Life of Lord Kitchener," 23

ASQUITH, Rt. Hon. H. H., candidate for Paisley, [6], 2; policy, [6], [12]; at Paisley, [13], [54]; election, [14], 4; at the National Liberal Club, [31], [129]; Ayr, [118]

"ASQUITH, The Autobiography of Margot," 26

ASTOR, Lord, value of his estate, 1

AUSTRALIA.—CONSTITUTIONAL reforms, [301]. ELECTION, General, [301]. FORSTER, Rt. Hon. Lord, Governor-General, [302], 10. LABOUR Party, proposed unification, [301]. NEW SOUTH WALES, General Election, [302]. PARLIAMENT, opened, [302]. QUEENSLAND, Election, [303]; Nathan, Sir M., appointed Governor, 12. VICTORIA, Election, [303]; Stradbroke, Earl of, appointed Governor, 14.

WALES, Prince of, tour in, [302], 5  
— SOUTH.—BARWELL, H. N., Premier, [303]. WEIGALL, Colonel S., appointed Governor, 2

AUSTRIA.—CENSUS, result, [190]. ELECTIONS, General, [190]. Exchange, rate of, [190]. FRANKENSTEIN, Baron, in London, 14. HAINSCH, Dr., elected President, [190]. LEAGUE of Nations, admission to, [156], 21. MAYER, Dr., Prime Minister, [190]. RENNER, Dr. K., Prime Minister, [190]; resignation, [190]. ST. GERMAIN, Treaty of, ratified, [190]. SEITZ, Dr., elected President, [189]

AZERBAIJAN, [269]

BABTIE, Lieut.-Gen. Sir W., Obit., 153  
BALFOUR, Rt. Hon. A. J., at the City of London Conservative and Unionist Association, [7]; on the Institute of International Affairs, [75]; elected President, [75]; presides at the Council of the League of Nations, 3

BALL, Sir J. B., Obit., 156

BANK rate, raised, 6, 61

*Bankers' Magazine*, 65

BANKS, amalgamation, 13, 15, 62

BARKER, E., Principal of King's College, London, 12

BARLOW, Sir M., Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Labour, [36], 6

BARNES, Rt. Hon. G. N., member of the Cabinet, resignation, [5], [14], [36], 2, 5

BARONETRIES, conferred, 10

BARONIES, conferred, Cokayne, Sir B., 5; Dawson, Sir B., 1; Riddell, Sir G., 1; Stanley, Sir A., 1

BARTON, Sir E., Obit., 117

— R. C., arrested, [11]; sentenced, [12]

BEAVER, M. L. R., Obit., 166

BEDFORD, Adeline, Duchess of, value of her estate, 8; Obit., 130

BEEF, price reduced, 3

BELGIUM.—BRUSSELS, Financial Conference at, [154], [253]. Budget, [252]. DELACROIX, M., Prime Minister, resignation, [253]. ELECTION, General, [251]. Eupen, union with, [154], [252]. FRANCE, military alliance with, [252]. LIVING, cost of, 72. Luxemburg, relations with, [253]. MALMEDY, union with, [154], [252]. Manhood Suffrage Bill, [253]. POPULATION, [252]. SPA, Allied Conference at, [165], [186]-[188], [223]. WIART, C. de, Coalition Ministry, [253]

BELHAVEN and Stenton, Baron, Obit., 161

BENSON, E. F., "Queen Lucia," 36

BERESFORD, J. D., "The Imperfect Mother," 36

BERMUDA, Parliament, tercentenary, 13

BESSBOROUGH, Earl of, Obit., 166

BILLS.—ACQUISITION of Land [24], [126]. AGRICULTURE, [59], [123], [144]. APPROPRIATION, [145], [146]. BASTARDY, [51]. BLIND, Schools for the, [33]. COAL mines, [15]. CONSOLIDATED FUND, [93]. CRIMINAL Injuries, Ireland, [128]. DYE-STUFFS, [145]. EMERGENCY Powers, [122]. FINANCE, [51], [73], [74]. FOOD, Ministry of, [80]. FRANCHISE, [22]. HEALTH, Ministry of, [96], [123], [139]. HOME Rule, Ireland, [19]-[21], [34], [122], [130], [144]; amendments in Committee, [53], [64]-[66]. HOME Rule, Scotland, [40]. IRELAND, Restoration of Order in, [86]-[88]. MATRIMONIAL causes, [25], [39], [50], [60]. MINING Industry, [63], [98]. NATIONAL Health Insurance, [24]. NAURU Island Agreement, [58]. OVERSEAS Trade, [63]. PEACE, Treaties of, [38]. PROFITTEERING, [43], [52]. RENT Restriction, [53], [61], [63]. ROADS, [189]. SHOPS (Early Closing), [33], [61]. TRADE

- Union ballots, [44]. UNEMPLOYMENT, [127]. UNEMPLOYMENT Insurance, [21]. WAR Emergency Laws, [18], [23]. WAR Pensions, [49]
- BIRCHENOUGH, Sir H., Chairman of the British Dyes Corporation, 8
- BIRMINGHAM, G. A., "Inisheeny," 35
- University, Robertson, C. G. appointed Principal, 2
- BIRON, H. C., Chief Magistrate for the Metropolitan Police Courts, 7; knighthood, 7
- BISLEY, meeting, 12
- BISSOLATI, L., Obit., 136
- BLAQUIERE, Lord de, Obit., 148
- BOAT-RACE, Oxford and Cambridge, 5; date fixed, 21; *Shamrock IV.* and *Resolute*, 12, 13
- BODKIN, Sir A., Director of Public Prosecutions, 13
- BODLEIAN Library, gift to, 13
- BOKHARA, [271]
- BORASTON, Sir J., Obit., 133
- BOSE, Sir J. C., invention of the crescograph, 42
- BOURCHIER, J. D., Obit., 170
- BOXING matches, 8, 12, 20
- BOYNE, L., Obit., 132
- BRACE, W., Labour Adviser to the department of mines, 19; scheme for the regulation of wages, [112]
- BRADBURY, Sir J., G.C.B. conferred, 1
- BRAITHWAITE, Lieut.-General Sir W. P., appointed to a command in India, 19
- BRAND, Flight-Lieut., appointed K.B.E., 9
- BRASENOSE College, Oxford, Sampson, C. H., elected Principal, 13
- BREAD, price, 6, 18; subsidy, abolition, [24]
- BREVL, Abbé, honorary degree conferred, 9
- BRIDGEMAN, W. C., Secretary of Mines, 14
- BRIGADIER-GENERAL, rank abolished, 5
- BRIGHT, Rev. J. F., Obit., 160
- BRITISH Association, meeting at Cardiff, 14, 45
- Empire, Order of the, appointments, 5
- Institute of International Affairs, founded, [74]
- Museum, Trustees elected, 3
- BROUGHTON, R., Obit., 141
- BROWN, P. H., "Life of Goethe," 25
- BROWNING, Admiral Sir M., Commander-in-Chief at Plymouth, 12
- BRUCE, Sir C., Obit., 168
- Brussels*, the, sale of, 14
- BRYCE, Mrs. A., arrested, [125]
- BUCKLE, G. E., "The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield," 24
- BULGARIA. — ELECTION, General, [250]. LEAGUE of Nations, admission, [156], [250]. PEACE, Treaty of, [250]. STAMBOLISKY, M., Prime Minister, [250]. STANCIOFF, M., appointed Minister in London, 18
- BULLARD, A., "The Stranger," 37
- BULLEN, A. H., Obit., 126
- BUNBURY, Sir H., Comptroller and Accountant-General of the Post Office, 11
- BURNE-JONES, Lady, Obit., 121
- BURNEY, Vice-Admiral Sir C., Report of, 102-6
- BURROWS, Dr. R. M., Obit., 137
- BURY, J. B., "The Idea of Progress," 32
- BUTTER, de-controlled, 1; price, 11, 17; ration, increase of, 5
- BUXTON, A. F., Chairman of the L.C.C. Finance Committee, resignation, 12
- Viscount, Chancellor of the order of St. Michael and St. George, 13
- CALLAGHAN, Admiral Sir G. A., Obit., 164
- CAMBRIDGE University, Bio-Chemistry, endowment of, 10; Glover, T. R., elected public orator, 2; honorary degrees, conferred, 9, 10, 18; women students, decision on, 20
- CANADA.—BORDEN, Sir R., resignation, [295]. British Columbia, General Election, [296]. Budget, [294]. CABINET, the new, [295]. DEVONSHIRE, Duke of, Governor-General, opens Parliament, [294]. FRANCHISE Bill, [295]. LEAGUE of Nations, [150], [297]. MEIGHEN, A., Prime Minister, [295]. NATIONAL Liberal and Conservative Party, policy, [295]. New Brunswick, General Election, [296]. PARLIAMENT, opened, [294]; prorogued, [295]. QUEBEC, Gouin, Sir L., Prime Minister, resignation, [296]; Taschereau, L. A., Prime Minister, [296]. REINDEER, breeding, [297]. STEFANSSON, V., Commission on breeding reindeer, [297]
- CAPITAL, new, output, 65
- CAPPER, Major-General Sir J. E., Lieut.-Governor of Guernsey, 11
- CARRANZA, General V., Obit., [299], 139
- CARSON, Sir E., at Belfast, [82]
- CASTLE, E., Obit., 155
- CAVAN, Countess of, Obit., 142
- General the Earl of, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, 4; appointed to the Aldershot command, 16; A.D.C. to the King, 18
- CENOTAPH, unveiled, [125]
- CEYLON.—LEGISLATIVE Council, reform, [276]
- CHAMBERLAIN, Rt. Hon. A., at Birmingham, [8]; on the Excess Profits Duty, [71]; "Memorandum of Present and Pre-War Expendi-

- ture," [71]; at the Mansion House, [72]
- CHAMBERS, Sir T., Vice-Chairman of the National Savings Committee, 8
- CHAPLIN, Colonel J. W., Obit., 151
- CHATFIELD, Captain Sir A., Report of, 107-9
- Chatham, the, presented to New Zealand, 8
- CHEETHAM, Sir M., Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris, 21
- CHEPSTOW, national shipyard, purchase of, 3
- CHEWODE, Sir P., Deputy Chief of the Imperial General Staff, 16
- CHEWYND-TALBOT, G. A., Obit., 159
- CHINA.—AN-FU Party, [277]. CHANG Tso-Lin, Governor-General of Manchuria, [277]. Chihli Party, [277]. Chin Yun-Peng, Prime Minister, [278]. Chou Shu-Mou, Prime Minister, [277]. Civil War, [277]. FAMINE, [278]. NORTH and South, hostility between [276]. TUAN Chi-Jui, in command of, the Frontier Defence Force, [277]
- CHITTY, Sir T., Senior Master of the Supreme Court and King's Remembrancer, 4
- CHRISTIE's, sales at, 49
- CHURCHILL, Rt. Hon. W., on the re-organisation of the Territorial Force, [8]; at Dundee, [15], [118]
- CIPPENHAM, motor depot at, sale of, [39]
- CLARK, Sir E., Assistant Under-Secretary for Ireland, 16
- CLAY, C., Obit., 139
- CLEGHORN, Surgeon-General J., Obit., 142
- CLOUGH, B. A., Principal of Newnham College, 11
- CLYDE, J. A., Lord President of the Court of Session, [33], 5
- COAL, price, [4], [38], [52], 9, 15, 67; rationing, end, 10; shortage, [3], 67
- COALITION Liberals, [30]
- COBBE, Lieut.-General Sir A., Military Secretary of the India Office, 19
- COINS, new silver, 20
- COLE, A. C., Obit., 140
- COLERIDGE, E. H., Obit., 125
- COLLINGS, Rt. Hon. J., Obit., 163
- COMBE, C., value of his estate, 17
- COMMERCE and Finance in 1920, 58-67
- COMMERCIAL Union Assurance Company, endowment of Bio-Chemistry, 10
- CONNAUGHT, Prince Arthur of, holds an Investiture, 2; Governor-General of South Africa, 11; leaves London, 18; at Cape Town, 19
- Princess Arthur of, leaves for South Africa, 18
- CONRAD, J., "The Rescue: A Tale of the Shallows," 34
- CONWAY-GORDON, Col. Commandant L., A.D.C. to the King, 15
- COOK, Sir F. L., Obit., 189
- COOTE, Sir A., Obit., 160
- CORBETT, Sir J. S., "Naval Operations," 28
- CORCORAN, J. A., Director of Army Contracts, 11
- CORNWALLIS-WEST, Mrs., Obit., 148
- COTES, Lady R., Obit., 183
- COTTON trade, dispute, [47]
- COUNCIL of Action, [94]
- COUPERUS, L., "The Twilight of the Souls: Dr. Adraain," 36
- COURTNEY, J. E., "Free Thinkers of the Nineteenth Century," 32
- M. A., Obit., 138
- COX, H., "Economic Liberty," 33
- Sir P., leaves for Mesopotamia, 15
- COZENS-HARDY, Lord, Obit., 142
- CRAIG, Sir J., Financial Secretary to the Admiralty, [36], 6
- CRESOGRAPH, invention of, 42
- CRIMINAL CASE.—Greenwood, H., 19
- CROKER, Mrs. B. M., Obit., 159
- CROSLAND, J. B., Principal Assistant-Secretary of the War Office, 11
- CROWE, Sir E., Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 17
- CROZIER, Most Rev. J. B., Obit., 130
- CUBITT, Sir B., Principal Assistant-Secretary of the War Office, 11
- CULME-SEYMOUR, Admiral Sir M., Obit., 158
- CUNLIFFE, Baron, Obit., 117
- CUNNINGHAM, Sir H. S., Obit., 153
- CURRENCY notes, issue, 62, 75
- CURRIE, General Sir A., Principal of McGill University, 8
- CURZON, Lord, elected Trustee of the British Museum, 3
- CYPRUS.—GREECE, union with, [268]. STEVENSON, M., High Commissioner, [268]
- CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.—CERNY, M., Prime Minister, [224]. Communist disturbances, [224]. Constitutional law, [221]. Constituent Assembly, dissolved, [221]. DEPUTIES, Chamber of, elections, [222]. ELECTION, General, [221]. Exchange, rate of, [224]. FOOD, shortage, [220]. Frontier question, [221]. GERMAN Bohemia, [221]. MASARYK, Prof. T. G., President, [221]. 9. SENATE, elections, [222]. Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, alliance with, [224]. TESCHEN question, [222]-[224]
- D'ABERNON, Lord, Chairman of the Central Control Board, resignation, 3
- Daily Herald, the, wireless telegrams intercepted, [97]

*Daily Mail*, the, exhibition, 18; relief fund, [56]  
 DAIRY products, de-controlled, 1  
 — Show, Islington, opened, 18  
 DALTON, Sir C. N., Obit., 159  
 DANNREUTHER, Commander H. E., Report of, 110  
 — Sir S., Joint Secretary of the Ministry of Munitions, 17  
 DANZIG.—ELECTION, General, [220].  
 TOWER, Sir R., First Administrator, [153], [220]  
 DARTREY, Earl of, Obit., 142  
 DEBT, National, [29], [71], [72], 9, 14, 59  
 DECIMAL Coinage, report, 40  
 DEEDES, Rev. Prebendary C., Obit., 170  
 DENMARK.—ALLIED Powers, treaty with, [265]. ELECTION, General, [264], [265]. Electoral Reform Bill, [264]. Flensburg, union with, [262]. LEAGUE of Nations, admission, [266]. Liebe, O., forms a non-political Cabinet, [264]. MARLING, Sir C., President of the Commission, [262]; report, [264]. NEERGAARD, Mr., Prime Minister, [264]. North Schleswig Reunion Act, [265]. PARLIAMENT, opened, [265]. SCHLESWIG question, [262]. Strike, [264]. ZAHLE, Mr., dismissal, [263]  
 — King and Queen of, in London, 20  
 DENNING, W. F., discovery of a new star, 14  
 DEPUTATIONS received by, Chamberlain, A., [71]; George, D. L., [14], [66], [88], [127], [146]  
 DE RAMSEY, Lady, Obit., 166  
 DERING, Sir H. G., British Minister to Rumania, 14  
 DESLYS, G., value of her estate, 3  
 DEVLIN, J., suspended from the House of Commons, [87]  
 DEVONSHIRE House, purchase of, 9  
 DICK, Sir J., Obit., 147  
 DICKINSON, A. R., Commissioner for Nauru Island, 19  
 DIGBY, Vice-Admiral N. S. F., Obit., 119  
 DORMER, Baron, Obit., 123  
 DOWNHAM, Baron, Obit., 143  
 DRAMA. — Comedies, 53; Musical plays, 53; Plays, new, 51-53; Revivals, 53; Revues, 54; Shakespeare's plays, 50  
 DRAPER, H. J., Obit., 156  
 DREYER, Captain, Report of, 100-2  
 DRUMMOND, Sir E., Secretary-General of the League of Nations, [152]  
 DUBS, F. A., value of his estate, 19  
 DUDLEY, Countess of, Obit., 143  
 DUFFERIN, Dow.-Lady, Freedom of Belfast, conferred, 6  
 DUKES, P., K.B.E., conferred, 19

DUMARESCU, Commodore J. S., A.D.C. to the King, 18  
 DURAND, Lieut.-Colonel Sir E. L., Obit., 143  
 DYER, General, decision of the Army Council, [79], [273]

EARTHQUAKE, Italy, 15

ECCLESIASTICAL.—BENNETT, Rev. F. S. M., Dean of Chester, 5. CHURCH Congress, Southend, [116]. D'ARCY, Dr., Primate of All Ireland, 15. ELIOT, P. H., Bishop-Suffragan of Buckingham, 19. FURSE, Dr., Bishop of St. Albans, 7. GREGG, Dr. J. A. F., Archbishop of Dublin, 15. HENSON, Dr. H. H., Bishop of Durham, 10; enthroned, 18. Hine, Bishop, Suffragan-Bishop of Grantham, 8. JONES, Ven. H., Dean of Salisbury, 2. KNOX, Dr., resignation, 17. LEE, Rev. W. L., Moderator of the London Province of the Congregational Union, 1. SCHULTE, K., Archbishop of Cologne, 2. Smith, Dr. L., Bishop of Hereford, 10. Southwell, Ven. H. K., Bishop-Suffragan of Lewes, 5. STAFFORD, Rev. J. T. W., President of the Wesleyan Conference, 12. Strong, Rt. Rev. T. B., Bishop of Ripon, 10. TALBOT, Rev. N., Bishop of Pretoria, 7. WALES, Archbishop of, elected, 6; enthroned, 9. Wesleyan Conference, 12. Westminster Abbey, unknown soldier, burial, [125]. White, Dr. H. J., Dean of Christ Church, 14. Williams, Rev. H. H., Bishop of Carlisle, 10.

ECONOMIC Conditions of the World, Text of the Declaration of the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference on the, 71-80.

EDDINGTON, Prof., "Internal Constitution of the Stars," 38; "Space, Time, and Gravitation: An Outline of the General Relativity Theory," 39

EDINBURGH, Duchess of, Obit., 161

EDISON, E. R., Controller of the Profiteering Act Department, 4

EDWARDS, Sir O. M., Obit., 137

EGERTON of Tatton, Baron, Obit., 153

Eggs, price revoked, 21

EGYPT.—BUDGET, [285]. MEMORANDUM on the Future of, [286], 83-86. Milner, Lord, Mission, [96], [285]. TEWFIK, Nessim Pasha, Prime Minister, [285]. YOUSSEF Wahba Pasha, resignation, [285]. ZAGHLOUL Pasha, leader of the Nationalists, [285]; in London, [286]

- EINSTEIN, Prof., "Relativity: the Special and the General Theory," 89
- ELECTIONS. — Abertillery, 21; Argyllshire, 5; Ashton-under-Lyne, 3; Basingstoke, 6; Camberwell, 6; Dartford, 6; Edinburgh, 7; Horncastle, 4; Ilford, 17; Louth, 10; Nelson and Colne, 11; Norfolk, 13; Northampton, 6; Paisley, [6], [12]-[14], 2, 4; Rhondda, 21; Spen Valley, 1; Stockport, 6; Sunderland, [36], 8; Woodbridge, 14; Wrekin, 3, 19
- ELGAR, Lady, Obit., 130
- ELTON, Sir E. H., Obit., 148
- ENGINEERING trade, dispute, [105]
- ERRINGTON, Sir G., Obit., 128
- ESSAD Pasha, Obit., 141
- ESTIMATES. — Army, [30]. Navy, [29]
- ESTLAND. — ARMY, demobilised, [219]. DORPAT University, re-opened, [219]. ELECTION, General, [220]. LEAGUE of Nations, admission refused, [156], [220]. RUSSIA, armistice [219]
- ETHERIDGE, R., Obit., 116
- ETON College, Macnaghten, H., elected Vice-Provost, 9
- EUGENIE, Empress, Obit., 12, 146; funeral, 12
- EVAN-THOMAS, Admiral Sir H., Commander-in-Chief at the Nore, 20
- EVEREST, Mount, exploration of, 45
- EXCESS Profits Duty, [50], [70], [73], 60
- EXCHANGES, foreign, fluctuations, 63, 77; conference at Brussels, 64
- EXCHEQUER Bonds, new issue, [5]
- EXHIBITION, Ideal Home, 3; International Advertising, 20; village signs, 18
- EXPENDITURE, National, [29], [42], [71], [138]
- EXPORTS, value of, 66
- FABER, Baron, Obit., 155
- FARROW, T., arrested, 21
- FARROW'S Bank, suspend payment, 21, 62
- FERMOY, Baron, Obit., 152, 161
- FIELD, Rear-Admiral F. L., Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty, 7
- FINANCE and Commerce in 1920, 58-67
- FINLAND. — AALAND Islands, demand reunion with Sweden, [153], [218], [267]. LEAGUE of Nations, admission, [156], [219]. RUSSIA, peace treaty with, [219]. SWEDEN, relations with, [153], [218], [267]
- FINLAY, Viscount, member of the Court of Arbitration, at the Hague, 14
- FIRES. — Aston, 4; Glentanar Forest, 10, 11; London Hop Exchange, 18; *Times* Office, 20
- FISH, restrictions on the price, removed, 8
- FISHER, Lord, value of his estate, 17; Obit. 144-6
- FITZPATRICK, Sir D., Obit., 198
- FITZWYGRAM, Major Sir F., Obit., 195
- FLOOD, in Louth, [56], 9
- FLOUD, F. L. C., Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture, 18
- FOOD Offices, closed, 9  
— prices, increase, 9
- FOOTBALL MATCHES. — Scotland and Wales, 3; Wales and England, 2; Wales and Ireland, 4
- FORD, J. J., value of his estate, 16
- FORSTER, Lord, Governor-General of Australia, 10
- FRANCE. — ALLIED Conferences, [44], [93], [165], [168], [182], [186], 7. BARTHO, M., attack on the policy of Great Britain, [163]. Belgium, military alliance with, [252]. Bourgeois, L., elected President of the Senate, [159]; President of the Council of the League of Nations, 2. Budget, [166]. CAILLAUX, M., trial, [161], 7. Cheetham, Sir M., appointed Minister Plenipotentiary, 21. Clemenceau, M., Prime Minister, resignation, [159]. DERBY, Lord, Ambassador, retirement, [166]. Deschanel, M., elected President, [159], 2; message to Parliament, [161]; accident, [165], 9; resignation, [165], 16. FRANC, value of the, [166]. GERMAN towns, troops occupy, [164], [181]. Great Britain, relations with, [163]-[165]. HARDINGE, Lord, appointed Ambassador, [166], 15; in Paris, 20. LEYGUES, G., Prime Minister, [166], 16. Living, cost of, 72. MILLERAND, A., Prime Minister, [159]; foreign policy, [160]; elected President, [165], 16. POINCARÉ, M., President of the Reparations Commission, resignation, [165]. RECOVERY Loan, issue of, [163]. SENATE, elections, [158]. Socialist Conference, at Tours, [166]. Spartacist insurrection, [164], [179]-[182]. Strike, railwaymen, [163], 4. VATICAN, diplomatic relations, resumed, [166]. VERSAILLES, Treaty of, signed, [153]
- FRANK, Sir H., Chairman of the Disposal Board of the Ministry of Munitions, 6
- FRASER, Sir M., agent of the Unionist Party, 21  
— Sir T., Obit., 116
- FRYER, Sir C., Obit., 163
- FUEL Research Board, report, 43
- GALDOS, Don B. P., Obit., 116
- GALES. — England, 4, 20; Ireland, 20; London, 2; Scilly Isles, 2

- GALLOWAY, Earl of, Obit., 122
- GALSWORTHY, J., "Awakening," 86;  
"Tatterdemalion," 85
- GARNER, J. W., "International Law  
and the World War," 30
- GARROD, Sir A. E., Regius Professor  
of Medicine, at Oxford, 4
- GARVICE, C., Obit., 127
- GASELEE, S., Librarian and Keeper at  
the Foreign Office, 1
- GEDDES, Sir A., British Ambassador at  
Washington, 4; at New York, 7
- Sir E., at the Institute of Trans-  
port, [33]
- P., "The Life and Work of Sir  
J. C. Bose," 26
- GEORGE V., King, opens Parliament,  
[16], 3; birthday honours, 10;  
holds a Court, 10; gift to West-  
minster Abbey, 11; at the Isle of  
Man, 12; Balmoral, 14; at the  
funeral of the unknown soldier,  
[125]
- GEORGE, Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd, negotia-  
tions with the miners, [27], [103],  
[112]; Conference on the Coalition  
Liberals, [30], [32]; at West-  
minster Hall, [31]; on the  
Housing Bonds scheme, [48]; the  
strike of Irish railwaymen, [67],  
[68]; terms of settlement, [89];  
at Llandudno, [116]; Carnarvon,  
[117]; the Guildhall, [128]; Hotel  
Cecil, [137]; Constitutional Club,  
[139]; honorary degree conferred,  
10; return to London, 15; elected  
Lord Rector of Edinburgh Uni-  
versity, 18
- Mrs. L., created Dame Grand  
Cross of the Order of the British  
Empire, 14
- GEORGE, H. R. H., Prince, midshipman  
to H.M.S. *Iron Duke*, 21
- GEORGIA, [270]
- GERMANY.—ARMY, reduction, [187].  
BAUER, Herr, Prime Minister,  
[176]; flight, [177]. Berlin, strike  
of the working classes, [178].  
CABINET, the new, [180], [186].  
DEBT, national, [188]. EBERT, F.,  
elected President, [176]; flight,  
[177]; appeal for a strike, [178].  
Election, General, [176], [183].  
Erzberger, Herr, resignation,  
[180]. FEHRENBACH, C., forms a  
Cabinet, [185]; policy, [186]; at  
the Spa Conference, [187]. GESS-  
LER, Herr, at the Spa Conference,  
[187]. KAPP, Dr. W., complaints  
against the Government, [176];  
advance on Berlin, [177]; pro-  
clamation, [177]; failure, [178];  
flight to Sweden, [179]. MARK,  
value of the, [189]. Müller, H.,  
forms a Ministry, [180]; on the  
advance into Ruhr, [182]. NOSKE,  
Herr, resignation, [180]; President  
of Hanover, [189]. POLITICAL  
parties, [189]-[185]. Population,  
[189]. RUHR Valley, insurrection,  
[164], [180]-[182]. SCHEIDEMANN,  
P., Prime Minister, [176]. Spa  
Conference, [186]-[188]. Sparta-  
cist insurrection, suppression,  
[164], [179]-[182]. States, number  
of [175]. TERRITORY, cessions of,  
[173]. VERSAILLES, Treaty of,  
[158], [172]-[175]. WAR Criminals,  
trial, [188]
- GIBSON, Mrs. M. D., Obit., 118
- GIFFORD, Dow. Lady, Obit., 165
- GILDEA, Colonel Sir J., Obit., 162
- GILMOUR, Sir J., Obit., 144
- GLADSTONE, Rev. S. E., Obit., 134
- GLAZEBROOK, Prof. Sir R., Chairman  
of the Aeronautical Research  
Committee, 8
- GLENCONNER, Baron, Obit., 164
- GLOVER, Sir J., Obit., 129
- T. R., public orator at Cam-  
bridge, 2
- GOLDNEY, Sir J. T., Obit., 130
- GOLF matches, 5, 10, 11
- GOOCH, G. P., "Germany and the  
French Revolution," 30
- GOODMAN, Sir G., Chief Justice of the  
Strait Settlements, 20
- GORGAS, Surgeon-General W. C., Obit.,  
144
- GOW, A. C., Obit., 121
- GOWERS, E. A., Permanent Under-  
Secretary for Mines, 15
- GRAHAM, E., "The Harrow Life of  
Henry Montagu Butler," 26
- Sir R., Obit., 169
- GRAVES, R. E., Chief Inspector of  
factories, 4
- GREAT BRITAIN.—Text of Draft-  
Trade Agreement with the Russian  
Soviet Government, 80-83
- GREECE.—ALLIES, proclamation,  
[249]. COUNDOURIOTIS, Admiral,  
elected Regent, [247]. Cyprus,  
union with, [268]. DEPUTIES,  
Chamber of, dissolved, [246].  
Dodecanese Islands, ceded to,  
[244]. ELECTION, General, [249].  
ITALY, convention with, [244],  
[246]. NATIONALISTS, defeated,  
[244]. RALLI, D., Prime Minister,  
[249]. SKYRNA, ceded to, [243],  
[245]. Streit, M., proclamation,  
[248]. VENIZELOS, M., in England,  
[244]; attempt on his life, [246];  
resignation, [249]
- Alexander, King of, state entry  
into Adrianople, [244]; marriage,  
[246]; death, [247], 18, 160;  
funeral, [247]
- Constantine, King, proposed  
restoration, [248]; plebiscite on,  
[249]; reception in Athens, [250]
- Olga, Queen, appointed Regent,  
[249]



- GREECE. — Paul, Prince, message from the Government, [247]; refuses the throne, [248]
- GREENE, Sir W. G., resignation, 17
- GREENLY, E., memoir on the "Geology of Anglesey," 42
- GREENWOOD, Sir H., Chief Secretary for Ireland, [86], 6
- GREGOE-COLMORE, W. B., value of his estate, 11
- GREY, Lord, in England, 2; on the Institute of International Affairs, [75]; elected President, [75]
- GRIERSON, Sir G. A., honorary degree conferred, 18
- GRIFFITH, Sir S., Obit., 149
- GRIGGS, Sir P., Obit., 150
- GROVE, Major-General Sir C., Obit., 138
- GULDHALL, meeting at the, [48]
- GUTHRIE, Lord, Obit., 184
- GUTTERY, Rev. Dr. A. T., Obit., 169
- HAGGARD, H. R., "The Ancient Allan," 35
- HAIG, Earl, Freedom of Manchester, 2; of Sheffield, 2; honorary degree, conferred, 9; Freedom of Brighton, 20
- HALDANE, General Sir J. A. L., in command in Mesopotamia, 2
- HALL, O., elected Associate of the Royal Academy, 7
- Rear-Admiral Sir W. R., honorary degree conferred, 9
- HAMILTON, General Sir I., "Gallipoli Diary," 29
- HAMPDEN, Lord, cuts the first sod of Welwyn Ideal Village, 10
- HARDINGE, Lord, British Ambassador in Paris, 15, 20
- HARINGTON, Sir C., in command of the army of the Black Sea, 16
- HARREL, Sir D., G.C.B. conferred, 1
- HARRIS, Sir C., Joint Secretary of the War Office, 11
- Dr. F. R., Obit., 153
- HARRISON, Rt. Rev. W. T., Obit., 167
- HART-DAVIES, T., Obit., 115
- HAWORTH, A., value of her estate, 20
- HEDJAZ.—The, [271]
- HEINEMANN, W. H., Obit., 22, 158
- HENDERSON, A., at Dublin, [139]; Lancashire, [140]
- HERDMAN, Prof. W. A., President of the British Association, 14, 45
- HERKLESS, Very Rev. Sir J., Obit., 141
- HEWLETT, M., "Mainwaring," 37
- HINGSTON, R. W. G., "A Naturalist in Himalaya," 23
- HODGES, F., on the mining industry, [4]; at the Miners' Conference, [100]
- HOLLAND, Dr. H. F., Obit., 163
- HOPE, A., "Lucinda," 86
- HOPS, importation prohibited, 21
- HORNE, General Lord, Aide-de-Camp General, 8
- HORNE, Sir R., President of the Board of Trade, [39], 5; on the demands of the miners, [78]; negotiations with them, [101-103]
- HORWOOD, Brigadier-General W. T., Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, 7
- HOUSES, shortage, [5], [18], [128]; average cost, 14
- HOUSING BONDS, scheme, [48], sales of, 21
- HOWELLS, W. D., Obit., 137
- HUDSON, Lieut.-General Sir H., appointed to a command in India, 19
- HUGHES, S. L., Obit., 126
- HUGHES-STANTON, H., elected Royal Academician, 5
- HULL riot, 11
- HUNGARY.—BOLSHEVIKS, executed, [227]. CABINET, the new, [226]. ELECTION, General, [225]. HORTHY, Admiral, elected Regent, [226]. HUZAR, M., Prime Minister, [224]; resignation, [226]. PEACE, Treaty of, [225]; signed, [227]. SIMONYI-SEMADAM, M., Prime Minister, [226]; resignation, [227]. TELEKI, Count, Prime Minister, [227]. TRIANON, Treaty of, [227]
- HUNGER-STRIKER, inquest on, 15
- HUNTINGDON, Prof. A. K., Obit., 132
- HYMANS, M., elected President of the League of Nations, [155], 19; at the Spa Conference, [187]
- ICELAND, [266]
- IMPORTS, value of, 66
- INCOME tax, report of the Royal Commission, [30], 60, 86-96
- INDEPENDENT Labour Party, Conference at Glasgow, 6
- INDIA.—AMRITSAR, riots, [79], [273]. BRAITHEWAITE, Lieut.-General Sir W. P., appointed to a command in, 19. Burma, Constitutional Reform Scheme, [274]. Butler, Sir H., Governor of the United Provinces, [275]. CHELMSFORD, Lord, at the Legislative Council, [272]. DYER, Brigadier-General, suppression of the Amritsar riots, [79], [273]. GOVERNMENT of India Act, [271], [274]. HAILEY, W. M., financial report, [272]. Hudson, Lieut.-General Sir H., appointed to a command in, 19. LYTON, Lord, appointed Under-Secretary, 16. MACLAGAN, Sir E., Governor of the Punjab, [275]. MARRIS, Sir W., Governor of Assam, [275]. MAWBAY, H. L., appointed Rear-Admiral, at Bombay, 16. MEYER, Sir W., appointed High Commissioner, 16. MOHAMMEDANS, protest against Treaty of Peace with

- Turkey, [275]. NATIONAL Congress, [275]. RAWLINSON, General Lord, Commander-in-Chief, 14. SINHA, Lord, Governor of Bihar and Orissa, [275]. SLY, Sir F., Governor of the Central Provinces, [275]. Snake bites, deaths from, [275]. TERRITORIAL Force Bill, [273]. WAZIRISTAN, military operations, [273]. Whyte, A. F., President of the Legislative Assembly, [275]
- INDUSTRIAL Courts Act, Court of Inquiry, [36], [105]
- INFLUENZA epidemic, report on, 42
- INGRAM, Rev. D. S., Obit., 148
- INSTITUTE of International Affairs, British, [74]
- IRELAND. — BARRY, K., executed, [132]. Belfast, Orange celebrations, [82]; riots, [84], [89]-[92], [110], [121], 14. Bell, A., murdered, [34]. British Officers, murdered, [134]; funeral, [135]. Brooke, F., murdered, [85]. Burke, Inspector, murdered, [108]. Byrne, Sir J., dismissal, [9]. COHALAN, Bishop of Cork, denunciation, [142]. Cork, outrages, [140]; incendiary fires, [142]. DUBLIN, siege of, [45]; raid, [66], [83], [134]; outrages, [120]; members of the City Council arrested, [140]; University, Royal Commission, appointed, 5. FOLEY, J. M. G., murdered, [92]. GREENWOOD, Sir H., Chief Secretary, [36], 6; at a review of the Constabulary, [110]. HOME Rule Bill, [19]-[21], [34], [53], [64]-[66], [122], [130], [144]. Hunger-strikes, [45], [106], [118], [133]. JOHNSTONE, Major, murdered, [92]. LENDRUM, Captain, murdered, [119]. Londonderry, riot, [55], [69]. Lucas, Brigadier-General, kidnapped, [70]; escape, [85]. MACCURTIN, T., murdered, [34]; inquest on, [45]. Markievicz, Mme., arrested, [109]. McSWINEY, T., hunger-strike, [106]; death, [107], [118], [133]; funeral, [119]. POLICE, murdered, [33], [34], [54], [83], [89], [92], [107]-[109], [120], [131]-[133], [136], [143]; attacks on the barracks, [9], [54], [66], [92], [109], [142]. Prisoners, attempt to escape, [135]; treatment of, [46]. RAILWAYMEN, strike, [66], [70]; ended, [143]. Redmond, W. C. F., murdered, [10]. Reprisals, cases of, [83], [89], [108], [109], [121], [132], [142]. Roberts, Assistant Inspector-General, shot at, [69]. SINN Fein, outrages, [9]-[12], [33], [44]-[46], [54]-[56], [66], [69], [70], [82]-[86], [89]-[92], [107]-[110], [119]-[121], [131]-[136], [139], [142]-[144]; arrests, [140]; plots, discovery of, [134], [135], [141]; Volunteers, taken prisoners, [107]. Smyth, Colonel G. F., murdered, [83]. Strickland, Major-General Sir E. P., attempt on his life, [108]. Sullivan, Inspector, murdered, [143]. TAYLOR, F. S., murdered, [33]. ULSTER Unionist Council, meeting, [34]
- IRISH Self-Determination League, meeting at the Albert Hall, [11]; offices searched, [136]
- IRVINE, Prof. J. O., Principal of the University of St. Andrews, 20
- ITALY. — ADRIATIC Question, [167], [171], [230]-[233], [236]. Albania, relations with, [251]. CABINET, reconstituted, [167]; resign, [168]; the new, [169]. D'ANNUNZIO, seizes Fiume, [167]; declares war, [172]. Dodecanese Islands, cession of, [244]. EARTHQUAKE, [172]. Election, General, [166]. FIUME, seized, [167]; advance on, [172]. GIOLITTI, Signor, forms a Ministry, [169]; foreign policy, [170]. Greece, convention with, [244], [246]. INDUSTRIAL workers, disturbances, [170]. JUGO-SLAVIA, negotiations with, [171], [236]. LIRA, value of the, [172]. Living, cost of, 72. NITTI, Signor, on the Adriatic Question, [167]; Ministry, [168]; resignation, [169]. PARLIAMENT, opened, [167]. Peace, Treaty of, signed, [158], [167]. RAPALLO, Treaty of, [171], [236], 20. SAN REMO, Allied Conferences at, [44], [165], [168], [182], [186], [268], [270], 7
- JACK, R., elected Royal Academician, 8
- JAPAN. — ANGLO-Japanese Alliance, [279]. BUDGET, [279]. ELECTION, General, [278]. Expenditure, total, [279]. REFORM Act, [278]. SEIYUKAI Party, [278]. Siberia, troops withdrawn from, [279]. VERSAILLES, Treaty of, signed, [158]
- JELlicoe, Lord, Governor of New Zealand, 7; honorary degree conferred, 9; sails for New Zealand, 14; Despatches from, 97-99, 112-114
- JERRAM, Vice-Admiral Sir T. H. M., Report of, 106
- JOAN of Arc, canonisation of, 9
- JOHNS, Rev. C. H. W., Obit., 151
- JOHNSTON, Sir H., "The Gay-Dombeys," 37
- JONES, Colonel A. S., Obit., 140
- Rt. Rev. H. E., Obit., 125
- JONES-PARRY, Rear-Admiral J. P., Obit., 133
- JUGO-SLAVIA. — ADRIATIC Question, [167], [171], [230]-[233]. CARINTHIA, district of, [235]. Constitu-

- ent Assembly, the new, [237].  
 DAVIDOVITCH, M., resignation, [230]. ELECTION, General, [237].  
 ITALY, negotiations with, [171], [236].  
 LAGINJA, Dr., Ban of Croatia, [234]. London, Treaty of, clauses, [230]-[232]. MINISTRY, the new, [235]. PASHITCH, M., Prime Minister, [238]. Protitch, M., Prime Minister, [230], [234].  
 RAPALLO, Treaty of, [171], [236]; ratified, [237]. 20. Reorganisation, problem, [229]. TRUMBIRCH, M., Minister for Foreign Affairs, [235]; resignation, [237]. VESNITCH, M., Prime Minister, [234], [235]; resignation, [238]. WILSON, President, on the Adriatic Question, [233].  
 JUTLAND, Official Despatches on the Battle of, 97
- KAYE-SMITH, S., "Green Apple Harvest," 35  
 KELLAWAY, F. G., Secretary of Overseas Trade, [36], 6  
 KENNY, Lieut. W. D., awarded the V.C., 15  
 KING, Sir G., Obit., 144  
 KING'S College, London, Barker, E., appointed Principal, 12  
 KIRKHOPE, J., bequest, 21  
 KNIGHT, Rt. Rev. H. J. C., Obit., 165  
 KNIGHTHOODS, conferred, 1, 7, 10; Beck, C. T., 1; Budge, Dr. W., 1; Mackinder, H. J., 1; Schuster, Prof. A., 1  
 KOLTCHAK, Admiral, Obit., [193], 122  
 KOVAROVIC, K., Obit., 167  
 KUYPER, Dr. A., Obit., 162
- LABOUR Party, Council of Action, [94]  
 LAMMASCH, Prof. H., Obit., 117  
 LAPWORTH, Prof. C., Obit., 123  
 LASCELLES, Rt. Hon. Sir F., Obit., 115  
 LAW, Rt. Hon. B., at the Guildhall, [48]; on the case of McSwiney, [106]; at the Unionist Club, [136]  
 LAWLEY, A. E., value of his estate, 14  
 LEACHMAN, Lieut.-Colonel, Obit., 150  
 LEADBITTER, E., "Shepherd's Warning," 37  
 LEAGUE of Nations, [59], [149]-[157]; members, [150]-[152], [156]; neutral countries, [151], [157]; the Assembly, [152]; meetings at Geneva, [154]-[157]; the Council, [152]; meetings, [57], [153], 2, 3, 19; work of the, [153]; Secretariat, [152]  
 LEBAUDY, H. J., value of his estate, 3  
 LEE, E., Obit., 146  
 — Rev. W. L., Moderator of the London Province of the Congregational Union, 1
- LEGAL year opened, 17  
 LEMAN, General G. M., Obit., 159  
 LETTLAND. — ELECTIONS, [220].  
 LEAGUE of Nations, admission refused, [156], [220]. RUSSIA, peace with, [220]  
 LIBERAL Party, [30]  
 LIBYA, [285]  
 LIECHTENSTEIN, [260]  
 LINDSAY, Hon. R. C., Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, 21  
 LITHUANIA. — DIET, election, [215].  
 INDEPENDENCE, recognised, [217], 11. LEAGUE of Nations, admission refused, [156], [217]. MEMEL, Port of, [217]. POLAND, armistice, [212], [217]; relations with, [154], [215]. Population, [214]. VILNA, seized, [212], [216]. ZELIGOWSKI, General, seizes Vilna, [212], [216]  
 LIVERPOOL Docks, Sinn Fein plan for the destruction, [135]; incendiary fires, [136]  
 LIVING, increase in the cost of, 4, 16, 21, 72  
 LLEWELLYN, Sir W., elected Royal Academician, 7  
 LLOYD, General Sir F., Commissioner of the Duke of York's Royal Military School, 3  
 LLOYD-Graeme, Major Sir P., Secretary to the Board of Trade, 14  
 LOCKE, W. J., "The House of Baltazar," 35  
 LOCKYER, Sir J. N., Obit., 151  
 LODER, Sir E. G., Obit., 132  
 LONDESBOROUGH, Earl of, Obit., 154  
 LONDON Bankers' Clearing House, records, 62  
 — Elementary Schools, scale of salaries for teachers, 8  
 — Hospital to close, 19  
 — Housing Bonds, sales, 21  
 — Lord Mayor, election, 17; show, 19; banquet, [128]  
 — University, site of, 18  
 LONDONDERRY, Marquis of, Under-Secretary of State for Air, [36], 6; Freedom of Belfast conferred, 6  
 LONG, Rt. Hon. W., at Trowbridge, [10]  
 LORD Mayor, election, 17; show, 19; banquet, [128]  
 LORIMER, Sir R., elected Associate of the Royal Academy, 7  
 LOUDOUN, Earl of, Obit., 138  
 LOUTH, flood, [56], 9  
 LOWELL, Dr. A. L., honorary degree conferred, 12  
 LOWRY, Admiral Sir R. S., Obit., 140  
 LUCAS, Brigadier-General, kidnapped, [70]; escape, [85]  
 — E. V., "Verena in the Midst," 35  
 — F. H., Obit., 131  
 LUTYENS, Sir E., elected Royal Academician, 5

- LUXEBURG. — BELGIUM, relations with, [253]. MARIE-Adelaide, ex-Grand-Duchess, enters a Convent, [254]
- LYALL, Sir C. J., Obit., 152
- LYMPNE, conference at, [53], [93], [165], [204]
- LYNCH, D., member of Parliament, resignation, 13
- LYTTON, Lord, Under-Secretary for India, 16
- MACAULAY, R., "Potterism," 36
- MACDONALD, Baroness, Obit., 153
- MACKENZIE, C., "The Vanity Girl," 34
- MACKIE, C. H., Obit., 147
- MACLEAN, Sir D., at Bradford, [129]
- Kaid Sir H. A., Obit., 121
- MACNAGHTEN, H., Vice-Provost of Eton College, 9
- MACNAMARA, Dr., Minister of Labour, [38], 5; on the number of unemployed, [147]
- MACPHERSON, Rt. Hon. I., Chief Secretary for Ireland, resignation, [36]; Minister of Pensions, [36], 6
- MALET, L., "The Tall Villa," 37
- MALONE, ex-Colonel, arrested, [125]
- MANCHESTER, Stuart Street Power House, Sinn Fein plan for the destruction, [135]
- MANNERS-SMITH, Lieut.-Colonel, Obit., 118
- MANNIX, Dr., Archbishop of Melbourne, prohibited from landing in Ireland, [88]
- MARLBOROUGH, Duchess of, divorce, 19
- MARRIAGES. — Carpentier, G., 4; Craik, P., 13; Curzon, Lady C., 8; Elsasser, G., 4; Hardon, Mdlle., 16; Law, Miss B., 10; Lewis, Captain J. F., 2; Montagu, Lord, 13; Mosley, O., 8; Pétain, Marshal, 16; Sykes, Sir F., 10; Westminster, Duchess of, 2
- MARSHALL, Lieut.-Colonel, W. T., Obit., 154
- MARTIN, Sir T. C., Obit., 161
- MARY, H.R.H. Princess, at the Isle of Man, 12; Balmoral, 14
- Queen, holds a Court, 10; at the Isle of Man, 12; Balmoral, 14
- MASTERTON-SMITH, Sir J., Joint Secretary to the Ministry of Labour, 7
- MATHER, Rt. Hon. Sir W., Obit., 156
- MATHEWS, Sir C. W., Obit., 141
- MAWBEY, Rear-Admiral H. L., Rear-Admiral at Bombay, 16
- MAY Day, celebrations, 8
- Mayflower, the, celebrations in Plymouth, 15
- McCALLUM, Sir J., Obit., 118
- McCLELLAN, Captain F. E., Controller of Appointments in the Ministry of Labour, 14
- McCLELLAND, Prof. J. A., Obit., 131
- McCURDY, C. A., Food Controller, [38], 5
- McIVER, Sir L., Obit., 150
- MELBA, Dame, at Chelmsford, 10
- MENSPORTH, H., Director-General of Factories in the War Office, 11
- MERSER, Major-General Sir D., Obit., 143
- MESOPOTAMIA. — Cox, Sir P., High Commissioner, [270]. HALDANE, General Sir J. A. L., in command of the troops, 2; Hilla, fighting at, [270]. POPULATION, [270]
- METEOROLOGICAL Office, Simpson, Dr. G. C., appointed Director of the, 13
- METHODIST Church, United, Conference, 12
- METHUEN, Field-Marshal Lord, Constable of the Tower, 4
- MEXICO. — CARRANZA, General, flight, [298], murdered, [299], 139. HUERTA, General, provisional President, [299], 9. OBREGON, General, elected President, [299]. REVOLUTION, [298]. VILLA, General, surrenders, [299]
- MEYER, Sir W., High Commissioner for India, 16
- MILK, price of, 16, 17
- MILLAIS, Sir J. E., Obit., 157
- MILNER, Lord, mission to Egypt, [96], 83-86
- MINERS, demands, [4], [78], [99]-[101]; conferences, [4], [27], [76]-[78], [99], [100]; negotiations with the Government, [27], [101]-[104], [112]; cost of concession, [38]; ballot, [100], [111], [113]
- "MIRRORS of Downing Street," 27
- MITCHELL-THOMPSON, Sir W., Secretary to the Ministry of Food, 7
- MONTAGU, E. S., elected Trustee of the British Museum, 3
- MONTENEGRO, [251]
- MONTMORENCY, J. E. G. de, appointed to the Quain Chair of Comparative Law, 18
- MORANT, Sir R. L., Obit., 127
- MORISON, Rt. Hon. T. B., Lord Advocate for Scotland, 5
- MOBLEY, H., value of his estate, 4, 8; bequests, 8
- MOROCCO, [285]
- MORRISON, Dr. G. E., Obit., 140
- W., gift to the Bodleian Library, 13
- MORTON, L. P., Obit., 138
- MOULE, Rt. Rev. H. C. G., Obit., 136
- MURHEAD, A., Obit., 168
- MUNRO, J., Obit., 120
- MURRAY, Col. C. D., Solicitor-General for Scotland, 5
- of "Elbank," Baron, Obit., 154
- MUSIC. — Retrospect of: CHAMBER Music, 57. Choral Concerts, 57. Concerts, 57. HANDEL Festival,

57. NEW YORK Symphony Orchestra, 56. OPERAS, 54-56. PROMENADE Concerts, 56. QUEEN'S Hall symphony concerts, 56. ROYAL Carl Rosa Co., 55. Royal Philharmonic Society, 56. Russian Ballet, 55
- MUTTON, control revoked, 7
- NAGEL, D. H., Obit., 157
- NAPIER, Vice-Admiral Sir T. D. W., Obit., 148
- NAPIER-MORLAND, Lieut.-General Sir T. L., Commander-in-Chief of the Rhine Army, 4
- NATHAN, Lieut.-Colonel Sir M., Governor of Queensland, 12
- NATIONAL Liberal Federation, at Bradford [129]
- Portrait Gallery, reopened, 6
- Savings Committee, appointment of Vice-Chairmen, 8
- NATIONS, League of, 2. *See* League
- NAURU Island, Dickinson, A. R., appointed Commissioner, 19
- NETHERLANDS, THE. — CONSTITUTION, amendments in the, [257]. LEAGUE of Nations, admission, [151], [257]. MONARCHY, Report of the Commission, [257]. STRIKES, [257]. WILLIAM, ex-Emperor, demand of the Allies for, [254], [256]; reply of the Government, [255], [256]
- NETHERSOLE, Sir M., Obit., 120
- NEW ZEALAND. — BUDGET, [304]. *Chatham*, the, presented to, 8. JELlicoe, Lord, Governor-General, [303]. 7. LAND Defence Scheme, [304]. Licensing system, [303]. MACDONALD, W. D. S., death, [304]. WALES, Prince of, tour in, [304]
- NEWBOLT, Sir H., "A Naval History of the War, 1914-1918," 18
- NEWFOUNDLAND. — ELECTION, General, [298]. LABRADOR, boundary of, [298]. SQUIRES, R., Prime Minister, [298]
- NEWNHAM College, Clough, B. A., appointed Principal, 11
- NEWSPAPER, postage, increase, 15
- NEYLAN, D., Joint Secretary of the Ministry of Munitions, 17
- NIVEN, F., "A Tale that is Told," 37
- NORTH, Colonel Sir H., Obit., 165
- NORTHCOTE, Rev. the Hon. J. S., Obit., 140
- NORTHEY, Major-General Sir E., Governor of Kenya, [284], 17
- NORWAY. — HALVORSEN, Mr., Prime Minister, [268]. KNUDSEN, Mr., Prime Minister, [268]; resignation, [268]. LEAGUE of Nations, admission, [268]. SPITZBERGEN, sovereignty over, [268]
- OAKESHOTT, R., "The Merchant at Arms," 37
- OBITUARY, 115-170. *See* under separate names
- OLIVER, Vice-Admiral Sir H., Second Sea Lord, 12
- OLSSON, J., elected Royal Academician, 8
- ONslow, Lord, Civil Lord of the Admiralty, 18
- O'RIORDAN, C., "Adam of Dublin," 35
- O'SHEA, Prof. L. T., Obit., 133
- OXFORD University, Garrod, Sir A. E., Regius Professor of Medicine, 4; Greek, proposal to abolish compulsory, 4; Convocation, 9, 20; honorary degrees conferred, 12; International Congress of Philosophy opened, 16; Women, admission of, 9, 17; degrees conferred, 17
- PALESTINE. — SAMUEL, Sir H., financial adviser, 1; High Commissioner, [269]
- PALLES, Rt. Hon. C., Obit., 124
- PALMER, C., Obit., 161
- PARLIAMENT. — Opened, [14], [16], 3; King's Speech, [16]; Easter recess, [36], 6; Whitsuntide recess, [53]; adjourned, [95]; reassembled, [114], 18; prorogued, [146], 21
- ADDRESS, [17]
- AGRICULTURE, Ministry of, vote, [28], [43]
- AIR Force, supplementary vote, [138]
- ARMY, supplementary vote, [138]
- BUDGET, [40]-[42], [50], 60
- CIVIL Service vote, [29]
- DIPLOMATIC and Consular Services, vote, [59]
- FOOD, Ministry of, vote, [50], [137]
- HEALTH, Ministry of, vote, [80]
- MUNITIONS, Ministry of, vote, [39], [93]
- NAVY, supplementary vote, [137]
- SHIPPING, Ministry of, vote, [28]
- SITTING, suspended, [194]
- TRANSPORT, Ministry of, vote, [28], [63]
- PARLIAMENTARY SPEECHES. — ADDRESS, Balfour, A. J., [18]; Thorne, G., [17]
- AGRICULTURE Bill, Acland, F. D., [59]; Cantley, H. S., [59]; Fitzroy, Captain, [59]; Griffith-Boscawen, Sir A., [59]; Parmoor, Lord, [144]; Selborne, Lord, [144]; Smith, W., [59], [123]
- Ministry of, vote, Griffith-Boscawen, Sir A., [28], [43]
- AIR Force, vote, Churchill, W., [138]
- ARMY Estimates, Churchill, W., [30]; Scott, Sir S., [30]
- Expenditure, Churchill, W., [19]

# **PARLIAMENTARY SPEECHES,** *cont.*

ARMY Supplementary vote, Asquith, H. H., [198]; Churchill, W., [198]  
**BASTARDY** Bill, Chamberlain, N., [51]; Shortt, E., [52]  
**BLIND**, schools for the, Addison, Dr., [33]; Tillett, B., [33]  
**BRYCE**, Mrs. A., case of, Crawford, Lord, [125]  
**BUDGET**, Asquith, H. H., [42]; Chamberlain, A., [40], 60; Clynes, J. R., [42]; Locker-Lampson, G., [43]; Maclean, Sir D., [43]  
**COAL** Mines Bill, Adamson, W., [15]; Bridgeman, W. C., [15]; Hartshorn, V., [15]  
 — rise in the price, Holmes, J. S., [52]; Horne, Sir R., [52]  
**CONSTANTINOPLE**, retention, George, D. L., [22]  
**CORPORATION** Tax, Kidd, J., [74]  
**CRIMINAL** Injuries Bill, Hewart, Sir G., [128]; MacVeagh, J., [128]  
**DYER**, General, case of, Amptill, Lord, [80]; Asquith, H. H., [79]; Birkenhead, Lord, [80]; Carson, Sir E., [79]; Churchill, W., [79]; Crewe, Lord, [80]; Finlay, Lord, [80]; Harris, Lord, [80]; Hunter-Weston, General Sir A., [80]; Middleton, Lord, [80]; Milner, Lord, [80]; Montagu, E. S., [79]; Sinha, Lord, [80]  
**DYE-STUFFS** Bill, Barnes, Major, [145]; Horne, Sir R., [145]  
**EGYPT**, Curzon, Lord, [124]; Milner, Lord, [124]  
**EMERGENCY** Powers Bill, Adamson, W., [122]; Asquith, H. H., [122]; Clynes, J. R., [122]; Grundy, T. W., [123]; Law, B., [122]; Maclean, Sir D., [122]; Shortt, E., [122]  
**EXCESS** Profits Duty, Chamberlain, A., [50], [73]; Terrell, G., [73]  
**EXPENDITURE**, Birkenhead, Lord, [72]; Buckmaster, Lord, [72]; Carson, Sir E., [18]; Cecil, Lord H., [138]; Chamberlain, A., [18], [138]; Clynes, J. R., [138]; Collins, Sir G., [138]; George, D. L., [139]; Lambert, G., [138]; Maclean, Sir D., [17], [18]; Middleton, Lord, [72]; Steel-Maitland, Sir A., [18]; Thomas, J. H., [18]  
**FINANCE** Bill, Adair, Rear-Admiral, [73]; Asquith, H. H., [74]; Botsomley, H., [74]; Butcher, Sir J., [51]; Chamberlain, A., [51], [74]; Higham, C. F., [73]; Hope, Sir J., [74]; Lawson, J. J., [73]; Terrell, G., [51]; Younger, Sir G., [73]  
**FOOD**, Ministry of, Bill, McCurdy, C. A., [81], [137]  
 — Supply, Clynes, J. R., [50]; McCurdy, C. A., [50]

# **PARLIAMENTARY SPEECHES,** *cont.*

**FRANCHISE** Bill, Addison, Dr., [22]; Grundy, T. W., [22]  
**GERMAN** coal deliveries, George, D. L., [93]; Worthington-Evans, Sir L., [92]  
**GOVERNMENT** Departments, reduction in staffs, Buckmaster, Lord, [126]; Crawford, Lord, [126]; Gainford, Lord, [126]; Stanmore, Lord, [126]  
**HEALTH**, Ministry of, Bill, Addison, Dr., [80], [96], [123]; Banbury, Sir F., [139]; Samuel, A., [123]; Sandhurst, Lord, [139]; Strachey, Lord, [139]; Winterton, Lord, [123]  
**HOME** Rule Bill, Ireland, Asquith, H. H., [35], [53]; Balfour, Lord, [144]; Benn, Captain W., [65]; Birkenhead, Lord, [130]; Butcher, Sir J., [130]; Carson, Sir E., [35], [53], [64], [130]; Cecil, Lord R., [54]; Clynes, J. R., [35]; Craig, Captain C., [130]; Crewe, Lord, [131]; Curzon, Lord, [131]; Devlin, J., [35], [130]; Dunraven, Lord, [131]; Fisher, H. A. L., [65], [122], [130]; George, D. L., [35], [65], [130]; Guinness, Lieut.-Colonel, [53], [65], [122]; Hoare, Sir S., [54], [65]; Law, B., [35], [53]; Londonderry, Lord, [131]; Long, W., [53], [54], [65]; Macpherson, I., [35]; Middleton, Lord, [131]; Neal, A., [65]; O'Neill, Major, [65]; Oranmore, Lord, [131], [144]; Plunkett, Sir H., [34]; Salisbury, Lord, [131]; Stewart, G., [65]; Worthington-Evans, Sir L., [54], [130]  
**HOUSES**, Shortage of, Addison, Dr., [18]; Lloyd-Graeme, Major, [18]  
**IMPERIAL** Defence, Crewe, Lord, [49]; Curzon, Lord, [49]; Haldane, Lord, [49]  
**IRELAND**, crimes in, Ashley, Colonel, [56]; Asquith, H. H., [134]; Birkenhead, Lord, [55]; Carson, Sir E., [56]; Cecil, Lord R., [46]; Curzon, Lord, [132]; George, D. L., [134], [141]; Greenwood, Sir H., [121], [132], [134], [142]; Guinness, Colonel W., [46]; Henderson, A., [121]; Henry, D., [56]; Law, B., [46], [121]; Loreburn, Lord, [132]; MacDonnell, Lord, [55]; Middleton, Lord, [55]; O'Connor, T. P., [132]; Salisbury, Lord, [132]; Thomas, J. H., [121]; Ward, Colonel J., [135]  
**IRELAND**, policy, Birkenhead, Lord, [86]; Carson, Sir E., [84]; Devlin, J., [84]; George, D. L., [17]; Greenwood, Sir H., [84]; Grey, Lord, [86]; Henry, D. S., [84]; Northumberland, Duke of, [86];

## PARLIAMENTARY SPEECHES,

*cont.*

- Salisbury, Lord, [86]; Thomas, J. H., [84]
- IRELAND, Restoration of Order in, Asquith, H. H., [86]; Devlin, J., [87]; George, D. L., [86]; Greenwood, Sir H., [86]; Law, B., [86]; Maclean, Sir D., [87]
- LAND Acquisition Bill, Hewart, Sir G., [24]; Holmes, J. S., 24; Mallesbury, Lord, [126]; Peel, Lord, [126]; Pilditch, Sir P., [24]; Salisbury, Lord, [126]
- LAND Values Duties, Hogge, J. M., [73]; Thomson, T., [73]
- LEAGUE of Nations, Balfour, A. J., [145]; Clynes, J. R., [145]; Curzon, Lord, [76]; Parmoor, Lord, [76]; Sydenham, Lord, [76]
- LYMPNE, Conference at, Law, B., [53]; Maclean, Sir D., [53]
- MATRIMONIAL Causes Bill, Askwith, Lord, [50]; Birkenhead, Lord, [25]; Braye, Lord, [25]; Buckmaster, Lord, [25]; Canterbury, Archbishop of, [25], [40], [50]; Cave, Viscount, [40]; Coleridge, Lord, [25]; Finlay, Lord, [60]; Halifax, Lord, [60]; McNeill, R., [40]; Munro, R., [40]; Northumberland, Duke of, [40]; Phillimore, Lord, [25]; Rendall, A., [39]; Russell, Earl, [40]; Sydenham, Lord, [50]; York, Archbishop of, [25], [50]
- MESOPOTAMIA, Asquith, H. H., [58]; Curzon, Lord, [58]; George, D. L., [58]; Goschen, Lord, [59]; Ormsby-Gore, W. G. A., [58]; Sydenham, Lord, [59]
- MINERS' strike, Adamson, W., [115]; Brace, W., [115]; George, D. L., [115]; Horne, Sir R., [114]
- MINING Industry Bill, Cory Sir C., [64]; Hartshorn, V., [64]; Horne, Sir R., [64]; Walsh, S., [64]
- MUNITIONS, Ministry of, vote, Hope, J. F., [39], [93]; Maclean, Sir D., [39]
- NATIONAL Health Insurance Bill, Addison, Dr., [24]
- NAURU Island Agreement Bill, Law, B., [58]; Wilson, Colonel, [58]
- NAVY Estimates, Long, W., [29]; Seely, Major-General, [29]
- supplementary vote, Craig, Sir J., [137]
- OVERSEAS Trade Bill, Bridgeman, W. C., [63]
- PARLIAMENT adjournment, Clynes, J. B., [95]; Curzon, Lord, [95]; Law, B., [95]
- PEACE, Treaties of, Asquith, H. H., [38]; Cecil, Lord R., [38]; Harmsworth, C., [38]; Law, B., [39]; Malone, Colonel, [38]

## PARLIAMENTARY SPEECHES,

*cont.*

- PENSIONS, increase of, Remnant, Sir J., [21]; Shortt, E., [21]
- PERSIA, Curzon, Lord, [124]
- POLAND, situation in, Clynes, J. R., [94]; Curzon, Lord, [95]; George, D. L., [93]; Law, B., [95]; Palmer, G., [93]
- PRICES, high, Asquith, H. H., [29]; McCurdy, C. A., [29]
- PROFITEERING Bill, Horne, Sir R., [43], [52]; Nield, Sir H., [52]
- RAILWAY, fares, increase of, Geddes, Sir E., [81], [82]; Higham, C. F., [82]; Law, B., [82]; Thomas, J. H., [82]
- RENT Restriction Bill, Addison, Dr., [61], [62]; Astor, Lord, [62]; Balfour, Lord, [62]; Henderson, Major, [61]; Hood, J., [61]; Morrison, T. B., [61]; Salisbury, Lord, [62]; Turton, E. R., [62]
- ROADS Bill, Geddes, Sir E., [139]; Phillips, Sir I., [139]
- RUSSIA, problem of, George, D. L., [57]
- SAN REMO Allied Conference, George D. L., [44]
- SCOTTISH Home Rule Bill, Kidd, J., [40]; Johnstone, J., [40]
- SHIPPING, ministry of, vote, Wilson, Colonel, [29]
- SHOPS (Early Closing) Bill, Baird, Major, [61]; Banbury, Sir F., [61]; Hamilton, Major, [61]; Inskip, T. W. H., [61]
- SLOUGH Depot, sale of, Hope, J. F., [39]
- SPA Allied Conference, Asquith, H. H., [76]; George, D. L., [76]
- SYRIA, hostilities in, Law, B., [76]; Ormsby-Gore, W. G. A., [76]
- TRADE Union ballots, Macnamara, Dr., [44]; Samuel, A., [44]
- TRANSPORT, Ministry of, vote, Maclean, Sir D., [28]
- TURKEY, Treaty with, Curzon, Lord, [93]
- UNEMPLOYMENT Bill, Munro, R., [127]
- Insurance Bill, Horne, Sir R., [21]; Locker-Lampson, G., [21]
- measures, Adamson, W., [115]; Addison, Dr., [116]; Clynes, J. R., [146]; Coote, Captain [115]; George D. L., [115], [146]; Hamilton, Major, [116]; Macnamara, Dr., [115], [146]
- WAR Emergency Laws, Benn, Captain W., [24]; Hewart, Sir G., [18]; Horne, Sir R., [18]; Macpherson, I., [24]; O'Connor, T. P., [18]
- Pensions Bill, Macpherson, I., [49]

# PARLIAMENTARY SPEECHES, *cont.*

WAR Wealth, taxation on, Chamberlain, A., [60]; Clynes, J. R., [60]; Maclean, Sir D., [60]; Walsh, S., [60]

PARSONS, A., Obit., 119

PEACE Treaty, ratified, 1; with Turkey, 13

PEACHEY, E. A., Obit., 169

PEARY, Admiral R. E., Obit., 124

PEERAGES conferred, Buxton, Lord, 18; Middleton, Lord, 1; Munro-Ferguson, Sir R., 19

PERRY, Prof. J., Obit., 149

— Sir P., purchases the Slough Motor Depot, [79]

— Sir W., Principal Assistant Secretary of the War Office, 11

PERSIA, [271]

PETROL, reduction in the price of, 17

PHILLIMORE, Vice-Admiral Sir R., in command of the Reserve Fleet, 12, 16

PIG iron, output, 66

"PILGRIM, The," review, 22

PLOWDEN, Sir H. M., Obit., 118

PLUNKET, Baron, Obit., 121

POLAND.—ALLIED Mission at Warsaw, [202]; Posen, [207]. DANZIG, the *Triton* at, [202]; warships at, [210]. DVINSK, captured, [197]. GOVERNMENT, appeal from, [204]. [206]. Grabski, M., Premier, [199]; at Spa, [200]. JEWS, treatment of, [214]. KIEFF, captured, [198]. LITHUANIA, armistice, [212], [217]; relations with, [154], [215]. MINSK, Peace Conference at, [94], [209]. PEACE, negotiations for, [210], [212]; terms [213]. Pilsudski, General, President of the Republic, [197]. Population, [213]. Przasnysz, occupied, [206]. RIGA, Peace Conference at, [212]; Treaty signed, [213]. Russia, war with, [194], [197]. [204], [206]. [209], [211]. [213]; negotiations with [198], [200], [203], [212]; demands, [203]; terms of peace, [206], [209]; advance on Warsaw, [207]; defeated, [208]. SKULSKI, M., Premier, [197]; resignation, [199]. Soviet "Government," established, [203]. Spa, Conference at, [200]. TESCHEN question, [222]. [224]. UKRAINIA, agreement with, [199], [218]. VERSAILLES, Treaty of, result, [196], [198]. Vilna, evacuated, [201], [215]; occupied, [209], [212]. WAR Cabinet, members, [202]. Warsaw, advance on, [207], [215], [224]. Witosh, M., member of the War Cabinet, [202]. ZELIGOWSKI, General, enters Vilna, [212], [216]

POLLARD, A. F., "The Evolution of Parliament," 31

POLWARTH, Baron, Obit., 147

POOLE, H., elected Associate of the Royal Academy, 7

PORTUGAL.—CABINETS, new, [261]. GRANJA, A., Prime Minister, [261]; resignation, [261]. MINISTRY, changes, [261], [262]. SILVA, A. M., Prime Minister, [261]

POSTAGE rates, raised, 9

PRAED, Sir H. M., Obit., 164

PRIESTLEY, N. G. de B., Obit., 168

PRIOR, Colonel E. G., Obit., 168

PRIVY Councillors, 1, 10; Birchenough, Sir H., 1; Dawson, Sir T., 1; Holderness, Sir T., 1; Robinson, Lieut.-Colonel, 1; Sanders, Lieut.-Colonel, 1

PRUSSIA, Prince Joachim of, Obit., 12, 148

PRYOR, M. R., Obit., 134

PUBLIC Documents, 68-114

— Prosecutions, Bodkin, Sir A., appointed Director of, 13

PULTENEY, Lieut.-General Sir W., appointed "Black Rod," 2

QUEENSBERRY, Marquis of, Obit., 149

RACES, Air, 17; Derby, 10; Long-champs, 11; motor-cycle, 15; New market, 17; St. Leger, 15

RAILWAY fares, increase of [81], 13, 15 16

— rates, increase of, 2, 15

— Wages Board, Central, meeting, [48]

— Wages Board, National, meetings, [2], [48], [68]; award, [56]

RAILWAYMEN, demands, [38], [48], [56]; meeting, [100]; threat to strike, [112]

RAILWAYS, British, deficit, 11

RALEIGH, Sir T., Obit., 123

RATES, Advisory Committee, report, [81]

RAWLINS, F. H., Obit., 131

RAWLINSON, General Lord, Commander-in-Chief, in India, 14

RAWNSLEY, Rev. Canon H. D., Obit., 140

REID, Sir M., Member of the Council of India, resignation, 3

REPINGTON, Lieut.-Colonel C. à Court, "The First World War, 1914-1918," 27

REYNOLDS, Dr. J. E., Obit., 124

RHEAD, G. W., Obit., 134

RHINELAND Commission, Stuart, Sir H., High Commissioner, 2

RHODESIA. — ELECTION, General, [282]. RESPONSIBLE Government Association, formed, [283]

RICARDO, F., value of his estate, 18

RIVIERE, B., Obit., 133

ROBERTS, A. R., Obit., 165

— Countess, Obit., 169



- ROBERTS, G. H., Food Controller, resignation, [14], 3  
 — J. V., Obit., 123
- ROBERTSON, C. G., Principal of Birmingham University, 2  
 — General Sir W. R., Field-Marshal, 5, 8
- ROBINS, E., "The Mills of the Gods," 36
- ROBINSON, Sir W., Secretary of the Ministry of Health, 7
- ROCKEFELLER Foundation, gifts to Hospital, 10
- RODD, Sir R., G.C.B. conferred, 1
- ROLL, J., elected Lord Mayor of London, 17
- ROLLESTON, T. W., Obit., 167
- ROWLANDS, J., Obit., 127
- ROYAL Academy, election of Academicians, 5, 7, 8, 19; of Associates, 7; changes in the laws, 47; exhibition, 48  
 — Society, Sherrington, Prof. C. S., elected President, 46
- RUMANIA. — AVERESCU, General, Prime Minister, [228], [229]. BESSARABIA, union with, [228]. CABINET, resign, [228]. DERING, Sir H. G., appointed British Minister, 14. ELECTION, General, [223]. PARLIAMENT, opened, [229]. People's Party, [228]. SENATE, bomb explosion, [229]. VAIDAVOEVOV, Dr. A., at Paris, [228]
- RUSSELL, Baron, Obit., 126  
 — Sir T. W., Obit., 135  
 — W. W., elected Associate of the Royal Academy, 7
- RUSSIA. — ALLIES, policy, [57], [193]. Army, defeated, [208], [210], [215]. BALAHOVITCH, General, defeated, [194]. Bolshevik State, military operations, [191]-[194]; type of warfare, [195]. Budenny, General, defeated, [211]. DENKIN, General, defeated, [191], [192]; retires to England, [194]. ESTLAND, armistice with, [219]. FINLAND, Peace Treaty with, [219]. GREAT BRITAIN, negotiations with, [57], [195], [200]. IRKUTSK, insurrection, [192]. KAMENEFF, M., in London, [204], 15. Koltchak, Admiral, defeated, [191]; shot, [193], 122. Krasnoyarsk, battle of, [191]. Krassim, M., in London, [195]. LETTLAND, peace with, [220]. POLAND, war with, [194], [197]-[204], [206]-[209], [211]-[213]; negotiations with, [198], [200], [203], [212]; demands, [203]; terms of peace, [206], [209]. Przasnysz, occupied, [206]. RIGA, Peace Conference at, [212]; Treaty signed, [213]. SOVIET Government, [195]; Text of Draft Trade Agreement with Great Britain, 80-83. TROTSKY, M., on Poland, [202]. VILNA, capture of, [201]. WARSAW, advance on, [207], [215], [224]. Wrangel, General, defeated, [194]
- RYAN, Sir C. L., Obit., 163
- RYNEVELD, Lieut.-Colonel Van, appointed K.B.E., 9
- S.H.S. STATE.—POPULATION, [235]
- ST. DAVIDS, Lord, Chairman of the Unemployment Grants Committee, [147]
- ST. JOHN of Bletso. Baron, Obit., 159
- SALISBURY Cathedral, anniversary, 11
- SAMPSON, C. H., Principal of Brasenose College, 13
- SAMUEL, H., financial adviser in Palestine, 1
- SANDAY, Rev. W., Obit., 154
- SANDYS, Sir J., honorary degree conferred, 9
- SCHIFF, J. H., Obit., 156
- SCHNEIDER, Mme. H., Obit., 135
- SCHOLING, Sir W., Vice-Chairman of the National Savings Committee, 8
- SCHREINER, O., Obit., 167
- SCIENCE.—Retrospect of: Anthropology, 43. Astronomy, 38. Biology, 41. Crescograph, invention, 42. Decimal Coinage, report, 40. Medicine, 42. Oceanography, 14, 45. Physics, 39. Physiology, 42. Wireless Telephony, 41
- SCOTLAND.—BOTHWELL, Sinn Fein raid, [121]. EDINBURGH University, George, D. L., elected Lord Rector, 18. GLASGOW, arrest of Sinn Feiners, [140]. Irvine, Prof. J. C., Principal of St. Andrews University, 20. LOCAL Veto polling, 19, 20. MORISON, T. B., Lord Advocate, 5. Murray, Colonel C. D., Solicitor-General, 5. NATIONAL Gallery of, bequest, 21. PROHIBITIONIST Party, defeat of, 20
- SEDGWICK, A. D., "Autumn Crocuses," 36
- SENIOR, W., Obit., 158
- SERBS, Croats and Slovenes, Kingdom of, [229]. Czecho-Slovakia, alliance with, [224]
- SHACKLETON, Sir D., joint Secretary to the Ministry of Labour, 7
- SHANNON, C., elected Royal Academician, 19
- SHERBORNE, Baron, Obit., 115
- SHERRINGTON, Prof. C. S., elected President of the Royal Society, 46
- SHIPPING DISASTERS. — *Afrique*, 2; *Trevel*, 1  
 — Industry, 66
- SHIPYARD, National, at Chepstow, purchase of, 3
- SHUTER, J., Obit., 144
- SIDGWICK, A., Obit., 157
- SILVER, price of, 3  
 "SILVER Queen," flight, [23]

- SIMON, Sir J., at Bradford, [129]  
 SIMPSON, Dr. G. C., Director of the Meteorological Office, 13  
 SIMS, C., elected Keeper of the Royal Academy, 5  
 SINNETT, Dr. O. S., Professor of Aeronautical Science, 16  
 SLOUGH, motor depot at, sale of, [39], [79]  
 SMILLIE, R., at Wrexham, [99]  
 SMITH, V. A., Obit., 121  
 — Major-General W. D., Lieut.-Governor of Jersey, 18  
 SMYTH, Col. G. F., murdered, [83]  
 SNOWTORM, England, 4; Wales, 2; Yorkshire, 2  
 SOMALILAND, BRITISH, [234]  
 SOPWITH Aviation Co., liquidation, 15  
 SOTHEY'S, sales at, 49  
 SPAIN.—BUDGET, [260]. DATO, Señor, Prime Minister, [260]. ELECTION, General, [261]. LABOUR troubles, [261]. League of Nations, admission, [151]. SALAZAR, A., resignation, [260]  
 — Alfonso XIII, King, opens the Spanish Club, 12  
 SPRATT, A. W., Obit., 163  
 STAMP duties, increase, 15  
 STAR, a new, discovery, 14, 38  
 STATUE, unveiled, Cavell, Nurse E., 5  
 STEPHEN, Sir H., Obit., 129  
 STEPHENS, C. G., attempt to shoot Niagara Falls, 12  
 STEVENS, Rt. Rev. T., Obit., 152  
 STOREY, J. L., Report of, 110  
 STOTT, T. B., purchases the *Brussels*, 14  
 STRADBROKE, Earl of, Governor of Victoria, 14  
 STRAIT SETTLEMENTS. — GOODMAN, Sir G., appointed Chief Justice, 20  
 STRASSMAIER, Rev. J. N., Obit., 118  
 STRATHALLAN, Dowager Viscountess, Obit., 167  
 STRIKES.—Iron moulders, [1]; Lewis & Co., Messrs., shop girls, [46]; Miners, [112], 21, 67; ended, [113]; Railways, French, 4; Irish, [66]-[70]; ended, [143]; Scotland, [98]; Sheffield, [105]; Taxi-cabs, 3  
 STRONG, Rt. Hon. Sir T. V., Obit., 158  
 STUART, Sir C., "Secrets of Crewe House," 29  
 — Sir C., Managing Director of *The Times*, 19  
 — Sir H., High Commissioner on the Rhineland Commission, 2  
 — Sir T. A., Obit., 127  
 SUDAN.—DINKAS, punitive expedition, [286]  
 SUGAR, price, 9, 20; ration, increase of, 5, 19; abolished, 20  
 SUMMER time, 5; continued, 16; ended, 18  
 SUTTON, Sir H., Obit., 140  
 SWEDEN.—AALAND Islands, demand reunion, [153], [218], [267].  
 BRANTING, Mr., Prime Minister, [267]. CHRISTIANIA, conference at, [266]. EDEN, Mr., resignation, [266]. Election, General, [267]. FINLAND, relations with, [153], [218], [267]. GEER, Baron L. de, forms a non-political Cabinet, [267]. LEAGUE of Nations, admission, [151], [266]  
 SWEDEN, Crown Princess of, Obit., 134  
 SWIFT, R., Judge of the High Court of Justice, 11  
 SWITZERLAND. — LEAGUE of Nations, meetings at Geneva, [154], 19; adhesion, [258], [259]. MOTTA, M., address on the League of Nations, [154]. SCHULTHESS, E., elected President, [260]. VORABERG, union with, [260]  
 SYNGE, Sir R. F., Obit., 120  
 SYRIA.—FEISAL, proclaimed King, [269]  
 TATE Gallery, re-opened, 12  
 TAXI-CABS, strike, 3; increase for, 4  
 TAYLOR, Sir F., Obit., 167  
 — S., Obit., 128  
 TEACHERS, certificated, scale of salaries, 8  
 TELEGRAMS, increase in the cost, 15  
 TEMPERATURE, high, 21  
 TEMPLE, Canon, "The Pilgrim," edited by, 22  
 TERRITORIAL Army, [8]  
 THOMAS, J. H., on the strike of the Irish Railwaymen, [66], [68]; at Scarborough, [69]; Portsmouth, [104]; "When Labour Rules," 34  
 THOMSON, H., Obit., 136  
 THORBURN, A., "British Mammals," 22  
 THURSBY, Sir J. O. S., Obit., 169  
 TILAK, B. G., Obit., 148  
 TILLEY, Sir J., British Ambassador to Brazil, 21  
*Times*, *The*, announcements in, 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 11, 13, 14, 15, 18; aeroplane flight, [22]; Stuart, Sir C., appointed Managing Director, 19; fire at the Office, 20; table of prices, 59  
*Times Annual Financial Review*, extract from, 64  
 TOPLIS, F. P., shot, 10  
 TRADE, total value, 66  
 TRADES Union Congress, [26], [78], [94], [104]  
 TRANSPORT Workers, meeting, [100]  
 TREASURY, gift to, 17; Bonds, issue of [43]  
 TREVELYAN, G. M., "Lord Grey of the Reform Bill," 25  
 TREVOR, Sir A. C., Obit., 160  
 TRYON, Major G. C., Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Pensions, [36], 6  
 TUBERCULOSIS, number of cases, 43  
 TUDOR, Vice-Admiral Sir F., President of the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, 18

- TULLOCH**, Major-General Sir A. B.,  
Obit., 139
- TURKEY**.—**Ali Riza Pasha**, General,  
Prime Minister, [238]. Allies,  
peace terms, [238]; reply, [241]-  
[243]. Armenians, massacres,  
[239]. **Damad Ferid Pasha**, Prime  
Minister, [238]; resignation, [245].  
**NATIONALIST Army**, [243]; defeated,  
[244]. **PEACE**, Treaty of, terms,  
[239]-[243]; signed, [244], 13.  
**Sèvres**, Treaty of, [245]. **Smyrna**,  
occupied, [243], [245]. **TEWFIK**  
**Pasha**, Prime Minister, [245]
- TWINING**, Major-General Sir P. G.,  
Obit., 118
- UKRAINIA**.—**LEAGUE of Nations**,  
admission refused, [218]. **PETLURA**,  
General, disarmed, [218]. Poland,  
agreement with, [199], [218].  
**SEPARATIST movement**, [217]
- UNEMPLOYMENT**, demonstrations, [115],  
measures, [127], [146]; Grants  
Committee, [147]; number of, 67
- UNITED STATES**.—**ARMENIA**, man-  
date for, [292]. **COLBY**, B., Secre-  
tary of State, [290]. **Cox**, Governor,  
Presidential candidate, [293], 11.  
**GEDDES**, Sir A., British Amba-  
sador, 4. Germany, peace resolu-  
tion, [291]. **HARDING**, Senator,  
Presidential candidate, [293];  
opposes the League of Nations,  
[293]. **LANSING**, R., dispute with  
President Wilson, [289]; resig-  
nation, [290], 3. League of Nations,  
opposition to, [149], [287]-[291];  
reservations, [288], [291]. Living,  
cost of, 72. **PROHIBITION**, 2.  
Presidential Election, [293];  
candidates, [293]. **RAILROADS**,  
decontrolled, [290]. **SHIPPING**  
industry, 66. **VERSAILLES**, Treaty  
of, [287]-[291]. **WALL Street**,  
bomb explosion, [294]. **Wilson**,  
President, scheme for a League of  
Nations, [149], [287]; on the  
Adriatic Question, [233]; illness,  
[288]; refuses to compromise,  
[289], [291]; dispute with R.  
Lansing, [289]. **Woman Suffrage**,  
[292]
- UNIVERSITIES**, grant to, 17
- UNIVERSITY College Hospital Medical**  
**School**, gift to, 10
- VAIL**, T. N., Obit., 132
- VASSAR-SMITH**, Sir R., Deputy Grand  
Master of the Grand Lodge of  
Mark Master Masons, 3
- VENEREAL Disease**, number of cases, 43
- VERDIN**, Sir J., Obit., 169
- VICTORIA Cross**, award of, 15
- Vindictive**, the, refloated, 14
- WAGES**, average increase, 7; control  
of, ended, 17
- WALES**.—Archbishop of, honorary  
degree conferred, 18. **Eisteddfod**  
opened, 13
- **H.R.H., Edward**, Prince of, Fel-  
low of the Royal Society, 2; at  
Eton College, 3; admitted High  
Steward of Windsor, 3; tour in  
Australia, [302], 5; at Barbados,  
5; San Diego, 6; Hawaii, 6; Fiji,  
7; Auckland, [304], 7; Rotorua, 8;  
Wellington, 8; Christchurch, 9;  
Melbourne, 9; Sydney, 10; West-  
ern Australia, [302], 11; New South  
Wales, 13; Brisbane, 13; Samoa,  
15; Honolulu, 15; leaves for  
Mexico, 15; at Colon, 15; British  
Guiana, 16; Dominica, 16;  
Granada, 16; return to London,  
[113], 17; in the City, 20
- WANTAGE**, Lady, Obit., 150
- WAR** debt of the world, total, 76
- pensions, amount of, [72]
- WARD**, Rt. Rev. B., Obit., 119
- **Mrs. H.**, Obit., 128
- WARDLE**, G., Minister of Labour, re-  
signation, 6
- WARRE**, Rev. E., Obit., 119
- WATSON**, A., General Manager of the  
L. and N.W. Railway, 20
- WEBB**, S. and B., "A Constitution for  
the Socialist Commonwealth of  
Great Britain," 33
- WEIGALL**, Colonel, Governor of South  
Australia, 2
- WELLS**, H. G., "The Outline of His-  
tory," 31
- WELWYN**, Ideal Village of, first sod  
cut, 10
- WESTMINSTER Abbey**, appeal for the  
preservation, 11
- WHITE City**, carnival opened, 21; Ex-  
hibition, 20
- WHITE**, Sir L., Obit., 151
- WILKINS**, Rev. G., Obit., 124
- WILLIS**, Rt. Rev. A., Obit., 162
- WILSON**, Field-Marshal Sir H., Free-  
dom of Belfast conferred, 6
- Vice-Admiral J. E. M., Obit.,  
132
- WINANS**, W., Obit., 150
- WINWOOD**, Rev. H. H., Obit., 169
- WIRELESS telephony**, development, 41
- WOLSELEY**, Dow.-Vicountess, Obit.,  
130
- WOMEN**, admitted to Oxford degrees,  
9, 17; degrees conferred, 17
- WOOD**, F. D., elected Royal Academi-  
cian, 7
- Sir L., Obit., 156
- WOODGATE**, W. B., Obit., 161
- WOOLF**, V., "Night and Day," 36
- WORTHINGTON-EVANS**, Sir L., member  
of the Cabinet, [36], 5
- WUNDT**, Prof. W., Obit., 152
- YORK**, H.R.H. Albert, Prince, created  
Duke of, 10; opens the *Daily*  
*Mail* Exhibition, 18















